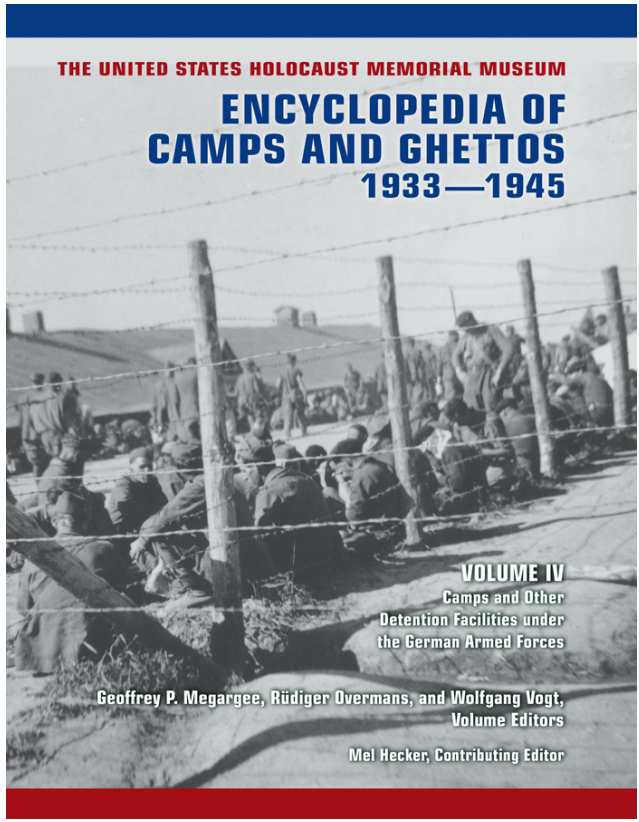
THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS
1933—1945
VOLUME IV
Camps and Other Detention Facilities under the German Armed Forces
Geoffrey P. Megargee, Rüdiger Overmans, and Wolfgang Vogt, Volume Editors
Mel Hecker, Contributing Editor

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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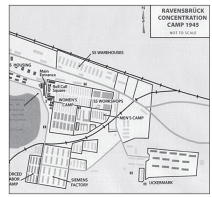

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Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME IV

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Geoffrey P. Megargee
1959–2020

WITH MAJOR SUPPORT FROM

BADER PHILANTHROPIES

THE WILLIAM ZELL FAMILY FOUNDATION

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FISCHMANN FAMILY FOUNDATION IN HONOR OF MAGDA WEISS

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Dulag Kurbatovo
Dulag Lollar
Dulag Mecheln
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Dulag Reichshof
Dulag Sassnitz
Dulag Schildberg
Dulag Soldau
Dulag Tarnów
Dulag Wadowice
Dulag West

KGL Athen
KGL Cesena
KGL Corfu
KGL Dünkirchen
KGL Euböa
KGL Florenz
KGL Forli
KGL Hövik
KGL Jersey
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KL Šabac
Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost

Sonderlager Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost
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FL Kalatsch
FL Pogodinskoje
FL Tschir
HFL Belaja Kalitwa
Ilag Dongelberg
Ilag Giromagny
Ilag Saint-Denis
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KWG Dünaburg
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KWG Wilna
StVZ
UG Berlin
UG Munich
UG Paris
WGL Donau
WG Anklam
WG Bruchsal
WG Freiburg im Breisgau
WG Germersheim
WG Glatz
WG Graudenz
WG Torgau-Fort Zinna and Brückenkopf
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PREFACE

Between 1933 and 1945, National Socialist Germany, together with its allies and collaborators across Europe, created perhaps the most pervasive incarceration system the world has ever known. That system's goals, which included detention, intimidation, indoctrination, labor, punishment, racial and social manipulation, and murder, operated in direct support of the Nazi state's broad, overlapping aims for Germany: the advancement of the Aryan "race," the creation of a "people's racial community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*), the acquisition of "living space" (*Lebensraum*), and the defeat of Germany's internal and external enemies. The Holocaust, that is, the annihilation of European Jewry, was linked to all those aims, and so it was also connected to the camp system.

The *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* is the result of the museum's effort to understand the camp system and its connections to the Holocaust and to pass that understanding on to the public. The *Encyclopedia* aims to achieve four main goals. First, it provides as much basic information as possible about individual camps and other detention facilities. Why were they established? Who ran them? What kinds of prisoners did they hold? What kinds of work did the prisoners do, and for whom? What were the conditions like? And so on. Second, because we know that ours cannot be the last word, the entries detail the sources from which the authors drew their material, so that future scholars can expand on the work. Third, the volumes' internal structures and the overall organization of the project are meant to help the reader see the overarching architecture of the camp system. Finally, and perhaps most important, this is a work of memorialization: it preserves the histories of tens of thousands of places where people suffered and died.

The response to the volumes published thus far has been heartening. Word comes in regularly, from within and outside the

museum, of how much use they are getting. Thousands of people have referred to them, as part of academic research projects and to sort out family histories. People have found the camps and ghettos where their relatives were incarcerated; sometimes they have found their relatives' names. Teams of scholars have extracted information from the volumes and used it to examine the camp system in new ways. Moreover, many of these users have benefited from the agreement we reached with Indiana University Press to put the first two volumes online, making them much more accessible and completely searchable.

With this volume, the *Encyclopedia* team is opening up additional new avenues of inquiry, by examining an underresearched segment of the larger incarceration system: camps and other detention facilities under the direct control of the German military, the Wehrmacht. These include prisoner of war (POW) camps, civilian internment and labor camps, work camps for Tunisian Jews, brothels in which women were forced to have sex with soldiers, and prisons and penal camps for Wehrmacht personnel. As a result, this volume not only brings to light many detention sites whose existence has been little known but also advances the decades-old process of dismantling the myth of the "clean Wehrmacht," according to which the German military had nothing to do with the Holocaust or the Nazi regime's other crimes. This book contains detailed descriptions, drawn from German records and eyewitness testimony, of hundreds of sites that the Wehrmacht organized and supervised. Conditions at those sites ranged from relatively benign, to oppressive, to murderous. The worst of them, such as the camps for Soviet POWs, imposed levels of suffering that are nearly unimaginable and that led to millions of deaths. Additionally, the army assisted in the identification and murder of Jewish Soviet POWs, through either shooting or gassing. If the German generals' refrain after May 1945, "We were no Nazis," was sometimes true in a narrow legalistic sense, that circumstance had little practical significance for the large number of people who suffered at their hands.

The appearance of this fourth volume means that there are three more to complete. The *Encyclopedia* team in the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies is working on all of them simultaneously, with much-needed help

from hundreds of outside authors, volunteers, and other specialists. Volume V will deal with a broad array of camps for non-Jews, including internment camps for Poles, "euthanasia" sites, "work education" camps, camps for Roma and Sinti, Gestapo and Justice Ministry prisons, and facilities for forced abortion and infanticide, among others. Volume VI will cover a variety of sites solely for Jews, including extermination, transit, and forced labor camps. Volume VII will encompass the camps for foreign (non-Jewish) forced laborers, but the hardcover volume will treat the topic only in general terms, since the numbers involved—more than 35,000 sites— are too large, and the data too sparse, to include entries on individual camps. We will handle these in a database whose design is in development. It will allow scholars of the Holocaust, World War II, and Nazi Germany to extract, sort, and analyze information on the camps in ways we can hardly imagine today.

Above all, this volume and the Encyclopedia series is a testament to the abilities and dedication of its general editor, Geoffrey P. Megargee, who died before he could see this work come to completion. In his more than twenty years of service at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Dr. Megargee forged this project into the unique resource it now is. His successor, Dr. Alexandra Lohse, will continue the work in his spirit. To date, the project has involved the efforts of over 700 authors from 34 countries, plus translators, editors, cartographers and cartographic researchers, archivists, librarians, curators, photographic researchers, and administrative support staff. Archives, museums, universities, and other scholarly institutions from around the world have contributed. The museum's own resources, including nearly 300 million pages of documents, over 111,000 photographs and images, and over 113,000 published works, have provided much of the raw material. We hope and expect that the project will be expanded on, but we doubt that it will ever be replicated.

Like the others in the series, this volume is the product of a team effort. Special thanks go to Rüdiger Overmans, Rein-hard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt, who made available core camp data from their forthcoming *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Organisation und Einsatz.* The availability of this information as well as the involvement of

Rüdiger Overmans and Wolfgang Vogt as coeditors ensured that this volume would include the most up-to-date, comprehensive coverage of Wehrmacht camps. Their efforts, along with those of the other external and in-house authors of the more than 650 entries in this volume, have helped identify many of the Wehrmacht's facilities for the first time. Since most of these entries came to us in Russian, German, or Polish, we are indebted to our adept and diligent translators.

Beyond the *Encyclopedia*, the Mandel Center is doing a range of other work designed to strengthen and shape the field of Holocaust Studies. The Mandel Center's programs include (1) the largest extant international fellowship residency program for Holocaust-related research, including competitive graduate student research assistantships, in the world; (2) annual seminars for college/university faculty who teach about the Holocaust; (3) a variety of academic symposia, seminars, research workshops, panels, and special lectures both in North America and abroad; (4) specialized research projects, including the publication of the *Encyclopedia* and the Jewish Source Study Initiative series, *Documenting Life and Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context* and the related digital teaching platform, *Experiencing History: Jewish Perspectives on the Holocaust*; (5) academic publications, including the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* and research works produced in partnership with university and other publishing houses. The Mandel Center develops and sponsors research and teaching that tap into the Museum's resources, including its collections of documents, rare books, memoirs, oral testimony, film, photographs, art, and artifacts, and the Holocaust survivors and victims' database. These programs and other efforts offer invaluable opportunities to established and emerging scholars and help the Mandel Center to advance the field of Holocaust Studies and thus to honor the memory of the victims and deepen understanding of their history.

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As with any volume, and especially in connection with a work of this kind, there are a great many people and institutions who have contributed, and we would like to thank them.

Paul A. Shapiro, director of the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies until Spring 2016, brought the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* project into existence and devoted his expertise and influence to keeping it going. As the project grew in scope and complexity, and, as the time necessary for completion expanded beyond anyone's expectations, he never wavered in his commitment to the idea that we should produce the most comprehensive, highest-quality work we could. Wendy Lower and Lisa Leff, Paul's successors, maintained that commitment.

The Museum's Academic Committee has also continued to provide firm support, encouragement, and advice to the *Encyclopedia* team.

The Mandel Center's director of Applied Research, Jürgen Matthäus, has been a key source of reasoned guidance, perspective, organizational backing, and comradeship.

My coeditors, Rüdiger Overmans and Wolfgang Vogt, were the subject experts behind the prisoner of war camp section, which makes up the bulk of the volume. Rüdiger has been involved in this project since 2002, and Wolfgang since 2003. Without them, if the volume had come out at all, its accuracy and comprehensiveness would have suffered tremendously. They shaped the section's organization and content, and they reviewed every entry, contributing corrections or additions of vital importance in almost every instance. Rein-hard Otto also lent his expertise to the section.

Mel Hecker, the Mandel Center's Publications Officer, deserves special mention. As with the previous three volumes, he was our

go-between with Indiana University Press. He read every single word of the manuscript, made sure it was ready for the publisher, then reviewed the copyedits and the page proofs. The concentration, dedication, and attention to detail that his job required would be difficult to overstate.

Dallas Michelbacher, who contributed greatly to this volume, wrote a good number of the essays and was instrumental in helping to ensure the historical accuracy of the text. His positive attitude and unflagging energy were always appreciated, as was his scholarship.

The contractors who worked on this project over the years deserve a great deal of credit. The volume would never have reached completion without their efforts, which included research, writing, editing, photo research, mapping, translation, and administration. We offer our thanks to Guy Aldridge, Jen Burton, Leslie Curley, Robert Hyam, Jolanta Kraemer, Kathleen Luft, Gerard Majka, Bradley Napier, Allison DeGraff Ollivierre, Patrick Tobin, and Evelyn Zegenhagen.

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Thanks, too, to Eli Rosenbaum and the Office of Special Investigations in the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice.

Financial support is, of course, the lifeblood of a project as massive as this one. We wish to thank the Helen Bader Foundation, whose interest got the project started. The Conference on Material Claims Against Germany, Inc. has been a steady

supporter for years. The Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation has expressed its great enthusiasm for the project. The William Zell Family Foundation, Diane and Howard Wohl, the Fischmann Family Foundation, and the Miriam Schaeffer Family Foundation also provided significant support.

Many people at Indiana University Press and Amnet Publishing Services helped with the massive job of editing the copy and putting the work into print. We would like to recognize especially David Hulsey and Pete Feely.

We obviously owe a great deal to the many outside contributors who worked so hard to provide the content of this volume. Their expertise and commitment ensure that the sites they described will not fade from history. We would especially like to recognize Alexander Kruglov, without whom most of the POW camp entries would never have taken shape.

To anyone whom we left out, we beg your forgiveness.

GEOFFREY P. MEGARGEE

EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

In the years following World War II, a myth grew up around the German armed forces, the Wehrmacht. According to this myth, the Holocaust and Germany's other crimes (to the extent that they took place at all) were the fault of Hitler, a small clique of yes-men around him, and his fanatical followers, especially the SS. In contrast, the Wehrmacht had fought honorably, under the leadership of men who only served Hitler grudgingly, men who certainly wanted nothing to do with genocide or war crimes and who resisted them when they could. German soldiers believed they were fighting to defend their fatherland and European civilization, so the myth goes, but Hitler tricked them into serving an evil regime. If they were guilty of anything, it was naivete.

This is not the place to offer a full account of how this myth came about. Suffice it to say that the myth of the "clean Wehrmacht" was the result of deliberate efforts on the part of former senior members of the Wehrmacht and sympathetic foreigners and that emerging cold war tensions provided a supportive environment on both sides of the iron curtain. The historical and legal communities have known the truth for decades, even going back to the Nuremberg trials in 1946. This is especially true in Germany, where scholars have uncovered and examined the Wehrmacht's crimes comprehensively. Scholarship in the United States has been a bit slow to catch up, but most serious students of World War II and Holocaust history are aware of the facts. Still, the myth has proven amazingly resilient; it clings to life even today. It rears its ugly head on World War II websites, in behind-the-scenes debates over Wikipedia entries, in reenactors' groups, and in popular books and magazines. It overlaps with Holocaust denial and minimalization, and it has connections to neo-Nazi and white supremacist movements.

This volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* represents one more salvo in the battle against the myth. It contributes to the fight by describing the different sites for

detention, persecution, forced labor, and murder that the Wehrmacht ran on its own. The human toll that those sites took was enormous; of the Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), for example, around 3.3 million—58 percent of the total— died in German captivity. Here, at the start, however, we wish to make clear that the sites under direct Wehrmacht control comprised only a fraction of the camps and other facilities with which it was involved. The main focus for this larger group of sites was labor: tens of thousands of them produced weapons, munitions, and equipment and served other important functions within the German war economy and German society. In the process, the forced labor sites also released millions of men for service at the front, so the Wehrmacht received a double benefit. Those sites included over 35,000 camps for foreign (non-Jewish) forced laborers, 1,050 ghettos in the occupied eastern territories, 1,900 forced labor camps for Jews, and 900 concentration camps and subcamps.[1] The Wehrmacht helped to create some of those sites, and it coordinated with the agencies, such as the Reich Labor Ministry, Organisation Todt, and the SS, that actually oversaw them. In some cases, the Wehrmacht also provided guards and put prisoners to work on military projects, such as airfield or shipyard expansion, or building defensive works. It also helped with the labor supply side: it rounded up millions of people and funneled them into the Third Reich's labor system, including POWs that it released from POW status (contrary to accepted international law) so that they could be used for forced labor outside the protections of the Geneva Convention. All of this fit, of course, into the larger context of Wehrmacht crimes, from planning and launching a war of aggression to participating in the murder of millions of Jews, the handicapped, and other soldiers and civilians, outside of the camp system. As an institution, the Wehrmacht was anything but "clean."

Briefly, this volume covers several types of camps and other facilities that the Wehrmacht ran directly. First and foremost, the POW camps: various kinds of collection points behind the front, and transit camps farther back, all of them mobile; main camps for enlisted men (Stalags) and for officers (Oflags); and some less numerous types. Rüdiger Overmans's introduction provides an overview of that system. The Wehrmacht also set up a multitude of labor camps, detention camps, "concentration camps" (not part of

the SS system), and civilian internment camps, especially in the east. It established a special set of labor camps for Jews in Tunisia, during the occupation of that country in 1942–1943. There were hundreds of Wehrmacht brothels scattered across occupied Europe, in which many women were forced to serve as sexual slaves for German soldiers. Finally, hundreds of thousands of Wehrmacht soldiers, sailors, and airmen who violated regulations in one way or another had to serve time in Wehrmacht prisons and penal camps, where the cruelty of the conditions rivaled those of nearly any other camp type.

In some respects, all those facilities differed markedly from one another. They appear together in this volume for two reasons. Most obviously, the Wehrmacht ran them all, and that is the organizing principle for the volume. That fact would be unimportant, however, if the sites in this volume did not arise from, and reflect, certain fundamental principles that linked them with each other and with the sites in all the other volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*. Irrespective of the motivations and actions of individual soldiers, the Wehrmacht as an institution, in pursuit of a war of conquest, adopted a spectrum of policies and measures that ranged from internationally accepted, to criminal, to genocidal. This was possible because concepts such as "obedience," "military honor," "military necessity," and "total war," in combination with broad prejudices that were common in German society at the time, all of which were central parts of Nazi propaganda, resonated with soldiers struggling with the stresses of war. So, when it came to the treatment it meted out to Soviet and Italian soldiers, to women in brothels, to Jews, and to its own soldiers, the Wehrmacht reflected a set of values and beliefs that linked it with National Socialism. That fact goes to the heart of the "clean Wehrmacht" myth.

The state of research on the various types of Wehrmacht facilities is generally poor, for reasons that are complicated. To some extent, the German government's attitude toward the victim groups has been significant. Despite the horrendous conditions in many of the sites, despite the mind-boggling death rates and terrible suffering in them, German officials have argued that POWs, former Wehrmacht soldiers, and the women who served in the brothels were not legally entitled to restitution. (Only in 2015

did the German parliament agree to symbolic payments to former Soviet POWs, of whom an estimated 4,000 remained alive at that time.) The lack of official interest meant that government money did not go to support research on these victim groups. Broader societal attitudes and corresponding scholarly interests also helped to draw researchers in other directions until relatively recently. Then there is the problem with sources. In many cases, documentation is simply lacking. For all the millions of pages of German records that do exist, vast troves of documents either did not survive the war, were destroyed later, or simply have not been uncovered.

This is not to say that no one has studied these sites at all. Some noteworthy scholarship has emerged over the years. This includes works by Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt (*Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog*); Czesław Pilichowski (*Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*); and Georg Tessin (*Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945*), among others.[2] We are also especially grateful for the recent work by our coeditors, Rüdiger Overmans and Wolfgang Vogt, which they refer to as the *Kerndatensätze* (core records): the dates of establishment and dissolution, and, where applicable, the field post numbers, for nearly every POW camp.

Because of the general state of research, and despite the work that scholars before us did, this volume is less complete than we would like it to be. We have entries for all the main POW camps, but many of those entries are mere skeletons, to which we have been able to add little or no flesh. Similarly, the entries for the Tunisian work camps for Jews are quite short. We are certain that we are missing many hundreds of labor and detention camps, especially in the east, for which we could not find any records, and we were also unable to uncover any meaningful amount of documentation for individual brothels; as a result, these facilities are covered in single broad essays.

One type of camp deserves special mention in this context: the POW subcamps. When we began work on this volume, we

assumed that we would cover those sites with individual entries, as we had the concentration camp sub-camps in Volume 1. The standard we applied in that volume was this: if the prisoners lived at a site, as opposed to marching out to it and back daily, then that site would count as a subcamp. That standard proved impractical in this volume, however, for two reasons. First, there was almost no documentation on the subcamps (or labor detachments, *Arbeitskommandos*, as they were often called). Second, the numbers were astronomical. For much of the war, most POWs were not in the main POW camps; they were scattered all over Germany and occupied Europe, performing labor. Because of the lack of documentation, we cannot pin the figures down, but, if one limits the coverage to camps with a minimum size of 100 prisoners and a minimum duration of one month, there were tens of thousands of them. There is simply no way for us to cover them all. Some of them come up in the main camp essays, and occasionally we can cite a figure for the number of subcamps under a certain main camp on a certain date, but that is all we can do. With regard to this, we wish to emphasize that, while we are certain of the existence of the camps that this volume describes, the absence of a particular location or unit in this volume does not constitute proof that no such camp existed.

All the caveats notwithstanding, we believe this volume represents a significant contribution to the field. It is the only one of its kind, in which readers in the English-speaking world can find information on the kinds of facilities it covers. We hope that this volume proves as useful as the first three and that future researchers will be able to build on the foundation we have provided, by finding more information about individual sites and, perhaps, by using geographic and other information in databases and graphic representations to explore the topic in new ways.

Geoffrey P. Megargee

NOTES

1. These sites are, or will be, covered in volumes 7, 2, 6, and 1 of the *Encyclopedia*, respectively.

2. Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche*

Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1986– 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966–2002).

READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE VOLUME

The purpose of this section is to give the reader some tips on how best to use this volume and to offer some information on the more technical aspects of the work. As is the case for every other volume, the content all but dictates a unique structure, especially within the prisoner of war (POW) camp section. Most of the POW camps were mobile, and there are few records that pertain to their histories in particular locations. However, almost all the camps had assigned unit numbers. Therefore, we have used those as the framework for the POW section, rather than locations. If you know a camp's official designation (such as Stalag II B or Dulag 170), you will find it in the table of contents. (Browsing the table of contents is also a good way to get a feel for the volume's organization.) If you know a place where a camp existed, you can look for it in the Places Index. If you wish to find out what camps existed in a particular region, the Map Section would be your first stop. Remember that, because some camps changed locations, many camps appear more than once on the maps. This approach applies to some of the Wehrmacht disciplinary facilities, as well. We have organized the other types by location, as appropriate.

Regarding the maps: we have placed them together in one section, with a map index, and opted to show, on each map, all the different sites that existed in the area that the map covers. That seemed the simplest and clearest solution, since the nature of the volume's contents all but precludes placing maps within particular sections, and because so many of the camps existed in more than one location over the course of the war. This approach also provides a picture of just how many Wehrmacht camps and other sites there were, on one set of maps.

The *Encyclopedia*'s first purpose is to provide as much basic information as possible on each individual site. To achieve that end and also to provide for as much consistency as possible among

the entries, we asked our many contributors to try to answer questions such as the following, as best as they could, in what is admittedly a small amount of space:

- When was the site established, under what authority, and for what purpose? What agencies were involved in its construction?
- What kinds of prisoners did the site hold, and how many?
- What type of labor did the prisoners perform, and what companies or organizations employed them?
- What were the demographics of the prisoner population? What were the changes in its composition, the decreases and increases in overall numbers, the death rates, and the causes of death?
- If inmates were killed, what were the methods, motives, and circumstances involved?
- Who were the commanders and key officers at the site, and what were their career patterns and length of service there?
- What units guarded the site? Did these units and their composition change and, if so, why?
- What elements of the prisoner culture were unique to the site, if any? Was there some particular aspect of the prisoners' coping mechanism that is worth mentioning?
- Were there any key events in the history of the site, such as resistance and/or escapes, organized or spontaneous?
- When and under what circumstances was the site dissolved or evacuated? What happened to the prisoners afterward?
- Were site personnel tried after the war and, if so, what were the results of those proceedings?

By and large, the contributors did an excellent job in answering these questions, given the limitations of space and, more often, of the amount of source material available. We did not insist that they address the questions in any particular order, but they nonetheless put their essays together in such a way that particular items of information are usually easy to find, assuming that the information

was available in the sources.

The *Encyclopedia*'s second purpose is to encourage additional research on the sites in question, and so we also asked each author to include, first, citations to key documents, when available, and, second, a narrative description of published and archival sources, both primary and secondary, at the end of each entry. In that way, readers can see what sources an author has already consulted and where to seek additional information.

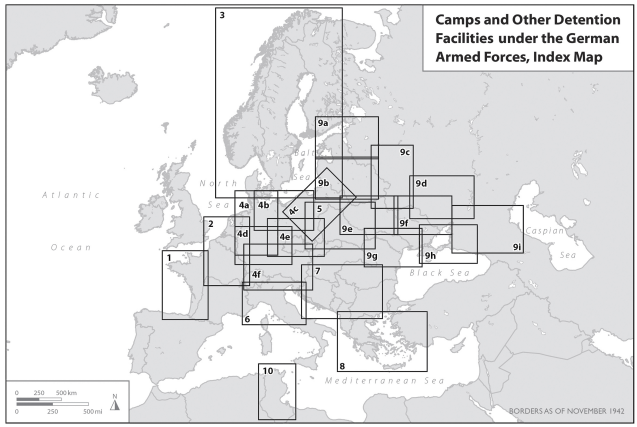
In practical terms, this volume can be used for either of two related purposes. If your goal is to learn about a particular site or sites, and no more, you may, of course, go to the relevant essays and stop there. If you want to understand a site's place in the larger system within which it existed— POW camps, for example—then begin with the introductory essay for that system, and then move to the site entry or entries in which you are interested. This is also a useful approach if you are interested in sources, since those listed for a particular site may not include broader works that might contain valuable information; for those, you must go to the introductory essay.

Readers should also be aware of a couple of space-saving measures. The names of archives have been abbreviated in the source sections and citations; please refer to the List of Abbreviations for the full names. Also, there are only a few cross-references within the text, for the simple reason that most such references would be to other camps, for which there are entries in any case. We have made exceptions to this policy only where there seemed to be a special need to do so.

MAPS

Camps and Other Detention Facilities under the German Armed Forces, Index Map
1. Camps in Western France
2. Camps in Eastern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands
3. Camps in Denmark, Norway, and Finland
4. Germany:
a. Camps in Defense Districts VI, X, XI
b. Camps in Defense Districts II, III
c. Camps in Defense Districts I, XX, XXI
d. Camps in Defense Districts IX, XII, XIII
e. Camps in Defense Districts IV, VIII
f. Camps in Defense Districts V, VII, XVII, XVIII
5. Camps in Hungary and the General Government
6. Camps in Italy
7. Camps in Croatia, the Serbian Residual State, Romania, and Albania
8. Camps in Greece and Bulgaria
9. Eastern Front:
a. Camps in the Northern Baltic States and Northern Russia
b. Camps in the Southern Baltic States and Northern Belorussia
c. Camps in Russia West of Moscow
d. Camps in Russia South of Moscow
e. Camps in Southern Belorussia and Western Ukraine
f. Camps in Eastern Ukraine
g. Camps in Southern Ukraine, Transnistria, and Romania
h. Camps in Crimea and Western Caucasus
i. Camps in Northern Caucasus
10. Camps in Tunisia

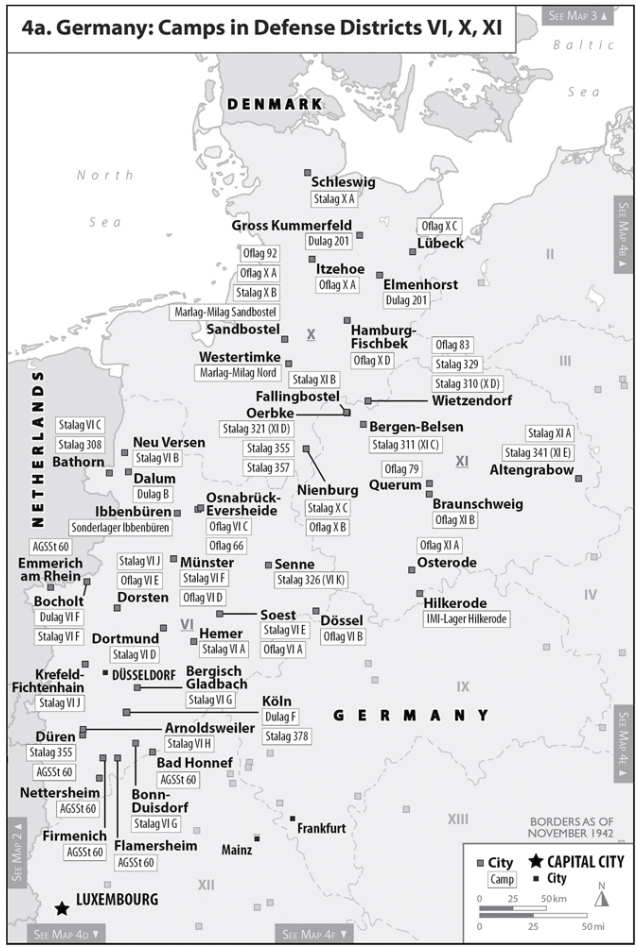
Note: Many camps show up in more than one location because they were mobile.
Maps produced by Alison DeGraff Ollivierre of Tombolo Maps and Design, Denver, Colorado.

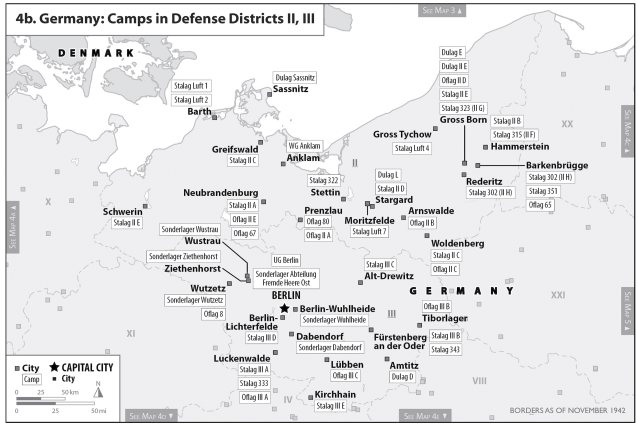

Camps and Other Detention Facilities under the German Armed Forces, Index Map
3
9a
9c
Baltic Sea
9b
9d
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
4a
4b
4c
5
2
4d
4e
9e
9f
Caspian Sea
9l
1
9g
9h
4f
7
Black Sea
6
8
10
Mediterranean Sea
0 250 500 km
0 250 500 mi
N
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

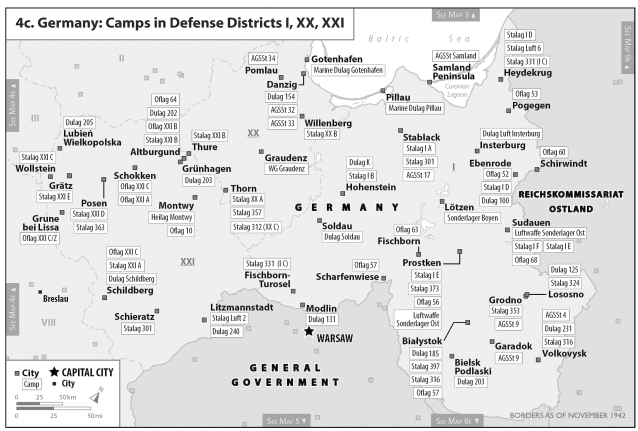
1. Camps in Western France
Heilag Rouen
Frontstalag 171
Rouen
Caen
Frontstalag 130
Jersey
KGL Jersey
Saint-Lô
Frontstalag 131
Évreux
Frontstalag 200
Verneuil-sur-Avre
Frontstalag 200
Frontstalag 126
Saint-Brieuc
Frontstalag 126
Frontstalag 134
Dinan
Alençon
Frontstalag 201
Frontstalag 132
Laval
Frontstalag 135
Quimper
Rennes
Frontstalag 127
Frontstalag 133
Frontstalag 203
Le Mans
Frontstalag 183
Hennebont
OCCUPIED
FRANCE
Mulsanne
Frontstalag 132
Lorient
KGL Lorient
Chateaubriant
Frontstalag 183
Vannes
Frontstalag 183
Angers
Frontstalag 181
Frontstalag 180
Amboise
Frontstalag 182
Donges
Frontstalag 205
Nantes
Tours
Frontstalag 180
St. Nazaire
KGL St. Nazaire
Saumur
Frontstalag 181
Savenay
Frontstalag 182
Frontstalag 232
Airvault
Frontstalag 231
Parthenay
Frontstalag 231
Poitiers
Frontstalag 230
Luçon
Frontstalag 232
Atlantic
Ocean
Frontstalag 184
Angoulême
Frontstalag 221
Saint-Médard-
en-Jalles
Bordeaux
Onesse-Laharie
Frontstalag 195
UNOCCUPIED
FRANCE
Bayonne
Frontstalag 222
SPAIN
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
See Map 2

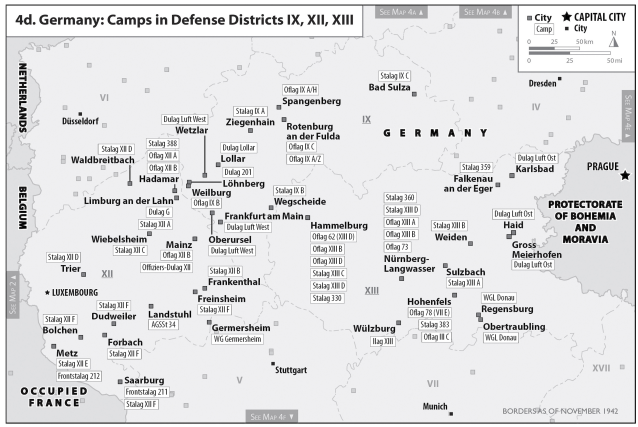
2. Camps in Eastern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands
North Sea
ENGLAND
AMSTERDAM
NETHERLANDS
Schoorl
Ilag Schoorl
Amersfoort
Dulag Amersfoort
AGSSt 23
GERMANY
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Mechelen
Dulag Mecheln
Dongelberg
Ilag Dongelberg
Hazebrouck
Dunkirk
KGL Dünkirchen
Saint-Omer
Amiens
Compiègne
Lille
Tourcoing
Saint-Quentin
Cambrai
Doullens
Péronne
Laon
La Fère
Pont-Sainte-Maxence
Drancy
Saint-Denis
PARIS
UG Paris
La-Celle-Saint-Cloud
OCCUPIED FRANCE
Châlons-sur-Marne
Charleville-Mézières
LUXEMBOURG
Verdun
Sainte-Menehould
Saint-Mihiel
Toul
Nancy
Lunéville
Mirecourt
Épinal
Belfort
Giromagny
Vittel
Troyes
Melun
Chartres
Morancez
Dulag West
Pithiviers
Montargis
Orléans
Beaune-la-Rolande
Joigny
Saint-Florentin
Auxerre
Vannes
Chaumont
Langres
Vesoul
Longvic-les-Dijon
Besançon
Fourchambault
Chalon-sur-Saône
Heilag Chalon-sur-Saône
UNOCCUPIED FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
Frontstalag 100
Frontstalag 102
Frontstalag 130
Frontstalag 171
Frontstalag 172
Frontstalag 204
Stalag 122
Frontstalag 122
Frontstalag 170
Ilag Compiègne
Heilag Compiègne
Frontstalag 193
Frontstalag 110
Frontstalag 195
Frontstalag 100
Ilag Dongelberg
Frontstalag 204
Frontstalag 186
Frontstalag 102
Frontstalag 185
Frontstalag 101
Frontstalag 190
Frontstalag 204
Frontstalag 204
Stalag 191
Frontstalag 170
Frontstalag 191
Frontstalag 192
Frontstalag 172
Frontstalag 192
Frontstalag 204
Frontstalag 240
Frontstalag 193
Frontstalag 161
Frontstalag 194
Ilag St. Denis
Frontstalag 220
Frontstalag 111
Frontstalag 162
Stalag 160
Frontstalag 160
Frontstalag 241
Frontstalag 112
Frontstalag 124
Frontstalag 194
Ilag Vittel
Frontstalag 120
Dulag Chalons-sur-Marne
Frontstalag 125
Frontstalag 133
Frontstalag 153
Frontstalag 202
Stalag 202
Dulag 202
Frontstalag 133
Frontstalag 152
Frontstalag 150
Frontstalag 122
Stalag 315
Frontstalag 121
Frontstalag 151
Frontstalag 124
Frontstalag 123
Frontstalag 140
Frontstalag 150
Frontstalag 141
Frontstalag 183
Frontstalag 152
Frontstalag 154
Frontstalag 150
Frontstalag 155
Frontstalag 142
Ilag Giromagny
Frontstalag 137
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
See Map 1
See Map 4a
See Map 4c
See Map 4b

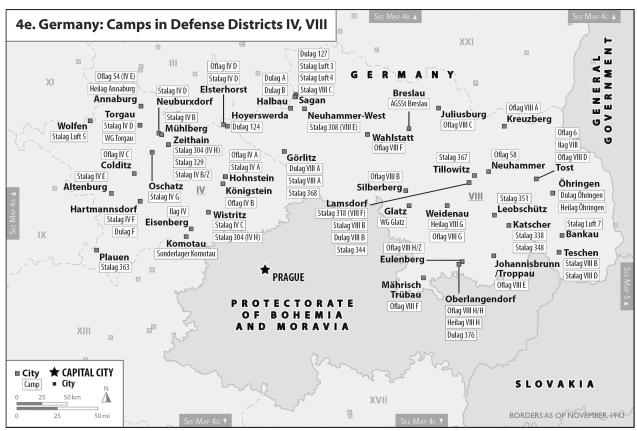
3. Camps in Denmark, Norway, and Finland


4a. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts VI, X, XI
See Map 3
Baltic Sea
North Sea
DENMARK
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
Schleswig
Stalag X A
Gross Kummerfeld
Dulag 201
Oflag X C
Lübeck
Oflag 92
Oflag X A
Stalag X B
Itzehoe
Oflag X A
Elmenhorst
Dulag 201
Marlag-Milag Sandbostel
Sandbostel
X
Hamburg-Fischbek
Oflag X D
Oflag 83
Stalag 329
Westertimke
Marlag-Milag Nord
Stalag XI B
Stalag 310 (X D)
Fallingbostel
Wietzendorf
Oerbke
Stalag 321 (XI D)
Bergen-Belsen
Stalag 311 (XI C)
Stalag XI A
Stalag 341 (XI E)
Stalag VI C
Stalag 308
Bathorn
Neu Versen
Stalag VI B
Stalag 355
Stalag 357
Oflag 79
Altengrabow
Dalum
Dulag B
Nienburg
Querum
Braunschweig
Oflag XI B
Ibbenbüren
Sonderlager Ibbenbüren
Osnabrück-Eversheide
Oflag VI C
Oflag 66
Stalag X C
Stalag X B
AGSSt 60
Oflag XI A
Emmerich am Rhein
Stalag VI J
Oflag VI E
Münster
Stalag VI F
Senne
Stalag 326 (VI K)
Osterode
Bocholt
Dulag VI F
Stalag VI F
Dorsten
Oflag VI D
Soest
Stalag VI E
Oflag VI A
Dössel
Oflag VI B
Hilkerode
IMI-Lager Hilkerode
Dortmund
Stalag VI D
Hemer
Stalag VI A
Krefeld-Fichtenhain
Stalag VI J
DÜSSELDORF
Bergisch Gladbach
Stalag VI G
Köln
Dulag F
Stalag 378
Arnoldsweiler
Stalag VI H
Düren
Stalag 355
AGSSt 60
Bad Honnef
AGSSt 60
Nettersheim
AGSSt 60
Bonn-Duisdorf
Stalag VI G
Firmenich
AGSSt 60
Flamersheim
AGSSt 60
Mainz
Frankfurt
LUXEMBOURG
II
III
IV
VI
IX
XI
XII
XIII
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
N
0 25 50km
0 25 50mi
See Map 2
See Map 4b
See Map 4c
See Map 4d
See Map 4e


4b. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts II, III
See Map 3
See Map 4
See Map 2
See Map 4c
See Map 4c
DENMARK
Stalag Luft 1
Stalag Luft 2
Barth
Dulag Sassnitz
Sassnitz
WG Anklam
Greifswald
Stalag II C
Anklam
Gross Tychow
Stalag Luft 4
Dulag E
Dulag II E
Oflag II D
Stalag II E
Stalag 323 (II G)
Gross Born
Stalag II B
Stalag 315 (II F)
Hammerstein
Barkenbrügge
Stalag 302 (II H)
Stalag 351
Oflag 65
Rederitz
Stalag 322
Dulag L
Stalag II D
Stargard
Stettin
Neubrandenburg
Stalag II A
Oflag II E
Oflag 67
Prenzlau
Oflag 80
Oflag II A
Moritzfelde
Stalag Luft 7
Arnswalde
Oflag II B
Schwerin
Stalag II E
Sonderlager Wustrau
Wustrau
Woldenberg
Stalag II C
Oflag II C
Sonderlager Ziethenhorst
Ziethenhorst
UG Berlin
Sonderlager Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost
Stalag III C
Alt-Drewitz
Wutzetz
Sonderlager Wutzetz
Oflag 8
BERLIN
G E R M A N Y
Oflag III B
Berlin-Wuhlheide
Sonderlager Wuhlheide
Berlin-Lichterfelde
Stalag III D
Tiborlager
Dabendorf
Sonderlager Dabendorf
Fürstenberg an der Oder
Stalag III B
Stalag 343
Luckenwalde
Stalag III A
Stalag 333
Oflag III A
Lübben
Oflag III C
Amtitz
Dulag D
Kirchhain
Stalag III E
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi


4c. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts I, XX, XXI
See Map 3
See Map 4
See Map 2
See Map 5
See Map 6
Baltic Sea
AGSSt 34
Pomlau
Gotenhafen
Marine Dulag Gotenhafen
Danzig
Dulag 154
AGSSt 32
AGSSt 33
Samland Peninsula
AGSSt Samland
Stalag 331 (I C)
Heydekrug
Oflag 53
Pogegen
Pillau
Marine Dulag Pillau
Curonian Lagoon
Oflag 64
Dulag 202
Oflag XXI B
Stalag XXI B
Thure
Altburgund
Grünhagen
Dulag 203
Willenberg
Stalag XX B
Graudenz
WG Graudenz
Stablack
Stalag I A
Stalag 301
AGSSt 17
Dulag Luft Insterburg
Insterburg
Oflag 60
Schirwindt
Ebenrode
Oflag 52
Stalag I D
Dulag 100
Dulag 265
Lubień Wielkopolska
Stalag XXI C
Wollstein
Grätz
Stalag XXI E
Posen
Stalag XXI D
Stalag 363
Grune bei Lissa
Oflag XXI C/Z
Schokken
Oflag XXI C
Oflag XXI A
Montwy
Heilag Montwy
Oflag 10
Thorn
Stalag XX A
Stalag 357
Stalag 312 (XX C)
Dulag K
Stalag I B
Hohenstein
Soldau
Dulag Soldau
Oflag 63
Fischborn
Lötzen
Sonderlager Boyen
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND
Sudauen
Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost
Stalag I F
Stalag I E
Oflag 68
Oflag XXI C
Stalag XXI A
Dulag Schildberg
Schildberg
Breslau
Schieratz
Stalag 301
Stalag 331 (I C)
Fischborn-Turosel
Oflag 57
Scharfenwiese
Prostken
Stalag I E
Stalag 373
Oflag 56
Dulag 125
Stalag 324
Lososno
Grodno
Stalag 353
AGSSt 9
Litzmannstadt
Stalag Luft 2
Dulag 240
Modlin
Dulag 131
WARSAW
Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost
Białystok
Dulag 185
Stalag 397
Stalag 316
Oflag 57
Bielsk Podlaski
Dulag 203
Garadok
AGSSt 9
AGSSt 4
Dulag 231
Stalag 316
Volkovysk
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi


4d. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts IX, XII, XIII
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
GERMANY
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
OCCUPIED FRANCE
PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA
PRAGUE
Dresden
Düsseldorf
Bad Sulza
Spangenberg
Wetzlar
Ziegenhain
Rotenburg an der Fulda
Waldbreitbach
Hadamar
Lollar
Weilburg
Limburg an der Lahn
Wegscheide
Frankfurt am Main
Hammelburg
Falkenau an der Eger
Karlsbad
Haid
Gross Meierhofen
Wiebelsheim
Mainz
Oberursel
Trier
Frankenthal
Nürnberg-Langwasser
Weiden
Sulzbach
LUXEMBURG
Freinsheim
Hohenfels
Regensburg
Dudweiler
Landstuhl
Bolchen
Germersheim
Wülzburg
Obertraubling
Forbach
Metz
Stuttgart
Saarburg
Munich
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


4e. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts IV, VIII
GERMANY
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA
PRAGUE
SLOVAKIA
Annaburg
Torgau
Wolfen
Colditz
Altenburg
Hartmannsdorf
Plauen
Neuburxdorf
Elsterhorst
Mühlberg
Zeithain
Oschatz
Eisenberg
Komotau
Halbau
Sagan
Hoyerswerda
Neuhammer-West
Breslau
Juliusburg
Kreuzberg
Wahlstatt
Görlitz
Hohnstein
Königstein
Wistritz
Silberberg
Lamsdorf
Glatz
Tillowitz
Neuhammer
Tost
Öhringen
Leobschütz
Katscher
Bankau
Teschen
Weidenau
Eulenberg
Johannisbrunn /Troppau
Mährisch Trübau
Oberlangendorf
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

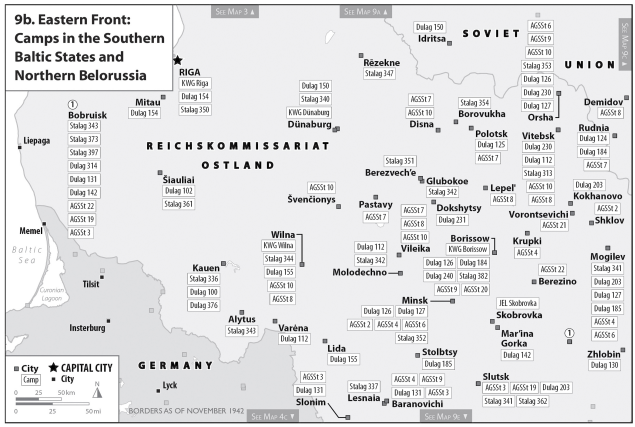
4f. Germany: Camps in Defense Districts V, VII, XVII, XVIII
PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA
GERMANY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
CROATIA
ROMANIA
SLOVAKIA
VADUZ
LIECHTENSTEIN
BERN
ZAGREB
BRATISLAVA
VIENNA
Nürnberg
Offenburg
Weinsberg
Ludwigsburg
Bruchsal
Malschbach
Strassburg
Eichstätt
Moosburg an der Isar
Günzburg
Munich
Laufen
Titmoning
Pupping
Gneixendorf
Dollersheim
Allentsteig
Gänserndorf
Kaisersteinbruch
Neusiedl am See
Biberach an der Riss
Memmingen
Neubreisach
Freiburg im Breisgau
Villingen
Wurzach
Konstanz
Zürich
Mühlhausen
Murnau am Staffelsee
Markt Pongau
Grossgmain
Spittal an der Drau
Wolfsberg
Wagna
Marburg an der Drau
Lienz
Oberdrauburg
Ljubljana
Trento
Trieste
Venice
Adriatic Sea
Stalag 307
Stalag VIII A
Stalag VII B
Stalag VII C
Stalag VII
Stalag 78
Stalag 317 (VIII C)
Stalag 355
Stalag 357
Stalag VIII B
Stalag VIII A
Stalag VIII B
Stalag VIII C
Stalag VIII B
Stalag XVIII A
Stalag XVIII B
Stalag XVIII A
Stalag XVIII A
Stalag XVIII A
Stalag XVIII C
Stalag XVIII A
Stalag XVIII B
Stalag XVIII B
Stalag XVIII B
Stalag 306 (XVIII D)
Stalag 385
Stalag V D
Frontstalag 210
Stalag V B
Stalag V C
Stalag 305
Stalag V A
Stalag V E
Frontstalag 213
Stalag V B
Stalag 315
Stalag VII Z
Stalag VIII C
Stalag VII C/Z
Stalag VII D
Stalag 398
Stalag XVIII B
Stalag J
Oflag V A
Oflag V B
Oflag V C
Oflag 65
Oflag 57
Oflag VII A
Oflag 78
Oflag XVIII A
Oflag XVIII B
Oflag XVIII C
Oflag 55 (V D)
Heilag V C
Heilag Offenburg
Heilag V B
Heilag V A
Dulag H
Dulag Neubreisach
WG Freiburg
WG Bruchsal
WGL Donau
Untersuchungsgefängnis München
AGSSt 34
AGSSt 59
AGSSt 62
Oflag 65
Oflag 73
Stalag 333
Komorowo
Grądy
Stalag 324
Beniaminów
Dulag 240
Jablonna
WARSAW
Otwock
Dulag 203
Siedlce
Brest
Kalików
Stalag 307
Błonie
Dulag Błonie
Stalag 319
Dulag 142
Skierniewice
Pruszków
Dulag 121
Oflag 77
Stalag 307
Deblin
AGSSt 5
Stalag 301
Lublin
Dulag 110
Stalag 319
Kulm
Litzmannstadt
Góra Puławska
Dulag 203
Skarżysko-Kamienna
Stalag 380
Petrikau
Dulag 237
Poniatowa
Stalag 359
Zamość
Stalag 325
AGSSt 4
Belz
Oflag 76
Stalag 328
Stalag 325
Rawa Ruska
Stalag 325
Lemberg
Lutsk
Rivne
Khmelnytskyy
Tarnopol
Stalag 329
Przemyślany
Dulag 205
Dulag 201
Stryj
Stalag 325
Stalag 335
Galich
Dulag 201
Stanislau
Oflag VII D
Stalag 371
Chernivtsi
Drohobycz
Stalag 335
Stalag 328
Dulag 201
Turka
Dulag 201
Stalag 323
Chyrów
Stalag 323
Jarosłau
Stalag 327
Przemysl
Stalag 315
Stalag 327
Dulag 201
Sandomierz
Stalag 359
Kielce
Dulag Kielce
RGL Kielce
Tschenstochau
Stalag 367
Tarnów
Dulag Tarnow
AGSSt 34
Dulag Krakau
Dulag 201
Krakau
Dulag Bochnia
Bochnia
Kobierzyn
Stalag 369
Wadowice
Dulag Wadowice
Ostrava
Opole
Szebnie
Stalag 325
Lubień Małopolska
Dulag 201
Zakopane
AGSSt 22
Sanok
Reichshof
Stalag 327
Stalag 348
Stalag 305
Stalag 364
Stalag 370
Stalag 363
Dulag Reichshof
Košice
Dulag 201
Uzhhorod
Dulag 201
Stalag 326
Stalag 333
Stalag 368
Stalag 333
Oflag 58
Stalag 366
Stalag 316
Stalag 324
Stalag 307
Stalag 359
Stalag 327
Stalag 325
Stalag 326
Stalag 328
Stalag 325
Stalag 327
Stalag 315
Stalag 323
Stalag 325
Stalag 335
Stalag 348
Stalag 305
Stalag 364
Stalag 370
Stalag 363
Dulag 201
Stalag 328
Dulag 201
Stalag 371
Oflag VII D
Dulag 201
Dulag 205
Dulag 201
Dulag 201
Dulag 201

6. Camps in Italy
See Map 4c
SWITZERLAND
Trento
Trieste
Stalag 304
Stalag 339
CROATIA
Venice
Stalag 365
Novara
Milan
Stalag 339
Stalag 337
Dulag 339
Mantua
ITALY
Mirandola
Dulag 132
Turin
AGSSt 65
Adriatic
Sea
Bologna
KGL Forlì
Forlì
Genoa
Cesena
KGL Cesena
KGL Pistoia
Pistoia
SAN MARINO
See Map 7
UNOCCUPIED FRANCE
Florence
KGL Florenz
Arezzo
Dulag 132
Ligurian
Sea
MONACO
Dulag 226
Pissignano
Campello sul Clitunno
Dulag 226
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
Corsica
ROME
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

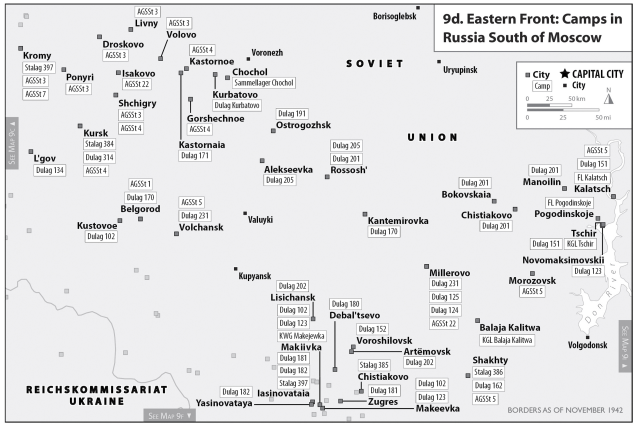
7. Camps in Croatia, the Serbian Residual State, Romania, and Albania
See Map 5c
GERMANY
Stalag 345
Dulag 404
Dulag 402
Dulag 185
Dulag 161
Dulag 135
ZAGREB
HUNGARY
Timişoara
ROMANIA
BUCHAREST
AGSSt 12
Giurgiu
See Map 4c
KL Jarak
Jarak
Dulag 420
Zemun
BELGRADE
Slavonski Brod
Dulag 404
Smederevo
Dulag 172
Šabac
Dulag 183
KL Šabac
CROATIA
SERBIAN RESIDUAL STATE
Dulag 202
Crveni Krst
SARAJEVO
AGSSt 22
Nisch
Dulag 413
ITALY
KGL Novi Pazar
Novi Pazar
SOFIA
KGL Split
Split
See Map 6
MONTENEGRO
Priština
KGL Uroševac
Uroševac
BULGARIA
PODGORICA
ITALY
ALBANIA
SKOPJE
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
Adriatic
Sea
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
See Map 8
GREECE

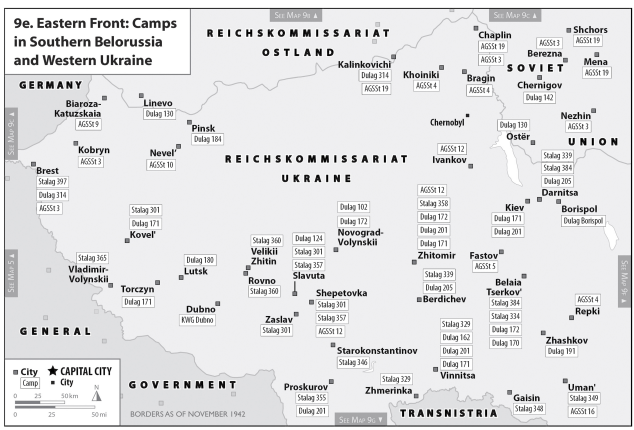
8. Camps in Greece and Bulgaria
See Map 7
BULGARIA
TIRANA
Bitola
Dulag 402
Dulag 183
Dulag 410
Salonika
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Aegean Sea
KGL Corfu
Corfu
KGL Leianokladion
Leianokladion
KGL Euboea
Euboea
KGL Samos
Samos
KGL Thebes
Thebes
KGL Nea-Psychikon
Nea-Psychikon
KGL Mesolongion
Mesolongion
KGL Patras
Patras
Nea-Kokkinia
KGL Nea-Kokkinia
KGL Syros
Syros
KGL Lesvos
Lesvos
Ionian Sea
KGL Kefallenia
Kefallenia
ATHENS
KGL Athen
Dulag 135
Corinth
Dulag Corinth
Kos
KGL Kos
KGL Rhodos
Eleousa
Naxos
KGL Naxos
Zakynthos
KGL Zakynthos
Tripolis
KGL Tripolis
Megalopolis
KGL Megalopolis
Kalamata
KGL Kalamata
Santorin
KGL Santorin
KGL Karpathos
Karpathos
Kalathos
KGL Rhodos
KGL / Dulag Kreta
Canea
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

9a. Eastern Front: Camps in the Northern Baltic States and Northern Russia
See Map 3-4
See Map 9
See Map 8
Lake Ladoga
Vyborg
Dulag 140
Maloe Verevo
Volkhov
AGSSt 17
Tikhvin
Leningrad
AGSSt 17
Dulag 375
Dulag 134
Sablino
Gulf of Finland
FINLAND
Porvoo
Krasnoe Selo
Lindemannstadt
Dulag 154
Liuban'
AGSSt 18
HELSINKI
Kotly
Dulag 101
Vyritsa
AGSSt 17
Volosovo
Dulag 101
Dulag 102
Rogavka
KGL Rogavka
Dulag 376
AGSSt 17
Dulag 377
Kohtla-Järve
Narva
Dulag 101
Dulag 200
Kingisepp
Dulag 101
Dulag 102
Gulf of Finland
Dulag 102
Rakvere
Kiviõli
Dulag 377
Luga
Dulag 320
Lake Ilmen
Reval
Tapa
Stalag 381
Dulag 110
Dulag 154
Lake Peipus
SOVIET
Staraia Russa
Dulag 110
Dulag 150
Demiansk
AGSSt 14
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT
Tartu
Porkhov
Dulag 100
Parnu
Fellin
Stalag 332
Dulag 154
Dulag 375
Pleskau
Stalag 372
Dulag 376
Dulag 134
Gulf of Riga
Walk
Stalag 351
Dulag 110
OSTLAND
AGSSt 13
Loknia
AGSSt 7
Toropets
AGSSt 7
Velikie Luki
U N I O N
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


9b. Eastern Front: Camps in the Southern Baltic States and Northern Belorussia
See Map 2
See Map 9a
See Map 1
See Map 4c
See Map 9c
SOVIET UNION
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND
GERMANY
Baltic Sea
Curonian Lagoon
RIGA
KWG Riga
Dulag 154
Stalag 350
Mitau
Dulag 154
Bobruisk
Stalag 343
Stalag 373
Stalag 397
Dulag 314
Dulag 131
Dulag 142
AGSSt 22
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 3
Liepaga
Memel
Tilsit
Insterburg
Šiauliai
Dulag 102
Stalag 361
Kauen
Stalag 336
Dulag 100
Dulag 376
Alytus
Stalag 343
Varėna
Dulag 112
Švenčionys
AGSSt 10
Wilna
KWG Wilna
Stalag 344
Dulag 155
AGSSt 10
AGSSt 8
Molodechno
Dulag 112
Stalag 342
Pastavy
AGSSt 7
Vileika
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 8
AGSSt 10
Dulag 126
Dulag 240
AGSSt 9
Minsk
Dulag 126
Dulag 127
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 4
AGSSt 6
Stalag 352
Lida
Dulag 155
Stolbtsy
Dulag 185
Slonim
AGSSt 3
Dulag 131
Lesnaia
Stalag 337
Baranovichi
AGSSt 4
AGSSt 9
Dulag 131
AGSSt 3
Lyck
Dulag 150
Idritsa
Rēzekne
Stalag 347
Dulag 150
Stalag 340
KWG Dünaburg
Dünaburg
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 10
Disna
Stalag 354
Borovukha
Polotsk
Dulag 125
AGSSt 7
Berezvech'e
Stalag 351
Glubokoe
Stalag 342
Dokshytsy
Dulag 231
Borissow
KWG Borissow
Dulag 126
Dulag 184
Dulag 240
Stalag 382
AGSSt 9
AGSSt 20
Skobrovka
JEL Skobrovka
Mar'ina Gorka
Dulag 142
Slutsk
AGSSt 3
AGSSt 19
Dulag 203
Stalag 341
Stalag 362
Lepel'
AGSSt 8
Vorontsevichi
AGSSt 21
Krupki
AGSSt 4
Berezino
AGSSt 22
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 10
Stalag 353
Dulag 126
Dulag 230
Dulag 127
Orsha
Vitebsk
Dulag 230
Dulag 112
Stalag 313
AGSSt 10
AGSSt 8
Demidov
AGSSt 8
Rudnia
Dulag 124
Dulag 184
AGSSt 7
Dulag 203
Kokhanovo
AGSSt 2
Shklov
Mogilev
Stalag 341
Dulag 203
Dulag 127
Dulag 185
AGSSt 4
AGSSt 6
Zhlobin
Dulag 130
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
N
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

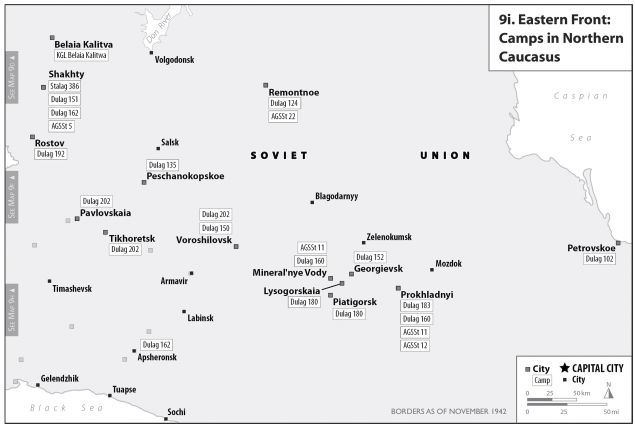
9c. Eastern Front: Camps in Russia West of Moscow
AGSSt 7
Dulag 230
Dulag 240
Rzhev
Staritsa
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 8
Zubtsov
AGSSt 7
Dulag 184
Volokolamsk
MOSCOW
Podolsk
AGSSt 9
Mozhaisk
Dulag 230
Prechistoe
AGSSt 8
Dulag 231
Dulag 184
Dulag 155
Dulag 230
Nelidovo
Sychëvka
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 8
AGSSt 10
Gzhatsk
Dulag 124
AGSSt 10
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 8
Medyn'
Maloiaroslavets
Dulag 112
Dulag 126
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 8
AGSSt 9
Dulag 230
Viaz'ma
Tëmkino
AGSSt 9
Dulag 184
Dulag 155
SOVIET
Dorogobuzh
Iartsevo
Ost'e
Smolensk
Dulag 231
Dulag 184
Dulag 126
Dulag 240
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 7
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 6
AGSSt 10
El'nia
Spas-Demensk
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 6
Iukhnov
Dulag 112
Kaluga
Dulag 127
UNION
AGSSt 3
AGSSt 21
Zhizdra
AGSSt 20
Dulag 185
Stalag 397
Mikhailovka
AGSSt 2
Uleml'
Dulag 202
Shui
Dulag 112
Dulag 220
Gusino
Dulag 155
Orsha
Dulag 130
AGSSt 6
Ostër
Roslavl'
Dulag 155
Dubrovka
AGSSt 4
AGSSt 6
Orël
Karachev
Dulag 185
Mstislavl'
AGSSt 4
Krichev
Dulag 203
AGSSt 4
Dulag 130
Dulag 127
AGSSt 20
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 6
Briansk
Dulag 142
Dulag 202
AGSSt 4
Sinezërki
Dulag 125
Uritskii
Dulag 142
Saburovets
Stalag 368
Komarichi
Dulag 131
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT
OSTLAND
Zhuravichi
Dulag 203
AGSSt 3
Klintsy
Dulag 121
Dulag 161
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 21
Unecha
Dulag 131
Dulag 121
AGSSt 3
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 3
Seredyna-Buda
Khutor Mikhailovskii
AGSSt 19
Ryl'sk
AGSSt 3
Novgorod-Severskii
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 22
AGSSt 4
Glukhov
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 3
Gomel'
Dulag 121
Dulag 220
Stalag 397
AGSSt 3
AGSSt 4
Endlager Ozarichi
Ozarichi
Rechitsa
AGSSt 3
AGSSt 19
Kaplichi
AGSSt 3
Vorozhba
Dulag 314
AGSSt 4
Konotop
Dulag 314
Glushkovo
AGSSt 4
Nizhyn
Chernobyl
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
N
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
See Map 9a
See Map 9b
See Map 9b
See Map 9c
See Map 9c

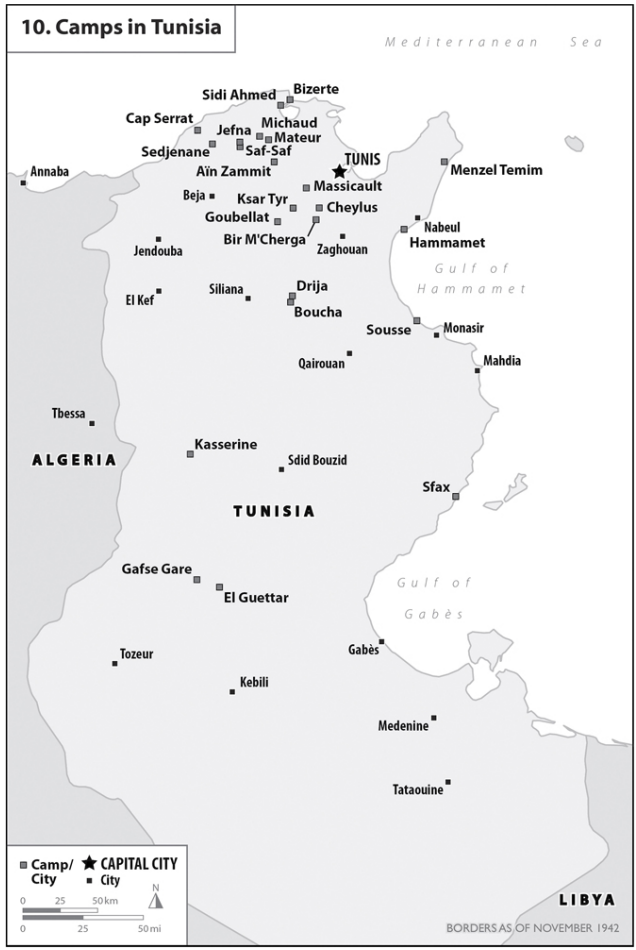

9d. Eastern Front: Camps in Russia South of Moscow
SOVIET UNION
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
Borisoglebsk
Uryupinsk
Voronezh
Kastornoe
Chochol
Sammellager Chochol
Kurbatovo
Dulag Kurbatovo
Gorshechnoe
Ostrogozhsk
Dulag 191
Kastornaia
Dulag 171
Alekseevka
Dulag 205
Rossosh'
Dulag 205
Dulag 201
Kursk
Stalag 384
Dulag 314
L'gov
Dulag 134
Belgorod
Dulag 170
Kustovoe
Dulag 102
Volchansk
Dulag 231
Valuyki
Kupyansk
Dulag 202
Lisichansk
Dulag 102
Dulag 123
KWG Makiejewka
Makiivka
Dulag 181
Dulag 182
Stalag 397
Debal'tsevo
Dulag 180
Dulag 152
Voroshilovsk
Artëmovsk
Dulag 202
Chistiakovo
Stalag 385
Dulag 181
Dulag 182
Iasinovataia
Yasinovataya
Zugres
Dulag 102
Dulag 123
Makeevka
Millerovo
Dulag 231
Dulag 125
Dulag 124
Morozovsk
Balaja Kalitwa
KGL Balaja Kalitwa
Shakhty
Stalag 386
Dulag 162
Volgodonsk
Kantemirovka
Dulag 170
Bokovskaia
Dulag 201
Chistiakovo
Dulag 201
Manoilin
Dulag 201
Kalatsch
Fl. Kalatsch
Pogodinskoje
Fl. Pogodinskoje
Tschir
Dulag 151
RGL Tschir
Novomaksimovskii
Dulag 123
Kromy
Stalag 397
Ponyri
Droskovo
Livny
Volovo
Isakovo
Shchigry
Sea of Azov
Black Sea


9e. Eastern Front: Camps in Southern Belorussia and Western Ukraine
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
TRANSNISTRIA
SOVIET UNION
GERMANY
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
Kalinkovichi
Dulag 314
Khoiniki
Bragin
Chaplin
Berezna
Chernigov
Dulag 142
Shchors
Mena
Nezhin
Chernobyl
Dulag 130
Ostër
Ivankov
Darnitsa
Borispol
Dulag Borispol
Kiev
Dulag 171
Dulag 201
Zhitomir
Fastov
Berdichev
Belaia Tserkov'
Stalag 384
Dulag 334
Dulag 172
Dulag 170
Repki
Zhashkov
Dulag 191
Vinnitsa
Uman'
Stalag 349
Gaisin
Stalag 348
Zmerinka
Proskurov
Stalag 355
Dulag 201
Starokonstantinov
Stalag 346
Shepetovka
Stalag 301
Stalag 357
Zaslav
Stalag 301
Slavuta
Stalag 357
Rovno
Stalag 360
Velikii Zhitin
Stalag 360
Novograd-Volynskii
Dulag 102
Dulag 172
Dulag 201
Dulag 171
Dulag 124
Stalag 301
Lutsk
Dulag 180
Vladimir-Volynskii
Stalag 365
Torczyn
Dulag 171
Dubno
KWG Dubno
Kovel'
Stalag 301
Dulag 171
Brest
Stalag 397
Dulag 314
Kobryn
Nevel'
Pinsk
Dulag 184
Linevo
Dulag 130
Biaroza-Katuzskaia
Sea of Azov
Black Sea

9f. Eastern Front: Camps in Eastern Ukraine
See Map 9c ▲
See Map 9a ▲
See Map 9d ▶
See Map 9e ▼
See Map 9b ▼
See Map 9g ▶
SOVIET UNION
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE
Sea of Azov
Valuyki
Sumy
Buryn
Belopol'e
Nikolaevka
Romny
Konotop
Dmitrievka
Priluki
Lokhvytsia
Piriatin
Lubny
Mirgorod
Khorol
Nikolaev
Kremenchug
Smela
Znamenka
Shpola
Kirovograd
Dergachi
Khar'kov
Kupyansk
Achtyrka
Gadiach
Taranovka
Bespalovka
Paniutino
Barvenkovo
Kramatorskaia
Druzhkovka
Lozovaia
Konstantinovka
Pavlograd
Poltava
Krasnograd
Novoekonomicheskoe
Chaplino
Sinel'nikovo
Dneprodzherzhinsk
Dneprepetrovsk
Zaporozh'e
Berdyansk
Nikitovka
Gorlovka
Ordzhonikidze
Malo Chistiakovo
Amvrosievka
Kuteinikovo
Nikolaevka
Taganrog
Stalino
Krasnaia Zvezda
Khanzhenkovo
Yeysk
AGSSt 4
AGSSt 2
AGSSt 21
AGSSt 5
AGSSt 19
AGSSt 15
Dulag 102
Dulag 192
Dulag 314
Dulag 384
Dulag 112
Dulag 137
Dulag 201
Dulag 190
Dulag 205
Dulag 231
Dulag 171
Dulag 363
Dulag 202
Dulag 180
Dulag 111
Dulag 124
Dulag 151
Dulag 170
Dulag 205
Dulag 231
Dulag 357
Dulag 172
Dulag 132
Dulag 162
Dulag 137
Dulag 120
Dulag 160
Dulag 388
Dulag 346
Dulag 363
Dulag 345
Dulag 111
Dulag 160
Dulag 231
Dulag 359
Dulag 132
Dulag 180
Dulag 191
Dulag 202
Dulag 348
Dulag 378
Dulag 387
Dulag 111
Dulag 202
Dulag 120
Dulag 181
Dulag 182
Dulag 137
Dulag 152
Dulag 312
Dulag 397
Dulag 378
Dulag 180
Dulag 111
Dulag 124
Dulag 201
Dulag 132
Dulag 172
Dulag 151
Dulag 180
Dulag 182
Dulag 162
Dulag 181
Dulag 387
Dulag 397
Dulag 202
Dulag 102
Dulag 155
Dulag 190
Dulag 182
Dulag 190
Dulag 201
Dulag 172
Stalag 308
Stalag 170
Stalag 384
Stalag 378
Stalag 388
Stalag 346
Stalag 345
Stalag 359
Stalag 202
Stalag 378
Stalag 387
Stalag 397
Stalag 312
Stalag 102
Stalag 123
Stalag 386
Stalag 305
Stalag 338
Stalag 378
Stalag 111
Stalag 162
Stalag 364
Stalag 370
Oflag 65
AGSSt 1
AGSSt 5
AGSSt 11
AGSSt 16
AGSSt 12
AGSSt 11
AGSSt 12
AGSSt 11
AGSSt 12
AGSSt 11

9h. Eastern Front: Camps in Crimea and Western Caucasus
REICHSKOMMISSARIAT
UKRAINE
SOVIET UNION
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
Dulag 201
Stalag 385
Marganets
Nikopol'
Stalag 385
Mariupol'
Dulag 201
Dulag 190
Dulag 152
Dulag 172
Berdyansk
Eisk
Dulag 183
Dulag 202
Atamanskaia
Kanevskaia
Dulag 183
Kavkazskaia
Dulag 102
Armavir
Dulag 134
Melitopol'
Dulag 241
AGSSt 12
Kalga
Dulag 241
AGSSt 12
AGSSt 11
Dulag 132
Dulag 181
Kerch
Dulag 132
Krasnodar
Maikop
Dulag 181
Dulag 172
Krymskaia
Khadyzhensk
AGSSt 16
Apsheronsk
Dulag 162
AGSSt 16
Armiansk
AGSSt 12
Taman Peninsula
Dulag 183
Dulag 172
Anapa
Novorossiisk
AGSSt 15
Tuapse
Dzhankoi
Dulag 123
AGSSt 11
Dulag 241
Stalag 370
Simferopol'
Feodosia
AGSSt 11
AGSSt 12
Sochi
AGSSt 11
Tole
Dulag 181
Sevastopol'
Yalta
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


9i. Eastern Front: Camps in Northern Caucasus
Don River
Caspian Sea
SOVIET UNION
Black Sea
Belaia Kalitva
RGL Belaia Kalitva
Volgodonsk
Shakhty
Stalag 386
Dulag 153
Dulag 162
AGSSt 5
Rostov
Dulag 192
Salsk
Dulag 135
Peschanokopskoe
Remontnoe
Dulag 124
AGSSt 22
Blagodarnyy
Dulag 202
Pavlovskaia
Dulag 202
Dulag 150
Tikhoretsk
Dulag 202
Voroshilovsk
AGSSt 11
Dulag 160
Mineral'nye Vody
Zelenokumsk
Dulag 152
Georgievsk
Mozdok
Petrovskoe
Dulag 102
Armavir
Timashevsk
Lysogorskaia
Dulag 180
Piatigorsk
Dulag 180
Prokhladnyi
Dulag 187
Dulag 160
AGSSt 11
AGSSt 12
Labinsk
Dulag 162
Apsheronsk
Gelendzhik
Tuapse
Sochi
City
Camp
CAPITAL CITY
City
0 25 50 km
0 25 50 mi
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


10. Camps in Tunisia
Mediterranean Sea
Sidi Ahmed
Bizerte
Cap Serrat
Jefna
Michaud
Mateur
Sedjenane
Saf-Saf
TUNIS
Annaba
Aïn Zammit
Menzel Temim
Beja
Massicault
Ksar Tyr
Cheylus
Goubellat
Nabeul
Hammamet
Bir M'Cherga
Jendouba
Zaghouan
Gulf of Hammamet
El Kef
Siliana
Drija
Boucha
Sousse
Monasir
Qairouan
Mahdia
Tbessa
Kasserine
ALGERIA
Sdid Bouzid
Sfax
TUNISIA
Gafse Gare
El Guettar
Gulf of Gabès
Gabès
Tozeur
Kebili
Medenine
Tataouine
Camp/ City
CAPITAL CITY
City
N
0 25 50km
0 25 50mi
LIBYA
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

WEHRMACHT PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

Any attempt to describe the Wehrmacht's administration of prisoners of war (POWs) tends to be a task that knows no bounds. At some point during World War II, a great many German soldiers were occupied on a full-time basis with POW affairs. If the guard personnel are included, the number of these soldiers was presumably in the six-figure range.[1] In addition, it should be noted that the management and deployment of POWs was a cross-sectional task involving the entire Wehrmacht. An unknown but large number of German soldiers were, therefore, confronted with POW issues to a greater or lesser extent. By way of comparison, the number of POWs who had to live in the Wehrmacht's POW camps for some length of time was in the high seven figures.

Nonetheless, the Wehrmacht's arrangement for handling POWs remains an underexplored topic of research. One of the reasons for the research gap is the absence or the inadequacy of the surviving records. The files related to war imprisonment, like other records, were accidentally destroyed during the hostilities or fell victim to conscious decisions to destroy them. As a case in point, on September 9, 1944, the Chief of POW Administration (*Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen*), under the control of the commander of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*)—and, thus, of the Reichsführer-SS, Heinrich Himmler—ordered the destruction of all files that could not be taken along during redeployments. The files of the POW camps, which have survived in a few instances, and even then, only in part, are one example of such records. With regard to the files of the command level, SS-Obergruppenführer Gottlob Berger, the last Chief of POW Administration, testified after the war that the files of his office had not been destroyed by his own staff and that he had given the personnel files and the most important documents to the US military. In fact, scarcely any

documents, particularly those dating from the final phase of the war, have survived.[2]

The desperate shortage of source material creates problems for the introductory remarks that follow. In tracing the development of POW administration in the different command areas, it would have been desirable to apply a uniform pattern as a helpful basis for comparisons. Unfortunately, this proved impractical as the developments did not always follow decisions made in advance, and, occasionally, organizational changes were more likely to be adjustments to changes that had already occurred. More than once, the absence of crucial documents meant that inferences as to the underlying decisions had to be drawn from reality on the ground. Therefore, the argument below is deductive sometimes but inductive at others.

Given the breadth of the subject matter reflected in this volume and the focus of this introduction on organizational issues, some limits must be set:

Part of the Wehrmacht's POW administration was simultaneously responsible both for the foreign prisoners in German custody and for the German soldiers imprisoned by the enemy. The following remarks, however, deal primarily with the foreign POWs in German hands; the "other side" is discussed only when this is a necessary part of the historical record.

The coverage is limited to the organizational structure of POW administration. The aim is not to write a history of the administration of POW affairs in its full breadth but to facilitate a better understanding of the camp system addressed in this volume.

At the forefront is the "desired structure" aimed at by the chief POW administrators; the degree to which it was realized and any problems in its implementation are addressed only if organizational changes were the result.

As the following remarks refer to organizational structures, great differences can be found between and among the various command areas. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this

situation might have led to similarly great differences in the handling of the POWs. How well or poorly a POW fared depended far more on the fundamental rules for the treatment of POWs from the country in question and the local situation than on the organizational structures of the Wehrmacht.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WEHRMACHT'S PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION

Quite a few readers may be inclined to believe that the Wehrmacht had a single unified POW organization. That was not the case, however. During the initial planning for the organization of POW administration in 1937, the Army (*Heer*) had still intended to assume absolute responsibility for all POWs. Such an approach had been rejected by the other branches of the Wehrmacht, particularly the Luftwaffe, in anticipation that by no means would all the future POWs be Army soldiers. The central responsibility for management of POW affairs was, therefore, entrusted to the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW).

At first a single Wehrmacht-wide POW system under OKW command seemed to be a possibility, but, at the start of the war, the Luftwaffe's proposal nonetheless gained acceptance: the Luftwaffe and the Navy (*Marine*) were allowed to establish their own camps for the members of enemy air and naval forces, respectively. As a result, only the Army remained the concern of the POW administration in the Armed Forces High Command—though, even this was subject to limitations. Not a single office was subordinate to it in the service chain of command or regarding deployment; its managerial authority was purely formal in nature.[3]

Initially, in 1939, all the POW facilities of the Army were still functionally subordinate to the POW administrative apparatus in the OKW. In 1940, however, with the campaign in the West and the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) in the leading role, an independent arrangement for POW administration also was created for the Field Army. The same thing occurred in the summer of 1941, when a new theater of war arose in the East. Under the authority of the Field Army, therefore,

were the POW facilities:

In France[4]

In the Army's theater of operations in the eastern theater of war

Three other theaters of war can only be mentioned briefly here:

The conquest of Poland in 1939 was so swift that there was no need to establish a POW organization there.

In the Netherlands and Belgium, POW district commandants (*Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandanten*) were deployed in the Army for the first time in 1940. Within a few months, however, this POW organization was merged into the POW administration in France.[5]

The German Armed Forces in Romania had a small POW administration. The same was true for Norway, Northern Italy in 1943, and the Balkans.[6]

In all these areas, the Field Army made its own decisions, which naturally depended also on the specific situation in these occupied territories.

Nonetheless, the POW apparatus in the Armed Forces High Command—far more extensive than the POW administrations of the Wehrmacht's other branches—retained a leading role with respect to all other POW organizations, including those of the Luftwaffe and the Navy. Functional regulations of the OKW were generally adopted unaltered, but printed on the branch's own letterhead or with an official cover letter attached to lend them legitimacy. With respect to organizations outside the Wehrmacht, such as the protecting powers and the aid societies, the OKW always played a leading role, acknowledged by all parties. Matters that transcended the Wehrmacht's sphere of authority were routed via the OKW. In addition, the special regulations applied only to the foreign soldiers in German custody but not to the German POWs in enemy hands. Here, the OKW remained responsible for all German POWs, no matter which branch of the Wehrmacht they belonged to. Thus, the head of POW administration in the Armed

Forces High Command, when issuing commands, constantly had to keep in mind the concerns of all three Wehrmacht branches, despite the fact that his practical influence was restricted to the Army. Moreover, he had to be mindful of the ramifications for the German POWs in foreign countries.[7]

Despite all the differences, there were also similarities among the various POW organizations of the Wehrmacht's branches. This is especially true of the basic structure, generally a three-tiered hierarchy:

A top-ranking authority had functional responsibility for the POWs; only the Navy had no centralized leadership entity.

If the area of responsibility was too big geographically or the number of POWs managed was too large, a second tier of the hierarchy was introduced: the Commanders of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*). If necessary, their regions could be subdivided, so this tier could also be described as having two levels. In places where the number of POWs was small, however, the second tier might well be completely absent.

The camps represented the lowest tier of the POW organization, at least in most cases, and especially in the early days of the war. In individual cases, particularly in that of the Replacement Army, entities below the camp level emerged over the course of the war, ultimately causing the camps to occupy an intermediate position.

Even though the three-tiered hierarchy above must be taken with a grain of salt for most of the component POW organizations of the Wehrmacht, this does not mean that the organizational structures would have been uniform. In fact, they differed substantially from one theater of war to another.

THE PRISONER OF WAR ORGANIZATION IN THE DOMAIN OF THE ARMED FORCES

HIGH COMMAND, 1939–1944

In the final analysis, the Armed Forces High Command was left with only the OKW command area, usually termed the OKW domain (*OKW-Gebiet*), consisting of the following areas, which were independent of each other:

- The command area of the Replacement Army, that is, the Home Command or Zone of the Interior (*Heimatkriegsgebiet*), including the annexed Polish territories
- The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, where no POW facilities were stationed
- The Generalgouvernement, where a commander of POWs on special assignment (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen z.b.V.*) was subordinate to the Military District Commander in the occupied territory (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber*)
- The Reich Commissariat for Ostland and the Reich Commissariat for Ukraine, each with a commander of POWs
- Norway and Finland, with several POW command posts (*Kommandostellen*), camps, and labor units
- The Italian theater of war after the occupation of Italy by the Wehrmacht
- The theater of war in the Balkans, beginning in 1944[8]

In addition, at one time or another, individual POW units were deployed in occupied countries, such as Denmark, and after 1940, Belgium and the Netherlands. Because no controlling administrative office (*Führungs-Dienststelle*) was deployed there, however, this could not be termed a POW organization.[9]

THE PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES HIGH COMMAND

For the central management of POW administration in these areas, the OKW had already created a command and control structure long before the war began. In September 1938, Major Hans-Joachim Breyer was appointed head of Group V, Prisoner of War

Administration and Central Records (*Kriegsgefangenenwesen und Zentralnachweis*), in the Domestic Department of the General Office of the Armed Forces (*Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt*, AWA) in the Armed Forces High Command. His job was to organize the scheme of POW administration for future military activities. Then, as of October 1, 1939, the POW administration, under the name "Department of Wehrmacht Casualties and Prisoner of War Administration" (*Abteilung Wehrmachtverluste und Kriegsgefangenenwesen*), headed by Major Breyer, acquired its organizational structure, geared to wartime deployment:

Group 1: Enemy Prisoners of War in Germany

Group 2: Administrative Affairs

Group 3: German Prisoners of War in Enemy Territory Group 4: Exchange and Internment in Neutral Foreign Territory

Group 5: Wehrmacht Information Office for War Casualties and Prisoners of War (WASt)

Group 6: Liaison with the Red Cross[10]

In accordance with the low casualty figures four weeks into the war, POW affairs were the focus of the work. Personnel losses were dealt with in Group 5, which was simultaneously the central office required under the international law of war to provide information about the fate of German soldiers and of enemy POWs in German custody.[11]

At first glance, the organizational plan may seem logical and useful, but the appearance is deceiving. To begin with, it is noteworthy that the fate of the German POWs in enemy hands and that of the enemy POWs in German custody were organizationally coupled together. As a result, it was repeatedly demonstrated to the department leadership in their daily work how greatly the fate of their own comrades in enemy hands depended on the Germans' treatment of the foreigners. Such a linkage was by no means a self-evident one. The POW organizations of the Luftwaffe, the Navy, and the Field Army, as well as that of the overall Wehrmacht, which will be further examined later, did not exhibit this linkage.

Outside Germany, for example, in the Soviet Union, the administrations for foreign POWs and those for Soviet POWs in other countries were not organizationally tied. In other countries, such as Poland, there did not even exist a unified, national-level POW administration.[12]

A second point must be added: the decision makers had learned from the experiences of World War I that POWs represented an indispensable labor pool. Nonetheless, labor deployment was not a focal point of the organizational structure; instead, from the outset, Wehrmacht leaders envisaged a cooperative arrangement with the Labor Administration.[13]

The schedule of responsibilities outlined above might create the impression that the Department of Wehrmacht Casualties and Prisoner of War Administration possessed comprehensive authorities; however, that was not so. Such a department within the General Office of the Armed Forces had merely the function of a task force. The central decisions were made by Hitler or by the leadership of the OKW and then relayed to the department head via the head of the General Office of the Armed Forces. Although the influence that can be wielded by skillful department leadership with professional expertise should not be underestimated, in the final analysis, and in most cases, central instructions regarding POW administration trace back to decisions made at the highest level, which could at best be modified by the expert bodies.[14]

The new department had to pass its first performance test in the first weeks of its existence, when it faced the influx of Polish POWs. The volume of work continued to grow in the spring of 1940 with the capture of French, Dutch, and Belgian soldiers. The French soldiers were transferred into the territory of the Reich for labor deployment.[15]

By early 1941, even before the invasion of the Soviet Union, it proved necessary to expand the organization. The area of responsibility referred to as “Casualties” was relocated as of March 1, 1941, along with the Wehrmacht Information Office, to create a new Department of Wehrmacht Casualties. The remaining sections were combined to form the new Department of POW Administration, which continued to be headed by Hans-Joachim Breyer, meanwhile promoted to the rank of Oberstleutnant.

Regarding the scope of tasks, there were changes at two points:

1. Communication with the Red Cross was now assigned to the Inspector for Prisoner of War Administration (*Inspekteur für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen*).
2. The area of responsibility known as "Enemy Prisoners of War" was divided into two groups, "Enemy Prisoners of War in Germany" and "Enemy Prisoners of War in Occupied Territories" (meaning France rather than the Soviet Union).[16]

The next step toward expansion was taken on March 1, 1942. The previous Department of POW Administration was upgraded to the status of an independent office: the Office Group of the Chief of Prisoner of War Administration, usually shortened to Chief of POW Administration. The new office group had two departments, one for general issues and relations with offices outside the Wehrmacht, and the other for the concrete organization of POW administration in the territory of the Reich. Oberst Hans von Graevenitz was appointed to head the new office group.[17]

One might suspect that the expansion was attributable to the large number of Soviet POWs captured by the Germans since the invasion of the Soviet Union. That is only partially accurate, however, as the Field Army built up its own POW organization for the Soviet POWs, in the Army's theater of operations in the east. This organization is discussed at a later point. The area of responsibility of the Chief of POW Administration, therefore, included only those Soviet POWs who were moved outside the operations zone in the East. Nonetheless, the influx of Soviet prisoners brought the number of POWs taken into Reich territory —mostly for the purpose of labor deployment—to a magnitude that necessitated a separate department within the office group to organize the personnel and resources. At the same time, however, this development produced a shift in relative importance: the area of responsibility known as "Foreign Prisoners of War" came to exert greater power than the area concerned with the German POWs in other countries.[18]

As aerial attacks made work in Berlin increasingly difficult, the office was moved to Torgau on the River Elbe, around 110 kilometers (68 miles) from Berlin, at the end of 1943 and

beginning of 1944. The move entailed a significant change in working conditions and placed a substantial constraint on working capacity, given the rising numbers of breakdowns in the road, rail, and telecommunications networks. A few months later, on April 1, 1944, Oberst Adolf Westhoff took command of the Office Group of the Chief of POW Administration. But probably the most sweeping change occurred as of October 1 with the complete reorganization of the scheme of POW administration, which is examined in a later section of this introduction.[19] the commander of a unit was authorized to issue orders and to control their execution through administrative supervision. He had helpers, of course, in the form of the staff, but characteristically they were permitted to sign orders only with the addition of the words "by order." This system could be adopted successfully in those units that the respective superior himself was still able to oversee, at least in principle. However, the commanders of the central Wehrmacht staffs, with hundreds of subordinate offices, were unable to meet the requirement that they exercise administrative supervision themselves. For this reason, inspectors were appointed and empowered to perform this task as substitutes for the major commanders.

THE INSPECTORS FOR PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION

Besides the official leadership of POW administration in the Armed Forces High Command, there existed two other authorities in POW affairs, the inspectors. Readers who are unfamiliar with contemporary organizational principles may be inclined to view this structural parallelism as the typical Nazi opposition of organizations. This was not the case, however; the Wehrmacht was applying a classical tenet of organizational theory: the line staff principle. In this approach, only On August 26, 1939, Generalmajor Winfried von der Schulenburg was appointed General on Special Assignment for POW Administration (*General z.b.V. für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen*). He was subordinate to and reported to the head of the General Office of the Armed Forces. He looked after foreign delegations visiting the POW camps. In addition, he supervised the camps for POWs and civilian internees run by all branches of the Wehrmacht on the soil

of the German Reich, but because he was not in a directly commanding position, he could only report shortcomings.[20]

As of December 1, 1939, the office was given a new name: Inspector for POW Administration (*Inspekteur für das Kriegsgefangenwesen*). Additional duties were entrusted to von der Schulenburg in the following years: from the fall of 1940, he supervised the Scapini Mission, and, beginning in the fall of 1941, he examined the labor deployment of the POWs regarding efficiency. As of April 1, 1943, General von der Schulenburg was replaced, and his job was taken over by the Chief of POW Administration, Oberst Hans von Graevenitz. Von Graevenitz retained his previous assignment and held both positions simultaneously. As of April 1, 1944, von Graevenitz was transferred to the front as a division commander. His successor as Chief of POW Administration was Oberst Adolf Westhoff. The position of Inspector for POW Administration, however, remained unfilled until it was assigned a completely new area of responsibility as part of the reorganization on October 1, 1944. During the vacancy period, the duties of the inspector were discharged "alternatively" by the Chief of POW Administration, in consultation with the second inspector in the POW administration, as discussed below.[21]

The main task of the Inspector for POW Administration—at least in the first two years of the war—had been to protect the rights of the POWs and ensure their proper care. In 1943, however, when the number of escapes by POWs rose to the level of an increasingly serious problem, Hitler, in response to Göring's suggestion, created a new position on July 1, 1943: Inspector General for POW Administration (*Generalinspekteur für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen*). His central task was to safeguard the interests of the detaining power, that is, to prevent POWs from escaping and boost the efficiency of labor deployment. Appointed to this post was Generalleutnant Otto Roettig, who was directly subordinate to the Chief of the Armed Forces High Command and reported to him. In the hierarchy, the Inspector General thus ranked above the Inspector for POW Administration and the Chief of POW Administration. As of October 1, 1944, with the restructuring of the system of POW administration, his area of responsibility was dropped, and the position was eliminated.[22]

THE PRISONER OF WAR ORGANIZATION OF THE REPLACEMENT ARMY

At the beginning of World War II, the Department of Wehrmacht Casualties and POW Administration existed as the leadership entity and commanded the few POW camps that had been set up in the Home Command for the military campaign in Poland. By the time the invasion of France began, their number had increased to approximately 40, some of them created by converting Dulags into Stalags. As a general rule, there were approximately two Stalags per Defense District (*Wehrkreis*); only in Defense Districts II (Stettin/Szczecin) and VI (Münster) was the number significantly higher than average, with five and seven camps, respectively.[23]

At the outbreak of the war, Ic (enemy situation) departments in the deputy corps headquarters (*Stellvertretende Generalkommandos*) of the respective Defense Districts acted as regional intermediate authorities between the Department of Wehrmacht Casualties and POW Administration and the camps. The institution of a "commander of prisoners of war" as an intermediate tier in the hierarchy at the level of the Defense Districts was in fact already provided for in the regulations, but, in reality, the post did not yet exist.

For the time being, however, an independent intermediate level in the system of POW administration started to develop not in the Home Command but rather in the conquered territories in the West.[24] In the sphere of the Replacement Army, at first, only a new Subject Group for POW Administration was set up in the headquarters of the Defense Districts as of July 1, 1940. Soon, however, the group was upgraded to an independent department: Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*). This process, which was far from being a synchronized occurrence in all the Defense Districts, was not concluded until March 1941. A connection to the upcoming attack on the Soviet Union seems tenuous at best, as there were no plans for bringing the Soviet POWs in substantial numbers into the territory of the Reich, thus creating no sizable burden on the administrative structure. The expansion is more likely attributable to the large number of French POWs who had been brought to Germany after the summer of 1940 and had to be integrated into

the economic process.[25]

Essentially, the Commander of Prisoners of War had three areas of responsibility:

- Command of the German troops under his authority
- Administration of the enemy POWs
- Support of the family members of German POWs in foreign countries.

Although the use of the POWs for the German economy was the central motive for bringing them into the territory of the Reich, the commander of POWs had no labor deployment department, as POW deployment was subject to the discretionary power of the civilian Labor Administration.[26]

If the number of POWs in the Defense District remained below the level of 15,000, the staff of the commander of POWs consisted of seven officers and nine noncommissioned officers (NCOs) or enlisted personnel, and thus was relatively small. If the POW figures exceeded that level, there were 13 officers and 20 supporting staff. In keeping with the low manning level, the range of responsibilities was limited. The Commander of POWs was the immediate—and, most notably, also the functional superior of the camps subordinate to him, that is, of the German camp administration as well as the POWs themselves. He was not responsible for supply, however—this was seen to by other administrative offices in the Defense District.[27]

The offices under the commander of POWs' authority can be classified into three groups:

- Guard units
- POW camps
- Labor and supply units

First, the guard units: originally, at least one Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) with four companies per Oflag and two battalions per Stalag was scheduled, but, with the increasing

occupancy figures, the number of guard units rose to as many as five per Stalag. Up to 240,000 members of these guard units are said to have been deployed in the OKW area. Absent numerical data, it can only be assumed that most of the guard forces were deployed in the Home Command. In addition, an unknown number of civilian workers were used as auxiliary guards.[28]

Each Defense District had one division for special assignment at its disposal to command the approximately 10–15 Reserve Battalions. These guard units were under the control of their divisions only in terms of service subordination; with respect to their deployment, the Stalag commandants were in charge. Originally, the operational areas of the Reserve Battalions in a Defense District had been scheduled to rotate at regular intervals so that their effectiveness would not be diminished by familiar routines. This arrangement apparently proved unsuccessful, however; if anything, the affiliation between the camp and its guard units became increasingly close as the guard units were assigned to "their" camps. At different points in time, they evidently became more and more closely tied to the Stalag commandants. Over the course of 1942, the divisions for special assignment were also disbanded, so that the Reserve Battalions were now completely subordinate to their respective Stalags.[29] A number of guard battalions were permanently classified as Stalag battalions for guarding the camp areas themselves; the others were assigned territorial districts (*Bezirke*) within which they were responsible for all guard duties. The districts were subdivided into company districts (*Kompaniebezirke*), which were further divided into section districts (*Abschnittsbezirke*). In terms of size, a company district might include two administrative districts (*Landkreise*). This was the situation at the end of 1942: the guard battalions had become a fixed component of the camp organization. In 1943 they began to take on additional duties, which are considered later.[30]

The second group of duty stations that were under the authority of the commander of POWs consisted of the POW camps. In the Home Command, in accordance with the objective of holding the POWs in custody over the long term, only Stalags, Oflags, and Ilags were deployed. Dulags were deployed only for a short time, in exceptional cases. These camps were distributed very unevenly

throughout the Defense Districts, as the table below shows.[31]

Quantitatively, the lower limit of the range is two Stalags in Defense District XX, and the upper limit is nine Stalags in Defense District VI; for the Oflags, the area of variation is between zero in Defense Districts I and XX and eight in Defense District VIII. On average, four Stalags and three Oflags were stationed in each Defense District. At first glance, it may seem surprising that the number of Oflags (53) was not very much smaller than the number of Stalags (74), as the share of officers in the total number of soldiers for most POW nationalities was only a few percentage points. Here, the differences in capacity between the two types of camps had an effect: an Oflag held at most a few thousand officers, but the number of soldiers confined in a Stalag was in the tens of thousands. Regionally, the distribution, though very uneven, does not reveal a clear tendency of any kind. A case in point: in the two Defense Districts, I and XX, that were located at the eastern edge of the Home Command, there were only eight Stalags and not a single Oflag, far fewer than the average. But the numbers were above average in the other two districts located in the east, VIII and XXI, where there were nine Stalags and eleven Oflags. A slight concentration of camps can be discerned only for the three adjoining Defense Districts (VII, XII, and XV) in the central part of the Home Command, with a total of 33 camps.[32]

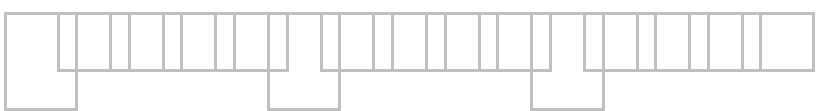
The main task of the Stalags was to deploy the prisoners as a labor force.[33] For this purpose, each Stalag was assigned a regional area of responsibility, which it had to supply with a workforce of POWs. Admittedly, the Labor Administration, which had a field office in every Stalag, handled the allocation of POW contingents to users, but the implementation of these objectives, that is, the concrete assignment of the POWs to places of employment, was up to the Stalag. The labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) formed in this way could range in size from a single POW allocated to assist a shoemaker in a village to a massive work detail made up of hundreds or even a few thousand POWs. The total number of labor detachments formed in the Home Command may have been as large as 50,000. Smaller detachments were led by NCOs; larger ones were under the command of an officer.[34]

During the period of labor deployment, the Stalag commandant

remained the superior of the POWs; the employers had no control over the prisoners, apart from professional managerial authority during the work. The commandant's status as superior officer, however, also implied responsibility. Even if the employer provided housing and rations, it remained the Stalag's task to verify that matters were properly handled. To this end, the Stalag had control officers, each of whom supervised a district. Nonetheless, the higher the number of deployed POWs and detachments rose, the less able the Stalag was to administer so many detachments by means of control officers. An organizational level below the Stalag and above the individual labor detachments proved increasingly necessary. A starting point for such a development had always existed: officers, as labor detachment commanders, were the disciplinary superiors of their POWs, and, from 1942, control officers, too, were appointed disciplinary superiors of the labor detachments they supervised. In this way, an intermediate level of superiors was created that developed over time.[35]

In early 1943, a new structure was created, in that the guard battalions no longer just kept watch over the POWs but also assumed personal responsibility for them. Thus, the battalion commander of the Reserve Battalion and, subordinate to him, also the company commanders and section heads became the immediate superiors of the POWs. The guard battalions were now responsible for the guarding, provisioning, and medical care of the POWs as well as their communications with the outside world. Moreover, these battalions had responsibility for the security and maintenance of the wards.[36]

The control officers, who had increasingly assumed the functions of superiors by the end of 1942, acquired a new range of duties in early 1943 because of reorganization. At the local level, they discharged the functions that the inspector possessed in the Armed Forces High Command. They were not under the control of the Reserve Battalions but rather directly subordinated to the Stalag commandant; on his behalf, they kept in touch with the labor offices, the police, and the employers. But, only two months later, another change took place: the direct subordination of the control officers to the Stalag commandants was revoked, and these officers were integrated into the Reserve Battalions.[37]



Defense District	Stalag	Oflag	Hilfslag	Total	Defense District	Stalag	Oflag	Hilfslag	Total	Defense District	Stalag	Oflag	Hilfslag	Total
I	6	0	0	6	VII	2	4	1	7	XIII	4	3	2	9
II	5	5	0	10	VIII	4	8	1	13	XVII	4	1	0	5
III	5	3	0	8	IX	3	3	0	6	XVIII	2	3	1	6
IV	7	4	0	11	X	3	4	0	7	XX	2	0	0	2
V	5	3	0	8	XI	2	2	0	4	XXI	5	3	0	8
VI	9	5	0	14	XII	6	2	0	8	Total	74	53	5	132

Even before this change, the regulations for large labor detachments had already provided for a small support unit, consisting of an office, medical facilities, and a paymaster's office. Now the respective company areas of authority were given a minicamp structure. Clothing storerooms and clothing repair shops, as well as detention rooms, had to be set up in all company sections, and responsibility for the facilities already in existence was transferred to the companies. In this way, an organizational structure that covered day-to-day needs came into being below the Stalag level, making contact between the Stalag and the POWs housed in a labor detachment—a miniature Stalag, to a certain extent—largely superfluous. A POW in the Home Command who was deployed outside the main camp lived not so much in a Stalag as in an environment created by the Reserve Battalion at his deployment site.[38]

The third, yet unmentioned, group of duty stations that were subordinate to the commander of POWs consisted of German-staffed labor and supply units. Unfortunately, the history of their establishment and the organization and operations of these units are mostly unexplored; thus, the following remarks can be neither thorough nor detailed.

First, the labor units: in the Home Command, they were generally established under the responsibility of local Stalags unless they were new creations and not the result of reorganizations. Because there were no replacement units for these formations, they must have been permanently assigned to Stalags that were responsible for personnel replacement. As soon as their initial organization was complete, the units were transferred to their regions of deployment—frequently to Norway or to the

eastern theater of operations. Construction and labor battalions usually remained in the Home Command, and the specialized units —roofer and glazier battalions—always did so.[39]

If the supply or labor units remained in the command area of the Commander of the Replacement Army (*Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres*, BdE), they were subordinate to the commander of POWs in the administrative chain of command— apparently directly subordinate, but on occasion they were also administratively assigned to the Stalags. With respect to deployment, we can distinguish two configurations: long-term construction projects, possibly in the context of air-raid precautions, on the one hand, and short-term repairs in connection with damage sustained in air raids, on the other hand. Responsible for the former group of measures were the commanders of the regional construction troops, who in turn were subordinate to the Inspectorate of Army Fortifications (*Inspektion der Festungen des Heeres*); for the latter group, the Defense District headquarters (*Wehrkreiskommandos*) had responsibility. This dilemma—the need to serve two masters— was resolved as of May 1944 by also subordinating the construction staffs, meanwhile renamed "senior regional construction engineer officers" (*Höhere Landes-Bau-Pionierführer*), to the Defense Districts.[40]

Little is known about the POW supply units of the Army. They do not appear to have been subordinate to a centralized leadership, and the purpose of their establishment was often localized. There, the POWs may have been primarily employed as "handymen."

That was the point to which the POW organization in the Replacement Army had developed by October 1944. The reorganization undertaken at that time, however, concerned not the lower levels of the hierarchy but primarily the top-level structure.

THE PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION OF THE FIELD ARMY

Regarding the following remarks, it is necessary to identify the differences among three groups of POWs. First, the units of the Field Army had the right to retain POWs they collected for use in their own area and not send them on to the POW organization.

Without authorization, however, the units were not allowed to absorb POWs as non-German volunteer forces, or Hiwis (*Hilfswillige*). Their status was probably comparable to that of the auxiliary personnel for the Luftwaffe and the Navy. This rule came into play only in the east, with respect to the Soviet POWs. This group seems not to have been registered by the Field Army and, therefore, is not considered in the remarks below.[41]

The second group was made up of the POW labor units and supply units. The former presumably were managed by the construction staffs; the organizational tie-in of the POW supply units, however, is undetermined. Infrequently, the existence of such units can be confirmed in the theater of operations of the Field Army, but the details of their deployment are not known. Therefore, they are also not a subject of this chapter.[42]

The third, and by far the largest, group consisted of the prisoners who were forwarded to the POW organization by Wehrmacht field units. The discussion below deals exclusively with them.

THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT

When the war began, the Field Army, like the Replacement Army, lacked a management organization for POW affairs. Coordination between the units of the Field Army with their collected POWs, on the one hand, and the receiving Stalags in the Home Command, on the other hand, was handled by the Department of Wehrmacht Casualties and POW Administration in the OKW. This allocation of responsibilities remained in effect during the "French campaign" (*Frankreichfeldzug*); it did not change until October 1, 1940.

The Quartermaster General Department (*Abteilung "Generalquartiermeister"*) had been in existence in the Army General Staff since August 1939. It also had a Group 2 for Questions of Executive Authority (*Fragen der vollziehenden Gewalt*), with a focus on POW affairs. Now, however, it was reorganized. The previous Quartermaster General, Generalleutnant Eugen Müller, assumed responsibility for the administration of justice in the Field Army, as General z.b.V. Next, Generalmajor Eduard Wagner was named the new Quartermaster General, a

position he retained until his suicide on July 23, 1944. The new Military Administration Department (*Abteilung Kriegsverwaltung*) now acquired a Group Qu4, which developed into the Field Army's central executive organ for POW administration. It oversaw two theaters of war: (1) France and Belgium in the west and (2) the theater of operations in the east, whose POW organization is discussed below.[43]

THE PRISONER OF WAR ORGANIZATION IN THE EAST

For the Military Administration Department, the Army Groups (*Heeresgruppen*) in the eastern theater of war, as the highest military staffs, should have been the immediate points of contact in the field forces. These staffs, however, were designed as operational commands and had no quartermaster departments at first. Supply issues, therefore, were a subject of negotiation between the Military Administration Department and the armies. Considering that there were 11 armies, which were attacking in an area spanning more than 1,000 kilometers (600 miles), this procedure soon proved impractical. As a result, outposts of the Military Administration Department were set up in the army groups to serve as intermediary bodies. Later, in December 1941, they were absorbed into the staffs of the army groups as Departments of the Senior Quartermaster (*Oberquartiermeisterabteilungen, OQU-Abteilungen*); such departments also had a Group Qu2, which was responsible for POW affairs. The armies, on the other hand, had always had Departments of the Senior Quartermaster—and thus also the subject group known as Qu2. Because the subordinate staffs—corps and divisions— did not possess such specialized departments for POW affairs, the Senior Quartermaster Departments of the army staffs represented the forwardmost expert bodies in the POW administration system; they developed into the key positions that were responsible for the organization of POW administration in the eastern theater of war.[44]

Thus, there did exist a chain of command for administrative concerns in the system of POW administration, but, at the same time, there was a need for functional supervision. In preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Wehrmacht had already

begun to set up new POW district commandants' staffs (*Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandanten-Stäbe*), identified by alphabet letters, for deployment in the east in the summer of 1940. Three of them were created in the summer of 1940, 10 followed in the winter of 1940–1941, and 5 more were added in September and October 1941. In total, there were 18 such commands (*Führungsstäbe*) that were intended for cooperation with the army staffs or the rear commanders, as had been arranged in the "French campaign" as well.[45]

Just as there were initially no senior quartermaster departments in the army group staffs, there were no POW staffs for this command level either. Beginning with the commander of the Rear Army Area South in January 1942, by July 1942, all the army groups were equipped with commanders of POWs. Thus a differentiation was made that had not existed until then: commanders of POWs were installed at each topmost command level, that is, with the army groups, the commanders of the rear Wehrmacht areas (*Wehrmachtgebiete*), and the Wehrmacht commanders. Subordinate to them in turn were several POW district commandants, each of whom operated at the level of an army.[46]

Both types of POW commands were utilized flexibly. In some cases, a commander of POWs served as the adviser of the commander of an army group, while at the same time a POW district commandant was integrated into the staff of the army group as head of a subject group for POW administration. Even more frequently, district commandants were incorporated into the army staffs. In the rear areas, however, in some cases the district commandants were dependent on cooperation with individual security divisions, which in turn provided the guards for the camps that were under the authority of the district commandant. The chains of command varied widely. The closer to the front a POW facility was deployed, the more tightly it was incorporated into the command structures of the frontline troops. In rear areas, however, the commanders could, indeed, also be the immediate superiors of their camps. Only the functional oversight was always theirs to perform. The situation thus differed markedly from that in the Home Command, where the commanders were always the immediate superiors of their camps.

An additional point of contrast: in the Home Command, the Commanders of POWs were responsible neither for the evacuation of POWs nor for their labor deployment. In the Army's theater of operations, however, this was precisely the chief task of the leadership entities (*Führungsinstanzen*) in the system of POW administration. Important topics were the assignment of POW labor detachments to construction projects of the Organisation Todt, the Luftwaffe, or even the Army itself. Such projects could include repairing roads or rail lines, clearing snow, building fortifications, or the like. At the same time, the forwarding of the POWs from the army prisoner collection points (*Armeegefangenensammelstellen*) to the camps and their further evacuation to the army rear areas (*Armeegebiete*) or Army areas (*Heeresgebiete*), or to the OKW area, had to be arranged.[47]

For carrying out these tasks, that is, both for the transfer of the POWs and for labor deployment, various types of POW camps were allocated to the Field Army, as the table on the following page indicates:[48]

Type	Before June 22, 1941	Remainder of 1941	1942 and later	Total
AGSSt	22	0	20	42
Dulag	37	8	9	54
Oflag in the east	5	0	6	11
Oflag in the Reich	7	0	0	7
Stalag in the east	37	9	17	63
Stalag in the Reich	13	1	0	14
Total	121	18	52	191

In all, 191 camps were activated for deployment in the Soviet Union, 121 of them before the invasion began and the rest later. Seven Oflags and 13 Stalags that originally were also established

for the eastern theater of war were kept in the Home Command. The most common type of camp was the Stalag—an indication that the labor deployment of the POWs in the theater of operations played an important role. In addition to the facilities listed above, other camps, originally established for other operational areas, were redeployed to the east. They also included camps with Roman numerals as identifiers; however, within six months they all were reorganized as camps with Arabic numeral identifiers.[49]

In contrast to the Home Command, the commandants had no directly subordinate guard battalions available for guarding these camps. One of the tasks of the POW district commandants, therefore, was always to ensure the guarding of the camps and the transports. This may explain why AGSSts and Dulags, as the forwardmost points, were equipped with a budgeted guard platoon, beginning in 1943. Otherwise, guards who were not subordinate to the camp personnel were provided to the camps in accordance with availability.[50]

The following table may give an impression of the size of the guard forces:[51]

Date	German soldiers	Volunteers	Total	POWs
January 1, 1942	14,000	4,000	18,000	450,000
September 1, 1943	13,000	11,000	24,000	213,000
September 1, 1944	13,000	3,000	16,000	90,000

Strikingly, the table above reveals that volunteers—Ukrainians, generally—were used for guarding their comrades. In the Home Command, this would not have been possible, but here—with Hitler's official permission—it could be done. Equally surprising is the small number of guards relative to the total number of prisoners. In early 1940, the prisoner-to-guard ratio was four guards per 100 prisoners. This finding is confirmed by descriptions in reports stating that three soldiers had "guarded" 1,000 POWs on a march.[52] As the front receded, beginning in approximately 1943,

the POW organization also changed.

THE FINAL PHASE OF THE FIELD ARMY'S POW ADMINISTRATION

In 1942, after losing ground in the winter, the Wehrmacht had managed to conquer sizable eastward territories in the spring. Beginning in 1943, however, conquest gave way to retreat. This development compelled changes throughout the POW organization. They began first at the command level: the offices of the POW district commandants and the commanders of POWs were abolished in late 1943 and early 1944. In Army Group Center and Army Group North, their range of duties, in part, continued to be performed at first by "representatives for POW administration" (*Beauftragte für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen*). Six months later, however, these posts also were axed. The tasks of the commanders or district commandants were assumed by the Qu2 groups of the senior quartermasters. The reason for the cuts—besides the shortage of personnel—was probably the fact that, by the fall of 1944, there was hardly an Army theater of operations outside the territory of the Reich.[53]

At the level of the camps, too, major changes took place. First, a shortage of auxiliary personnel arose, because the frontline units were bringing in fewer and fewer POWs. Consequently, Italian military prisoners were taken from the Home Command to the eastern front, so that in this sense the flow of POWs was reversed.[54]

In addition, the quartermaster general decided to reorganize the fundamental structure of POW administration. Many Dulags and the Stalags designed for permanence were closed; on the other hand, 20 new AGSSts were established. Now the POWs were supposed to be taken by the AGSSts directly to the Stalags in the territory of the Reich, without having passed through Dulags.

On October 1, 1944, when the POW administration systems of the Armed Forces High Command, the Luftwaffe, and the Navy were reorganized, the POW organization of the Field Army was not affected by these changes—for all practical purposes, it hardly existed anymore. Also, in October 1944, the Quartermaster General Department was restructured, and Subject Group Qu4 in

the Military Administration Department, which until then had been in charge, was eliminated. The remaining tasks of POW administration were now discharged by Section Qu2 in the staff of the Quartermaster General. The result was a return to the organizational form of POW administration that had existed in the Field Army up until 1940.[55]

THE PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION OF THE LUFTWAFFE

As previously mentioned, during the initial planning for POW administration before the war began, central responsibility had been assigned not to the Army but rather to the Armed Forces High Command (OKW), because the Navy and the Luftwaffe did not want the POWs to be completely removed from their influence. Nonetheless, only at the outset was the Commander in Chief of the Luftwaffe, Hermann Göring, content with unified POW administration under the leadership of the OKW. By the end of 1939, the first Luftwaffe POW camps were activated, but after such camps began to increase in number in 1942, a separate POW organization of the Luftwaffe also came into being.[56] It differed in several crucial points from the POW organizations of the OKW and the other branches of the Wehrmacht:

- While the leading organizations under the OKW and the other Wehrmacht branches experienced only a few changes in POW administration and exhibited substantial continuity in personnel, the Luftwaffe presented a quite different picture.
- The Luftwaffe had responsibility only for the maintenance of the foreign POWs in its own custody but not for the welfare of German members of the Luftwaffe in enemy hands.
- The Luftwaffe had POW camps only within the territory of the Reich but not outside its borders.
- The number of Luftwaffe camps was small; for the forwarding of "Luftwaffe POWs" from the time they were captured to the moment they entered a Luftwaffe camp, or for their transport between various camps or deployment locations, the Luftwaffe had to either rely on other organizational sectors—

generally the Army—or create ad hoc structures itself.

In contrast to the POWs of the Armed Forces High Command, the POWs in Luftwaffe custody were classified in three different status groups.

The fate of these three status groups are discussed first. Thereafter, the top-level organization will be addressed, because the change in the top-level structure resulted from the changes in the individual status groups.

THE PRISONERS OF WAR OF THE LUFTWAFFE

The first group consisted of the members of enemy air forces. It included not only air crews that had been shot down but also all other members of enemy air forces who had been taken into German custody in other ways. They were confined in camps of the "Stalag Luft" type, the POW camps of the Luftwaffe. Quantitatively, this was the smallest group; nonetheless, it was always at the center of public interest.[57] The second group, beginning in 1941, was made up of POWs—mostly Soviet citizens, but, from 1943, Italians as well—who were deployed in supply and labor units of the Luftwaffe. In the third group were the Soviet POWs who, beginning in 1942, served as "auxiliary personnel" (*Behelfspersonal*) in regular posts, chiefly in air defense, where they replaced up to 30 percent of the German personnel, who could then be deployed at the front.[58]

Two additional groups deserve mention:

Labor detachments of POWs who were detailed from Stalags for specific jobs but fundamentally remained the responsibility of the Stalags. The remarks on the Army's Stalags provide information about this group.

Released, primarily Soviet, POWs who worked in the service of the Wehrmacht in return for payment. This group is not part of the subject area of the present work.[59]

Airmen

To begin with, Dulag Luft in Oberursel and Stalag Luft in Barth

were established for this first group.[60] Until the Dulag Luft in the East were set up in 1943, all POWs in Luftwaffe custody passed first through Dulag Luft, where they were interrogated before being transferred to the Stalag. The chains of command for the first Luftwaffe camps corresponded to those of the Army in the territory of the Reich:

- For service matters, the camps were subordinate to the respective territorial Luftwaffe staff, the administrative command headquarters (*Luftgaukommando*).
- For prevention of sabotage and espionage, the respective counterintelligence office (*Abwehrstelle*) was responsible.
- Collection and evaluation of intelligence took place in association with Luftwaffe Operations Staff/Ic (*Luftwaffenführungsstab/Ic*).
- The physicians of the administrative command headquarters oversaw medical services.
- Reserve (*Landesschützen*) companies and platoons of the Luftwaffe were responsible for guarding the camps. These units were not subordinate to a POW camp but rather to the quartermaster department (*Quartiermeisterabteilung*) of the administrative command headquarters.[61]

These airmen, or "fliers," differed from the POWs of the Army in terms of their personnel composition. The proportion of officers was approximately 25 percent, around 10 times that of the Army's POWs. In contrast to the Army, the Luftwaffe did not house officers and NCOs in separate camps. The officers were not required to work, and the NCOs could be used only for supervisory duties. Because these camps lacked enlisted personnel —apart from the orderlies—whose work the NCOs could have supervised, only a few Luftwaffe POWs performed any work in the Stalags of this branch, and then only on a voluntary basis. Consequently, the Stalag Luft camp areas were the permanent location of the POWs and were comparable to the officer camps of the Army, in which the POWs also did not work and, therefore, spent all their time in the camp area. The Stalags of the Army, in

contrast, housed only a fraction of the POWs in their camp areas.[62]

The length of the war and the associated increase in the numbers of POWs made it necessary to activate additional camps for POWs: Stalag Luft 1 in 1941 as well as Stalag Luft 3 and Stalag Luft 4 in 1942. A further increase took place in 1943, when three more camps in the Stalag Luft category were established: 5, 6, and 7. At Army Stalag XVII B, in Gneixendorf, a subcamp for Luftwaffe POWs, under Luftwaffe command, was set up within the Stalag.[63]

In September 1943, when Hitler launched Operation Axis (*Fall "Achse"*), triggering the occupation of Italy, there was a change in the situation of POWs. Until then, the Italian army had taken care of all Allied servicemen captured in Italy, but now they were seized by the Germans and became the responsibility of the Wehrmacht. To gather those prisoners who were airmen and transport them in a body to Germany, the Luftwaffe set up its own forwarding center in Verona— though, not until February 1945, a startlingly late point in time.

Prisoners of War in the Labor Units of the Luftwaffe

The second group of POWs in Luftwaffe hands consisted of Soviet POWs who were used as auxiliaries in supply and construction units. With the change in subordination from the Army to the Luftwaffe, they were regarded as Luftwaffe POWs.[64]

Such POW contingents had been utilized since 1941, principally to work on construction projects of the Luftwaffe (on the eastern front, in most cases). But because the Luftwaffe, unlike the Army, had no POW camps outside the territory of the Reich, it developed a type of POW camp that, from an organizational standpoint, falls somewhere between a regular Stalag and a labor detachment: the POW labor camps of the Luftwaffe. These camps were designed for longer-term deployment; that is, their structure went beyond that of a labor detachment. They exercised the personnel management function of a Stalag but were not budgeted and did not have staff who were specially trained to manage POWs.[65] They had a distribution function for the labor deployment of POWs locally and, if necessary, also within a larger geographic area. Subordinated to these labor camps, there were, if needed,

also labor detachments with their own housing areas, but they had none of the earmarks of a regular camp. For dealing with these POWs, who were not airmen but rather "labor" prisoners, the Luftwaffe had no treatment guidelines of its own; therefore, the relevant orders of the Field Army were applied here.[66] As the boundaries between such Luftwaffe POW labor camps and Army camps with labor detachments that occasionally performed work for the Luftwaffe appear to have been fluid, we may not always have succeeded in making this differentiation correctly in every setting covered in this volume.

Alongside the POW labor contingents that served as labor detachments in support of Luftwaffe duty stations, the Luftwaffe began in 1943 to organize Luftwaffe (K) construction battalions (*Luftwaffenbaubataillone* [*K*])—to a significant extent, at least, by putting the POWs deployed as auxiliaries into these new units. Beginning in July 1943, most of the units were formed by restructuring existing construction battalions as (K) construction battalions with German framework staff and POWs (primarily Soviet) as labor. Most of these units were deployed on the eastern front and in Nor-way or Finland.[67] To organize this deployment administratively, the Luftwaffe established the Central Control Center for Prisoners of War (*Zentralleitstelle für Kriegsgefangene*) in Finland.

Weighty changes took effect on May 1, 1944, when the Luftwaffe construction organization was restructured.[68] Until that time, Organisation Todt, acting virtually as a general contractor, had implemented the Luftwaffe's construction projects; now, with the designation "Chief of Luftwaffe Construction" (*Chef des Luftwaffenbauwesens*), it also assumed managerial responsibility. Organisation Todt directed the deployment of the construction units, and thus of the POWs as well. For the service-related command and control of the construction troops, a new department was created: the General of the Luftwaffe Construction Forces, Chief of Luftwaffe Construction (*General der Luftwaffenbautruppen beim Chef des Luftwaffenbauwesens*).[69]

Prisoners of War as Auxiliaries

The third status group, the auxiliary personnel, came into being during the second half of 1942. POWs of the Army were "temporarily" transferred to Luftwaffe duty stations, particularly to the antiaircraft artillery units, and to the signal communication troops and other units. They were released from the sphere of authority of the Army—and from that of the OKW as well—and handed over to the Luftwaffe. In these units, up to 30 percent of the positions could be filled with POWs, thus freeing up German soldiers for use elsewhere. While the prisoners retained their status permanently, after a two-month probationary period they could be treated in the same way as prisoners who had been released for deployment as auxiliary volunteers in noncombat roles (Hiwis).[70]

At this point, no transfer organization existed that carried out the forwarding and distribution (and, if need be, also the retransfer) of the POWs from the Army Stalags to the Luftwaffe units. The Luftwaffe had several POW camps in the territory of the Reich, but they were reserved for airmen; furthermore, by no means did they constitute a comprehensive network. Originally, it had been envisaged that each Luftwaffe administrative command headquarters would establish a collection camp (*Sammellager*) for the distribution process, but we could only verify the existence of a central distribution center—the (F) replacement camp (*Ergänzungslager* [*F*]) for Soviet POWs in Wolfen—and a small number of camps in the territory of the Reich. In the spoken and written language of the Wehrmacht as well as the civilian offices, these collection camps were sometimes termed "transit camps" (*Durchgangslager*). The typical features of a regular camp—inclusion in the budget and a personnel management function—were absent in these cases, however.

In the summer of 1944, there was a change in the chain of command. Generalleutnant Walther Grosch, until then the head of Luftwaffe Inspectorate 17, was assigned command of the Office of the General for Foreign Personnel of the Luftwaffe (*General für ausländisches Personal der Luftwaffe*) on June 29, 1944. He was principally responsible for the POWs deployed in antiaircraft artillery units. To reduce his workload, the Inspector for Foreign Personnel East (*Inspizient für ausländisches Personal Ost*), Generalleutnant Heinrich Aschenbrenner, was assigned to him. In December 1944, Aschenbrenner's position was renamed Inspector

of Ostland Personnel (*Inspekteur des ostländischen Personals*). This chain of command remained unaltered until the end of the war.[71]

THE TOP-LEVEL STRUCTURE OF THE LUFTWAFFE

When the war began, the Luftwaffe had no POW organization, considering the small number of camps. Initially, the camps were subordinate to the department of the Armed Forces High Command that had responsibility for POW administration. By 1942, however, the expansion of the camp system made it necessary to institute a coordinating office. As a result, in April 1942, the commandant of the newly established Stalag Luft 3, Oberst Freiherr Friedrich-Wilhelm von Lindeiner-Wildau, was simultaneously named commander of the POW camps of the Luftwaffe. In the service chain of command, the camps remained subordinate to the respective Luftwaffe administrative command headquarters (*Luftgaukommando*), but functionally they were now under the management of von Lindeiner-Wildau. This development was the first step toward establishing an independent POW administration for the Luftwaffe. The very first expansion of the Luftwaffe's POW organization took the same course as the subsequent ones. The first step was not the establishment of a leadership organization that then guided and gave a particular form to the expansion; rather, the leadership organization developed in reaction to the demands made by practical experience.[72]

In addition, however, from 1941, and particularly from 1943, the Luftwaffe assumed responsibility for another status group: POWs who were transferred from the Army to the Luftwaffe. Presumably, as a result of this expansion of the scope of duties, the dual function of commandant of Stalag Luft 3 and commander of the Luftwaffe's POW camps was abolished on October 21, 1942, and the office of the Inspector of POW Administration for the Luftwaffe (*Inspizient des Kriegsgefangenenwesens der Luftwaffe*) was created.[73]

The Inspectorate of Luftwaffe Construction Troops (LIn 17) had already been created on June 8, 1942, originally for the construction troops who were not POWs. As POWs were now included in the budgeted personnel strength of the Luftwaffe

construction and labor units, and thus were permanently subordinate to the Luftwaffe personnel structure, it made sense also to put LIn 17 in charge of the POWs deployed there. Therefore, on May 1, 1943, the responsibility for all POWs of the Luftwaffe, including the airmen in the Luftwaffe Stalags, was transferred, and the name was accordingly changed to "Luftwaffe Inspectorate for Construction Troops and POWs" (*Luftwaffeninspektion für Bautruppen und Kriegsgefangene*, LIn 17). Luftwaffe Inspectorate 17, as the managerial authority of the POW administration of the Luftwaffe, was, in principle, on an equal footing with the POW administration in the Armed Forces High Command. The POW camps and units were functionally subordinate to it. With respect to service matters, the camps and labor units were subordinate to the respective territorial command authorities of the Luftwaffe; the labor units received their orders from the local Luftwaffe construction staffs.[74]

A purely nominal change took place as of May 1, 1944: in recognition of their accomplishments, all units, forces, and administrative offices of the Wehrmacht whose names contained the word "construction" (*Bau*) were awarded in its place the term "engineer" (*Pionier*). Accordingly, Luftwaffe Inspectorate 17 received a new name: Luftwaffe Inspectorate for Luftwaffe Engineers and Prisoner of War Camps (*Luftwaffeninspektion für Luftwaffen-Pioniere und Kriegsgefangenenlager*).[75]

Weightier changes appeared in the summer of 1944. As a result of the restructuring of Luftwaffe construction, LIn 17 lost its responsibility for the construction units. The same applied to the POWs deployed as auxiliaries with antiaircraft artillery units; they were subordinated to the General for Foreign Personnel of the Luftwaffe. Thus, Luftwaffe Inspectorate 17 had lost responsibility for a large part of "its" POWs by the summer of 1944. Consequently, LIn 17 received a new name in October 1944: Inspectorate of the Luftwaffe Engineers, Reserve, and Transport Escort Detachments (*Inspektion der Luftwaffen-Pioniere, Landesschützen und Transportbegleitkommandos*).[76]

At first, LIn 17 still retained responsibility for the Luftwaffe's POWs in the narrow sense, that is, the airmen in the Stalag Luft camps. Here, the situation had already begun to heat up by the

spring of 1944 when the mass escape of 76 Western POWs from Stalag Luft 3 (Sagan/Żagań) reinforced the impression that the Wehrmacht, generally, was unable to cope with guarding the prisoners. In March 1944, Göring proposed to Hitler that all POW administration be made the responsibility of the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA). The final precipitating event for the reorganization of the entire system of POW administration, however, was the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944. All POW camps—not only those of the Army but also those of the Luftwaffe and the Navy—were made subordinate to the already existing office: Chief of POW Administration, which, in turn, was no longer directly under the control of the OKW but of the commander of the Replacement Army—the Reichsführer-SS, Heinrich Himmler. In service-related matters, all the camps were under the authority of the commander of POWs in the respective Army Defense District—and thus, in the final analysis, also under that of Himmler as the commander of the Replacement Army. With that, the phase of independent POW administration by the Luftwaffe had ended.[77]

However, by no means did this imply that all the Luftwaffe's POWs had now been put under the control of the Army. The POWs deployed in the Luftwaffe units continued to be under the authority of the General of Luftwaffe Construction Troops, Chief of Luftwaffe Construction, or, alternatively, under that of the General for Ostland Personnel of the Luftwaffe. It can only be assumed that the POWs deployed in the supply units were also subordinate to the General for Ostland Personnel.

THE PRISONER OF WAR ORGANIZATION OF THE NAVY

Anyone familiar with the names "Marlag Sandbostel" and "Milag Westertimke" (*Marinelager*, for naval military personnel; *Marineinterniertenlager*, for interned merchant seamen) denoting POW camps used for naval personnel would assume that the German Navy must have had a POW organization. The literature, however, contains no facts about the concrete configuration of such an organization. Furthermore, the numerous statements about POW affairs prepared by Wehrmacht officers

during the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg mention only the corresponding organizations of the Armed Forces High Command, the Field Army, and the Luftwaffe; no reference is made to a Navy POW administration.[78]

Research in the collections of the German Federal Archives (*Bundesarchiv*) yielded the same result: no routine order for the administration of POWs, no instructions for an office with central responsibility, no announcement of the appointment of a corresponding superior officer could be traced. Relevant Navy rules and regulations did exist, but they are merely Army manuals that had been given a Navy identifier without a single word of the text having been changed. Only the existing official correspondence between the camps and other administrative offices, in addition to the bulletins of "daily orders" (*Stationstagesbefehle*) that were published at regular intervals by the Navy's Station Commands, provides one clue or another. Given the sketchiness of the available information, we approach here the nature of the Navy's POW administration through inductive reasoning, based on the available records, without any effort to obscure the fact that "blank areas" remain.[79]

Regarding the POWs in Navy hands, the focus has been, and continues to be, on the navy captives, but they were by no means the only prisoner category. There existed two additional groups of prisoners, quite different in status:

Civilian internees—in the case of the Navy, primarily the crews or passengers of enemy civilian vessels that had been captured by German warships

POWs—Soviets at first, later Italians too—who were transferred from Army camps to the Navy to serve as auxiliaries in Navy units to replace German personnel. Similar steps were taken by the Luftwaffe.

Two other categories are not addressed here. The first consists of the enemy army or air force personnel who were captured by German naval forces. They were transferred directly to the Army or the Luftwaffe. The second group includes POWs who, on orders from the offices in charge of labor deployment, were removed

from Army Stalags and assigned to Navy labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). These POWs performed work for the Navy—limited to the duration of the project—but without being permanently transferred to the custody of this branch of the Wehrmacht. Their fate, therefore, is discussed in the section dealing with the Army camps. As with the Luftwaffe, however, inadequate information sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between Soviet POWs who worked permanently in Navy organizations as auxiliary personnel and members of labor detachments from Army Stalags who were deployed there for a limited time.

NAVAL PRISONERS OF WAR AND CIVILIAN INTERNEES

When World War II began, there were no guidelines from the Navy leadership for dealing with POWs and selecting the places of confinement for POWs in Navy custody. Such instructions were not issued until one month later, in early October 1939. In them, the Navy made it clear that it was not planning to set up POW camps of its own.[80]

With respect to the procedures for dealing with the prisoners, differences developed between Station Command North Sea and Station Command Baltic. In the sphere of the former—albeit not until February 1, 1940—one accommodation facility in each of the nine section commands (*Abschnittskommandos*) was named as a temporary holding site for POWs. Station Command Baltic firmly declined to name collection points.[81]

The interim accommodations were not incorporated into the budget as permanent establishments for the administration of POWs but rather were improvised installations. They were used not only to house but also to interrogate the POWs, and, thus, they had an additional role as evaluation and interrogation centers. Once the questioning was at an end, the prisoners were transferred to Army POW camps as their destination.

As the number of POWs who were naval personnel was small, in the Navy's view it presumably was not worth the effort to create a POW organization of its own. Nonetheless it is astonishing that the naval POWs, after the temporary accommodation period, were

taken to three different Oflags and three different Stalags. These facilities even included one located in Bavaria, Stalag VII A (Moosburg). This form of organization was far from convenient, should the Navy at some point be inclined to retrieve "its" POWs. Even so, five months after the onset of the war—and, thus, belatedly—the Navy now had, for its sphere, a fixed procedure. As in the case of the Luftwaffe, labor deployment of the POWs was not envisaged.[82]

From mid-1940, the expansion of the war to Western Europe meant that the Navy had ports abroad, particularly along France's Atlantic coast, where German warships could dock and bring captured naval personnel and civilian ships' crews, possibly passengers as well, on land. Orders regarding their treatment and transport to Germany are not known but reports by former POWs and internees provide a clear picture. The first sizable group of this kind consisted of the approximately 400 members of civilian ships' crews who arrived in Bordeaux aboard the supply ship *Rio Grande* in mid-December 1940. They were accommodated in Frontstalag 221 (St. Médard), an Army camp, near Bordeaux. A similar collection point, presumably for prisoners who had been brought on land in Lorient or Saint-Nazaire, was in Vannes, in Frontstalag 183. POWs arriving in Brest, however, were housed in a makeshift camp, guarded by the Army. After a stopover in one of the Frontstalags (111, 112, or 220 near Paris) they were transported from their respective collection sites into the territory of the Reich. Similar transport routes developed for prisoner groups from Norway via Dulag Gotenhafen (today Gdynia, Poland) and from Greece via Thessaloniki. In this interrogation and transit arrangement, the Navy appears merely to have supplied the interrogation teams; regarding the camp infrastructure of the transportation system, however, it relied heavily on the Army.[83]

The Navy did not have a POW camp system of its own until the beginning of 1941. First, in February 1941, Marlag Milag Sandbostel was established. It was followed, in May 1941, in the west by Marine Dulag Nord, and, in June 1941, in the east by Marine Dulag Gotenhafen for Soviet naval personnel. The reason for this development may have been the growing number of naval POWs and civilian internees. Presumably, however, intelligence-related considerations also played a role. Indeed, at first the

temporary accommodation sites on the Baltic and North Sea coasts had been designed as evaluation and interrogation centers. Over the course of 1940, additional collection sites had arisen in foreign countries, thus increasing the need to concentrate the capacities for evaluation and interrogation. While the Army used Dulags primarily as transit facilities, the Navy's two Dulags had the same function as the Dulags run by the Luftwaffe. The prisoners were not sent elsewhere until the questioning had been concluded. From mid-1941, however, their final destination, the place where they were to spend the remainder of their captivity in Germany, was no longer an Army POW camp; rather, it was Marlag Milag Sandbostel, which very soon was relocated to Westertimke, not far from Sandbostel.[84]

In the service chain of command, the earliest camp, Marlag Milag Sandbostel, was under the control of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (Hamburg), that is, an Army administrative office, during the entire period of its existence, until its closure in the fall of 1942. In fact, the camp was merely a subdivision of Army Stalag X B. Only from late 1941, with the relocation from Sandbostel to Westertimke, did the Navy emancipate itself from the Army to the extent that Station Command North Sea now assumed responsibility for the camp. In any case, from the time of their initial organization, the two Dulags had already been under the control of Station Command North Sea or Station Command Baltic. The Navy's POW administration thus consisted of one Dulag in the west and one in the east as well as a main camp as the "final destination" for all naval POWs. Thus, it had reached its final stage of development, which continued unchanged until the termination of the Navy's administration of POWs in the fall of 1944.

In service-related matters, the camps were directly subordinate to Station Command North Sea or Station Command Baltic. Functional management was evidently in the hands of the Naval Defense Office (*Marinewehramt*), though this entity seems to have had no central responsibility and no department or group for POW affairs. Orders of the Chief of POW Administration in the OKW were passed on— generally, with no change in content—to the camps by the functionally responsible departments of the Station Commands. Not even a centralized, Navy-wide personnel

management function is identifiable. In general, the Navy seems to have been anxious to keep its own administrative spending for the POWs as low as possible, in part, by repeatedly calling on the Army for support.[85]

In only one area does the Navy appear to have had a prerogative of its own, one that was respected by the other organizations concerned with POW affairs: the Navy was always brought in when the capture or release of naval POWs and civilian internees was at issue.[86]

NONNAVAL PRISONERS OF WAR

Unfortunately, the evolution of the labor deployment of POWs within the Navy can be only sketchily illustrated here. Regarding the Luftwaffe, we know that POWs permanently assigned to the Luftwaffe began to be deployed in that branch as early as 1941. It is unclear when such transfers to the Navy began, as the fundamental provisions for that development are not known. Orders of the Armed Forces High Command dated October 1, 1942, and October 29, 1942, containing standard operating procedures for requesting the services of POWs are available to us, however, and they refer to a practice already in existence: the deployment of Soviet Army POWs with the Luftwaffe and the Navy. Presumably, therefore, the Navy began at some point in 1942, if not earlier, to deploy Soviet POWs as auxiliaries for the Navy.[87]

As in the case of POWs who were naval personnel, there seems to have been no office with central responsibility for auxiliary personnel. The workforce requests submitted by the administrative offices were sent through the Station Commands to the Naval Defense Office/Naval Defense Department/Section af (*Marinewehramt/Marinewehrabteilung/Referat af*) and forwarded from there to the Chief of POW Administration. Then "Section af" also undertook the distribution of the assigned POWs to the Station Commands.[88]

The allocated POWs were duly registered by the Station Commands, but this was done only for counterintelligence and propaganda purposes. Initially, there seems to have been no centralized personnel administration function within the Navy.

Such a function also may not have been necessary at the outset, because the responsibility for personnel, including the POWs transferred to the Navy, remained in the Army's hands. In other words, the Stalags that assigned the POWs continued to perform partial functions of both a parent unit and a replacement unit. Accordingly, changes in personal data were reported to the Wehrmacht Information Office by the "home" Stalags rather than the Navy. In addition, once the current deployment of a POW was at an end, he returned to "his" Stalag rather than "his" Navy unit.[89]

From the spring of 1942, however, tendencies toward a greater centralization of the personnel administration system can be discerned. For the entities under its operational control, Station Command North Sea required the submission of reports listing the POW camps and labor detachments in the area and stating whose control they were under, what their composition was in terms of nationality, and what the occupancy figures were. Then, from May 1943, card files for the auxiliary personnel were created in the offices of the Second Admirals of the command areas. In the fall of 1943, these offices also began to control deployment.[90]

To perform the task, Station Command Baltic— meanwhile renamed Navy High Command East (*Marineoberkommando Ost*)—employed a parent company established for this purpose. For the Soviet POWs deployed in Norway as auxiliary personnel, Dulag Gotenhafen carried out this task. For the area of Navy High Command West (*Marineoberkommando West*), no distributing point of this kind is known.[91]

At first, the POWs were deployed primarily in logistic installations and state-owned enterprises. Then, in April 1943, Soviet POWs also began to be used as auxiliary personnel in naval antiaircraft warfare. Toward the end of 1944, POWs worked for the Navy in AAA units, artillery units, stand-by construction detachments, motor transport battalions, and fortress engineer headquarters and units. They also served as workmen for Navy organizations and ration supply offices.[92]

After September 1943, another group of POWs, Italian military prisoners, was added. Again, little is known about the particulars of their deployment; it probably differed only slightly from that of the Soviet POWs, however. In the course of 1944, the Italians who

were deployed as auxiliaries were given an opportunity (of unknown extent) to be released from captivity by switching to the status of auxiliary volunteer (*Hilfswilliger*, Hiwi) or Italian soldier in the Wehrmacht. If they refused to resume the fight on the German side, they were sent back to Stalag X B (Sandbostel). The Soviets and the Italians are the only nationalities known to have been deployed with the Navy.[93]

The POWs who were deployed as auxiliaries constituted only a part, often a small one, of the personnel; hence, these were not POW units featured in this volume. However, because of either reading too much into existing orders or receiving new orders not available to us, a few Navy POW labor units were formed and thus could be included here.[94]

THE END OF THE NAVY'S PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION

From mid-1944, significant changes began in the Navy, and they also affected the POWs. The Navy Construction Office (*Marinebauwesen*), like its Luftwaffe counterpart, was made accountable to Organisation Todt. The effect of this development on the reporting lines of the POWs working in these units is not known. Then, on the effective date of October 1, 1944, the POW administration system of the entire Wehrmacht was reorganized, and, as a result, all the Navy's POW camps came under the control of the respective commanders of POWs in the Defense Districts.[95]

In conclusion, if one compares the Navy's POW administration with the corresponding organizations of the Luftwaffe and the Field Army, on the one hand, and with the organization of the Armed Forces High Command, on the other hand, several parallels between the POW organizations of the Luftwaffe and the Navy become discernible. They include:

In the case of both the Luftwaffe and the Navy, the administrative offices concerned with POW affairs dealt solely with foreign POWs in German custody; they were not responsible for the corresponding group, the German POWs in enemy hands. The POW administration of the OKW, however, was always concerned with both groups at the same

time.

The Navy and the Luftwaffe had no permanent POW camps outside the territory of the Reich.

Neither the Navy nor the Luftwaffe viewed the "own-branch" POWs, that is, the members of hostile naval or air forces, respectively, as a significant labor reserve. For such purposes, POWs were transferred by the Army to both other branches of the Wehrmacht.

There are specific distinguishing features also, however:

Labor units that, apart from the supervisory personnel, consisted exclusively of POWs were a rare exception in the Navy.

In handling the tasks associated with the POWs, the Navy relied to some extent on the Army, in an apparently amicable collaboration, which was not the case with the Luftwaffe, where the relationship was characterized by competition.

The Navy was the only organizational sector in which there was no centralized responsibility for the enemy POWs.

Thus, among the comparable organizations, the POW administration of the Navy was probably the least clearly developed. Overall, however, it must be said that at the same time it is probably the part of the POW administration system that remains most in need of further research.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION IN THE FALL OF 1944

Until October 1944, the POWs of the Field Army, the Luftwaffe, and the Navy were under the authority of the respective commands. In the Reich and the areas under German occupation authorities, the functional command authority was the Office of the Chief of POW Administration. In the Reich the POW organizations and the POWs themselves, however, were subordinate in the service chain of command to the Commander of

the Replacement Army, or, alternatively, to the commanders in the areas under occupation. When Heinrich Himmler was named commander of the Replacement Army on July 21, 1944, after the dismissal of the previous BdE, General Friedrich Fromm, he simultaneously accepted service-related responsibility for the administrative offices of the POW administration system and for the POWs in the Replacement Army itself—and not just on October 1, 1944, but three months earlier. This change did not create a great sensation, and it also did not alter the subordination of the soldiers affected by the change of command.[96]

Then, as of October 1, 1944, the Office of the Chief of POW Administration, until then assigned to the OKW, was placed under the authority of the Commander of the Replacement Army, and thus transformed into an Army administrative office. Gottlob Berger, simultaneously the head of the SS Main Office, was named to the position of Chief of POW Administration. Because he hardly had the time to perform this additional duty in a meaningful way, he named an Army officer, Oberst Kurt Meurer, as his permanent representative. This organizational change involved a truly pivotal innovation: all the POW camps of the Wehrmacht were put under the authority of the BdE—and, thus, of his subordinate, the Chief of POW Administration. In this way, a unified Wehrmacht POW administration was created, of a kind that had not existed until then. This reorganization is frequently interpreted to mean that POW administration was transferred to the SS.

The new Chief of POW Administration, however, assumed only part of the previous duties.[97] His staff consisted of:

Group I: Planning on a large-scale (mission of the offices of the POW administration system, distribution, and accommodation of the POWs, guarding the camp, notification system)

Group II: Personnel

Group III: Labor deployment and transports

Group IVa: Administration

Group IVb: Medical services

Group V: Camp oversight, counterintelligence issues

Group VI: Leadership (National Socialist leadership officer, NSFO)

Essentially, this was the Organization Department of the previous staff of the Chief of POW Administration. Berger, who held the position of chief, and his deputy, Meurer, were physically located in the office of the head of the SS Main Office in Berlin-Grunewald; their staff, however, remained in Torgau roughly 109 kilometers (68 miles) away, where they had been ever since the relocation from Berlin in early 1944.[98]

The repercussions for the individual branches of the Wehrmacht took different forms. In the Navy, Marlag-Milag Nord came under the authority of the Commander of POWs in Defense District X, who had territorial responsibility. The second Navy camp, Dulag Nord, remained under Navy control because it also served as an evaluation and interrogation center. The personnel, except for the officers, were transferred to the Army.[99]

The situation in the Luftwaffe was similar. The camps were subordinated to the commander of POWs who had territorial responsibility, with the exceptions of Dulag Luft and Stalag Luft 5 (Wolfen), which had special functions that the Luftwaffe was unwilling to relinquish. The personnel were transferred to the Army, according to the same rules in effect for the Navy.[100]

The most serious changes took place in the Army, particularly in the Replacement Army, which was the most important area in terms of number of personnel and economic significance. Here, the dualism between the functional leadership by the Armed Forces High Command and the service subordination to the Commander of the Replacement Army was abolished and changed into a uniform subordination to the BdE.

An additional command level, the Higher Commanders of POWs (*Höhere Kommandeure der Kriegsgefangenen*), was inserted between the intermediary authority of POW administration, the commanders of POWs, on the one hand, and the Chief of POW Administration, on the other hand. This job was entrusted to the Higher SS and Police Leaders with territorial

responsibility in each case; in this function, they were subordinate to the Chief of POW Administration. Their primary focus was supposed to be on ensuring internal security and on coordination between and among the Wehrmacht, the Nazi Party, and civilian agencies.[101]

The commanders of POWs now changed their subordination from the Defense District commanders to the Higher SS and Police Leaders. On their part, they had authority over all POW camps as well as the guard and POW labor units in their area.[102]

Also, on October 1, 1944, the position of Inspector for POW Administration, vacant since April 1, 1944, was reactivated. Oberst Adolf Westhoff, until then Chief of POW Administration, took on this job. He was subordinate to the deputy office head of the AWA, Generalmajor Kurt Linde. Territorially, his area of responsibility was coextensive with that of the Chief of POW Administration; his mission, however, was different:

- Previously he had been responsible only for Army camps; now he was given the right of control over all camps.
- Support of the aid organizations and protecting powers had already been his task previously; now he was given a staff and full responsibility for this area.
- He lacked direct influence on the subordinated area; he had to route all his directives through the Chief of POW Administration.[103]

His staff covered the following range of duties:

- Administrative Area Gen. Ib: Domestic political implications, cooperation with the NSDAP and civil authorities
- Administrative Area Gen. Ic: Religious support
- Administrative Area Gen. Id: Criminal acts committed by POWs
- Administrative Area Gen. IIa: Communication with the Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the protecting powers, and the aid societies

Essentially this was the General POW Administration Department of the previous staff of the Chief of POW Administration. The inspector and his staff had their joint office in Torgau.[104]

Comparison of the areas of responsibility of the two managing entities reveals a bifurcation: "inward" administration was under the authority of the Chief of POW Administration, while "outward" contact was the task of the inspector. This was no longer consistent with the previous classical division of tasks between a staff and the inspector in question.

> In a statement on February 16, 1945, the new Chief of POW Administration tried to address concerns that new privations and harshness in dealing with POWs might be ordered as a result of an SS-General's "takeover" of the sphere of POW administration:

In total misapprehension of the attitude of the RFSS [Reichsführer-SS] and the Commander of the Replacement Army toward issues of the treatment of alien peoples, a certain smear campaign has gained ground in civilian circles and also in the sphere of POW administration itself. This effort to manipulate public opinion interferes with political measures, recruitment campaigns, and increased efficiency, and therefore absolutely must be stopped.

The treatment of the POWs serves a threefold purpose:

1. to guarantee the security of the Reich,
2. to enhance work performance, and
3. to generate as positive an attitude as possible toward the Reich.[105]

This statement seems not to have been governed exclusively by propagandistic motives; Gottlob Berger cannot be accused of having seriously toughened the orders to the disadvantage of the POWs. To the contrary, Berger was not involved in the most

sensational crime in the POW administration in the final phase of the war: the murder of French general Maurice Mesny.[106]

The implementation of the reorganization was far from trouble free. The problems began with the handover of the official matters because negotiations with the SS Leadership Main Office (*SS-Führungs-Hauptamt*), the SS Economic Main Office (*SS-Wirtschaftsverwaltungs-Hauptamt*, SS-WVHA), and the RSHA became necessary. As a result, the handover of official matters did not occur until October 23, 1944.[107]

Admittedly, the commanders of POWs were under the authority of the Higher Commanders in every respect; conversely, it would have been appropriate for the Higher Commanders to be required to supply the subordinate area. And such an arrangement had been envisaged, but "provisionally"—and, thus, for the duration of the war, the responsibility for supply remained with the Defense Districts (*Wehrkreise*), which no longer felt obligated in the same way as previously, when they were still directly responsible.[108]

The Chief of POW Administration and his deputy had their office in Berlin, but their staff members were in Torgau, 109 kilometers (68 miles) away, a distance that was hard to bridge at a time when traffic and communications were impaired by the war to an increasing extent. The inspector, however, was in Torgau, where both staffs were based.

It was barely possible for the Chief of POW Administration to communicate with his staff, but the Inspector's superiors—the leadership of the General Office of the Armed Forces—were available to him as contact persons in Berlin. The inspector lacked the link to "the top," but he had both staffs available to him. The communication structures developed in accordance with these conditions, and, thus, to the disadvantage of the Chief of POW Administration, all the way to the point of his marginalization. One pertinent example: in late 1944, the NSDAP had complained that Polish officer POWs, pursuant to the provisions of the international law of war, continued to be exempt from use as a labor force. This politically awkward event was dealt with in a process of cooperation between the Armed Forces High Command and the Inspector for POW Administration, without involving the Chief of POW Administration.[109]

For the POWs in Wehrmacht camps these organizational changes did not mean much. Their daily life was increasingly dominated by air raids, deteriorating infrastructure, and collapsing supply lines. Thus, most POWs in German hands experienced the final six months of the war as the time period of greatest suffering.

KEY TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH POW ADMINISTRATION

For some readers who are not conversant with military terminology, many of the terms used in this volume will be unfamiliar. The following remarks attempt to close this gap with respect to terms specific to war imprisonment that readers cannot be expected to know. For other, more general terms and concepts, the extensive body of specialized literature in the field of military history can be helpful.

GROUPS OF PERSONS IN WEHRMACHT CUSTODY

The POW camps of the Wehrmacht contained not only soldiers but also various groups of civilians held in captivity for a variety of reasons. Without discussing in full the legal differences among these groups, we will indicate below which of these prisoner categories are considered in the present work and to what extent.

Prisoners of War (POWs)

Neither the Hague Land Warfare Convention nor the Geneva Conventions offer a legal definition of the term "prisoner of war"; these agreements merely enumerate the groups they cover. According to international law during World War II, soldiers were the principal group, but members of militia forces were also included if they met the conditions of the international law of war. The central criterion in every respect was the uniform the prisoner wore. The deciding factor in assignment to a home country was not the nationality or citizenship, but the uniform. For this reason, Poles, Norwegians, and others who continued to fight under the British flag after the occupation of their homelands were classified by the Wehrmacht as British, not as Poles or Norwegians.[110]

Captured Soviet soldiers being searched and questioned upon their arrival at the POW camp in Lida, July 1941. USHMM WS #81525, COURTESY OF NARA.

In addition, there were the civilians who took up arms during the occupation process and fought against the enemy: the *levée en masse*, or mass uprising. The status of "prisoner of war" was also accorded to the civilian members of armed forces, such as the employees of the military administrations or even accredited war correspondents.[111]

Under the Geneva Convention of 1929, captive partisans were not classified as POWs, because they did not satisfy the conditions for this status. The same was true for soldiers serving governments that were not recognized under international law, such as the Free French (*Comité national français*) under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle. During the war, however, several groups previously classified as partisans were recognized as de facto combatants by the German government and, hence, granted the status of POWs.

On a large scale, the status of POWs changed even as the war progressed. If they were not released permanently—as, most notably, many French soldiers were—but merely temporarily, on various terms, the Wehrmacht's POW administration continued to keep records on them.[112]

Other POWs—especially Soviets and Italians—were indeed released from captivity, but nonetheless they did not acquire civilian status. Rather, they remained under Wehrmacht authority to serve as auxiliary volunteers (Hiwis) in exchange for payment or as soldiers in collaborationist units. These groups and the administrative offices that kept records on them are not considered in the present work, because these individuals were no longer POWs, and these organizational units were not under the control of the POW administration.

The approach taken in the present volume is a pragmatic one: all those who were classified and registered by the Wehrmacht as POWs are included, with no attempt made to evaluate this classification.

Protected Personnel

Physicians, medics, pharmacists, and the personnel of civilian aid societies occupied a special status under Article 9 of the Geneva Convention, which dealt with protection and care of the wounded and sick. As protected personnel, they had to look after their comrades, but they were subject to less harsh rules than the POWs. They were housed in POW camps, and they are considered in the present work.

Civilian Internees

Specifically, these internees were, in the early stages, civilian subjects of the enemy countries who were in hostile territory when the war began. Frequently they were vacationers or individuals who had married a foreign national and retained their original citizenship. In dealing with this category, the governments of the belligerent nations generally limited themselves to sending only the males fit for military service to camps, while the elderly, women, and children were spared. Later, over the course of the war, the internees came to include the crews of civilian ships that had been captured by the German Navy and, where applicable, the passengers of such ships.

The status of this group under international law was unclear at the onset of World War II. They tended to be treated as POWs, although they were mostly accommodated in separate camps, the Ilags (*Internierungslager*). The major differences were:

The POWs were required to do work, whereas such activity was prohibited for the internees, with a few exceptions.

The internees received no payment from the German government comparable to the service pay or wages of the POWs.

Because the Wehrmacht viewed the detention of the civilian internees in principle as its function, they are taken into consideration in the present work in the same way as the POWs. That applies to internment camps also, provided they were under Wehrmacht control.[113]

Civilian Prisoners

When a country is occupied, the customary practices of the international law of war permit the confinement of persons who potentially pose a security risk for the occupying power. In accordance with these customary practices, such civilian prisoners did not have the same status under international law as the civilian internees. Occasionally, however, civilian prisoners were classified as civilian internees for political reasons and, thus, were accorded privileged treatment. Usually the category of civilian internee was extended to the members of all those countries that had German citizens at their mercy and, therefore, were able to retaliate; citizens of other countries often were not so lucky.[114]

At first, especially in the eastern theater of war, the Germans frequently put civilians into POW camps. At times, there were also temporary camps that were the responsibility of the Wehrmacht, in which only civilians were housed. In addition, over the course of the war, POW camps were used as transit facilities for the deportation of forced laborers or the mandatory evacuation of the population. It is inherently difficult, however, to distinguish reliably between:

Camps for civilian internees

Camps for civilian prisoners

POW camps temporarily used for civilian prisoners

Because the detention of civilians was not one of the original

functions of the POW administration, however, this group of prisoners and any camps established for them are not considered in the POW section.

CHAINS OF COMMAND

In the Wehrmacht, a superior authority was inherently both authorized to give instructions to the units subordinate to it and responsible for their supply. For example, a division not only led its subordinate forces (*Verbände*) but also supplied them. Nonetheless, the Wehrmacht was simultaneously organized on a basis of division of labor as well, and parallel to the fundamental subordination there also existed specific, function-related powers to issue instructions. Among the entities to which this applied were the counterintelligence stations, which were responsible for protection against espionage and sabotage at all duty stations within the area of their territorial authority, and the medical service, with its responsibility for health-related matters.

As a result of the war and the associated deployment of units over great distances, a division—to stay with the example cited above—sometimes was no longer able to supply all its units, because the distances between the various sites had become too great. Ultimately, the increasing complexity of these organizational relationships produced a multitude of chains of command, associated with various forms of subordination, such as:

service-related

military

disciplinary

operational

strategic

tactical

military judicial

local or regional

medical

administrative

economic

function-related

technical

individual

Initially, the system of subordinate relationships was so obvious to the members of the Wehrmacht that it apparently was deemed unnecessary to define the term "subordination" (*Unterstellung*). Then, in December 1941, the Navy endeavored to define the various subordinate relationships, or chains of command. The Armed Forces High Command aligned itself with this course of action in March 1943, so that a uniform arrangement now prevailed throughout the Wehrmacht. The following types of subordination were distinguishable:

"Subordination" without any restrictive adjective meant a subordination in every respect, apart from specific function-related authorities and responsibilities, such as those of the counterintelligence service or the medical service.

General subordination could be—and often was—split up into partially subordinate relationships. That pertained particularly to the following:

- Service-related subordination (*truppendienstliche Unterstellung*), that is, responsibility for training, education, support, personnel management
- Operational subordination (*einsatzmässige Unterstellung*), that is, the specific military use of the respective unit
- Function-related subordination (*fachliche Unterstellung*), that is, guidance of the subordinate unit by a professional organization in its specialized military activity
- Territorial subordination (*territoriale Unterstellung*),

that is, support in matters of supply or administration, etc.

Attachment (*Angliederung*), that is, the subordination of a unit to an "outside" organization regarding special functions, such as administration.

Even at the time the orders were issued, however, it was pointed out that the new arrangements were by no means to be regarded as fixed and inflexible. Consequently, variations, particularly additional splitting up of the chains of command, remained possible.[115]

Regarding the duty stations of the POW administration, two additional aspects contributed to an unusually pronounced differentiation of the subordinate relationships. Within the POW administration, subordinate relationships did not exist in all respects: the superior authorities under no circumstances had the capability to supply the subordinate duty stations. In addition, as special troops, the units of the POW administration usually were not permanently assigned to a larger military grouping (*Verband*), and the subordinate relationships changed in accordance with the circumstances. Therefore, typical forms of subordination in the POW administration that are important for the purposes of the present account were as follows:

POW camps in the theater of war generally were functionally under the control of a POW district commandant (*Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandant*); for service-related and operational purposes, they were subordinate to a combat unit (*Kampfverband*); and economically they were dependent on a duty station that was located in physical proximity to the camp.

Camps in the territory of the Reich were subordinate to the respective Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) in ordinary service-related matters as well as operationally and functionally. For supply, they were dependent on duty stations tasked by the Defense District (*Wehrkreis*).

The intermediate authorities in the POW administration, that is, the Commanders of POWs or POW district commandants, were subordinate to a command or headquarters (*Kommandobehörde*) in every respect, with the exception of function-related matters of the treatment of POWs.

Even though the great number of dependent relationships may be difficult for the layperson to grasp, the statement made at the beginning should be repeated here: The Wehrmacht was an organization based on the division of labor, and the offices for POW administration were able to deal with the plethora of persons in charge.

TYPES OF POW CAMPS

In Nazi Germany there existed a great many camps and camp organizations for foreigners, including the POW camps of the Wehrmacht. SS-run concentration camps were designed to be stationary; if they were shut down at their original location, their existence ended. The Wehrmacht's camp system, in contrast, was characterized by its mobility. When a Wehrmacht camp was relocated from one place to another, it retained its identifier and all its personnel, and the POWs generally were transferred to the new location along with the camp's organization. In such cases, POWs who were away from a Stalag as part of an outside work detachment generally stayed at their work site, but, in organizational terms, they continued to be assigned to that Stalag. Only when a camp was relocated from one theater of war to another, often far away, did the POWs stay behind. Then they became organizationally affiliated with other camps.[116]

This principle of mobility affected the naming of the camps as well. POW camps, as a rule, were not named for the place where they were initially organized or stationed; instead, they had numerical identifiers.[117] They kept these "names" unless their mission changed. If it did, the camp received a new identifier. The present section also adheres to this organizational principle: it is organized not by location but rather by the military designation of the camp in question.[118]

At the same time, the term "camp," as used in the present

volume, needs to be defined more precisely. It includes only facilities that were initially organized "in accordance with the budget" (*etatmässig*) and thus had a Table of Organization, meaning that they were designed to exist on a permanent basis.[119] To be clearly distinguished from these permanent camps is a second group: the temporary camps. These were facilities created ad hoc on-site, by entrusting some unit that happened to be available with the running of such a camp. The following three types of temporary camps are distinguishable, based on their intended purpose:

Collection Camp (*Sammellager*)

Enemy soldiers, after their capture, were taken to improvised collection points by combat elements. The next stop may have been the collection site of a division, from which they were then sent on to the collection site of the corps. Not until they were handed over to an army prisoner collection point (*Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle*, AGSSt) did they reach a POW facility in the sense of the present section, that is, a unit of the POW administration that was anchored in the budget. The camps through which the soldier had passed before were improvised facilities—collection camps. According to regulations, they were supposed to exist only if they were needed in the specific situation, but in individual cases it could even take months to close them down. One example is the camps on Crete after the Wehrmacht took control of the island in May 1941. Because the enemy's command of the sea made it impossible for the time being to transport the Allied POWs, however, the camps remained in existence until December 1941. The transit camp in the port of Piraeus existed for a corresponding length of time, as it had been set up for forwarding the prisoners to Germany.

Forwarding Camp (*Weiterleitungslager*)

Only the Army had such a dense network of permanent camps that no separate facilities were needed for the regional redistribution of prisoner groups.

That was not true for the Luftwaffe and the Navy, whose few camps were reserved for members of enemy air or naval forces, respectively. If these two branches of the Wehrmacht wanted to distribute the POWs given to them as a workforce by the Army and allocate them to the designated "receiver" duty stations, they needed camps as intermediate stops where they could house the prisoners. For the Navy, no such intermediate detention sites are known to have existed; presumably, this branch relied on the Army's support. The Luftwaffe, however, established its own forwarding camps for this purpose, including those in Büchen, Kaiserslautern, Lechfeld, and Olgeste.

Soviet POWs captured in battle east of Kiev under German guard in an internment camp, September 1942. USHMM WS #70192.

Labor Camp (*Arbeitslager*)

Because the Army had an extensive network of POW camps and the Navy deployed its POW workforce in a highly decentralized manner, these two Wehrmacht branches needed no camps of this kind. In addition to the decentralized distribution of POWs, the Luftwaffe also handled its POW labor force flexibly, deploying large contingents at varying locations. For this purpose, it set up labor camps, that is, improvised camps, from which the distribution to work sites was managed. These camps were semipermanent structures, representing a middle

position between a classical permanent camp and a temporary detention center.

These three types of temporary camps are not classified as part of the POW administration in the present section, because they were not permanent, budgeted facilities and were not subordinate to the POW administration.

In organizational terms, at the level below the labor camps—or, for the Army and the Navy, below the Stalag level—were the accommodations of the labor detachments, where the prisoners slept when they were deployed outside the POW camp, which applied to the majority of them. These quarters might be a room diverted from its original use for a small number of POWs, or even an accommodation facility with infrastructure for many occupants. The number of these residential sites—with reference to the territory of the German Reich alone—is estimated to be in the tens of thousands. Given the futility of trying to list even an appreciable part of them, it was decided not to provide information on these sites in the present section.[120]

Improvised camps and housing areas for labor detachments—especially if the facilities were sizable—were indeed called "POW camps" and, where applicable, "Stalags" in the spoken and written language of the Wehrmacht, and in the common parlance of the civilian world as well, although the term was properly applied only to the permanent camps. In individual cases, therefore, it can be difficult to distinguish an "improvised" POW camp from an "authentic" POW camp.[121]

But let us return to the permanent camps, the focus of the present consideration. In this context, several terms employed by the Wehrmacht or in the relevant literature need clarification:

Main Camp/Subcamp/Branch Camp

Essentially, a camp had a single camp area (*Lagerbereich*), in which all the facilities of the camp were situated. If a part of it was separated off for special purposes, perhaps for the housing of officers in a camp for enlisted personnel, this section was known as the "subcamp" (*Teillager*, TL), while the core area was referred to as the "main camp" (*Hauptlager*). If the subcamp was

located at a physical distance from the central area but remained under the administration of the main camp, it was termed a "branch camp" (*Zweiglager*, ZL).[122]

Satellite Camp (*Nebenlager*)

This term was initially used as a synonym for "branch camp" but later officially deleted from Wehrmacht usage.[123]

Entrance Camp; Recruitment Camp (*Vorlager*)

In the Wehrmacht, this term was employed for two different situations. First, it designated the space occupied by a specific part of a POW camp.[124] Second, the term referred to special camps for POWs who were candidates for deployment in non-German volunteer units. They were assembled in recruitment camps before being released from war captivity and transferred to the camps for the "eastern legions" and other "volunteer" troops (*Legionärslager*). Organizationally, they generally were subcamps or branch camps of Stalags subordinate to the POW administration.

German Camp (*deutsches Lager*)

This term refers to the part of the camp's territory that was reserved for the German administration.

Shadow Camp (*Schattenlager*)

This term was used for POW camps that lacked a housing area of their own but merely managed POWs, who were not centralized but rather accommodated in various labor detachments.

General Officer Camp (*Generalslager*)

This term was in common use, although it was not part of official Wehrmacht terminology. Primarily, general officers, from the Wehrmacht's perspective, did not constitute a distinct status group; they were merely high-ranking officers whose ranks entitled them to privileged treatment. Only two camps— Oflag IV B and Oflag 64/Z

—were set aside explicitly for general officers. Eight other camps also were used to imprison generals for shorter or longer periods of time.[125]

Special Camp (*Sonderlager*)

This was an official term for regular camps or for sections of such a camp in which special groups were consolidated, such as the French officers from Corsica who hoped to win the support of the Italian government for their Corsica plans, or the anti-German and/or Jewish French officers, whom the POW administration wanted to have concentrated at one place.[126]

Non-German Volunteers Camp (*Legionärslager*)

These were camps for volunteers (*Freiwillige*) recruited for service in collaborationist units. They were under the authority of the offices responsible for organizing such units, rather than the POW administration.

Penal Camp (*Straflager*)

POW camps that had especially harsh living conditions were known as penal, or punishment, camps, both among the POWs and in the academic literature. The terminology of the Wehrmacht did not contain such a term; however, punishment facilities existed in every POW camp.[127]

SS POW Camp (*SS-Kriegsgefangenenlager*)

The SS had no POW organization of its own, nor did it have permanent (budgeted) POW camps. Labor camps of POWs who had been made available to the SS for projects, such as the Beisfjord camp (Norway) and the sectors for "labor Russians" (*Arbeitsrussen*) in the concentration camps, were erroneously known colloquially as SS POW camps, for the reasons given above.[128]

In the following remarks, the various types of permanent POW camps are described in greater detail while entries in this volume

provide information about each individual camp. One problem must be pointed out in advance: the naming of the camps and the dates of their organization and closure obviously follow rules. Unfortunately, in almost no case do documents exist that address the underlying decision-making. Therefore, in the following, the rules usually had to be inferred from the known data by a process of inductive reasoning.

The order in which the camps are presented is determined by the sequence in which a POW might have experienced them:

Camp for temporary stay (*Transitlager*):

- Reception camp (*Auffanglager*)
- Army prisoner collection point (AGSSt)
- Transit camp (Dulag)

Camp for permanent stay:

- Camp for enlisted personnel and NCOs (Stalag), also forward camp of this type (Frontstalag)
- Officer camp (Oflag)
- Internment camp (Ilag)
- Special camp: repatriation camp (Heilag)

The Stalags and the Oflags are the basic types of Wehrmacht camps; this section's "Stalag" entry also contains a description of the internal organization of a Stalag, which can be applied to some degree to the other types of camps.

Reception Camp (*Auffanglager*)

At the onset of the war in 1939, only transit camps and camps for permanent accommodation of POWs were organized within the Reich. Later, once the campaign in the west had begun, a new type of camp was created: the reception camp. It existed only in the case of the Army, however, not the Luftwaffe or the Navy.

These camps, deployed closer to the combat units, were

intended to function as the interface between the temporary collection camps of the field elements and the facilities of the POW administration, located farther behind the lines. Here, the POWs were recorded merely in terms of the headcount. Nothing is known about the internal composition of such a camp, as no Table of Organization (*Kriegsstärkenachweisung*, KStN) has been discovered thus far.

In May and June 1940, seven reception camps in total— the first six of which had the additional descriptor "mobile" (*bewegliches Auffanglager*)—were organized. Only one of them, however, was deployed in the POW administration. In early 1941, they were all, with one exception, restructured as Army prisoner collection points, AGSSts.[129]

In the spring of 1941, before the invasion of the Soviet Union, additional reception camps with the numbers 8 through 20 were planned, but only nine of them came into being. Four of them did exist for a short time, but, in the end, they all were organized as AGSSts between February and July 1941 or were restructured accordingly. These camps were unsuccessful.[130]

Army Prisoner Collection Point (*Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle*, AGSSt)

Regarding the history of its formation, this type of camp was the successor to the reception camp; it also was used only in the Army, not the Luftwaffe or the Navy. Because no Table of Organization is available for reception camps, nothing can be stated about differences between these two types of facilities; possibly AGSSt was just a new term, considered more appropriate, for a type of camp that otherwise differed only in unimportant ways from a reception camp. The task of the AGSSt likewise was to accept prisoner groups that had only temporarily been in the custody of the field forces and put them into the professional POW system. Then, in accordance with the orders of the commanders of the POW administration, the AGSSt channeled the prisoner streams to a Dulag or a Stalag; for these purposes, it was sufficient just to record the numbers of prisoners.

The small number of personnel provided to the AGSSt—approximately 20 German soldiers—was in keeping with this

limited range of duties. Without the help of other units, an AGSSt was, thus, not even able to control and guard its own POWs. Not until 1944 were newly organized AGSSts given a permanent guard platoon; as a result, the number of personnel increased to around 100 soldiers.[131]

In the last months before the invasion of the Soviet Union began, 22 AGSSts with the numbers 1 through 22 were organized. Ten of them resulted from the reorganization of existing reception camps, 11 from the reorganization of forward Stalags that had been freed up in France. Only one was newly created. In the years 1942 and 1943, only a few new camps of the AGSSt type—six in all—were added, for specific purposes.[132] During the final phase of the war, between August and November 1944, establishment of a larger number of these camps resumed. Of 36 camps in total, with consecutive numbers beginning at 31, two-thirds (24) resulted from reorganization of Dulags and Stalags that were closed. Only 12 were completely new creations.

Unless destroyed by combat action, the vast majority continued to exist until the war ended. In the ever-diminishing territory controlled by the Wehrmacht, Dulags were more likely to be "pared down" than AGSSts, and the POWs were transferred directly from the AGSSts to the Stalags.

Transit Camp (*Durchgangslager*, Dulag)

This type of camp performed diverse functions, depending on which branch of the Wehrmacht operated it. First, the Army camps: for prisoners of the field units, transit camps usually were the second stop in the sequence of regular camps—or the first, if the field forces transferred the prisoners directly to Dulags rather than AGSSts. The Dulags not only held POWs in custody until their further transport but also housed civilians who, by order of military or police authorities, were held under arrest. Officers, NCOs, and enlisted men were joined but separated in different accommodations.

According to regulations, the Dulags were supposed to hold their prisoners in safekeeping during the first weeks of a war, until the Stalags, located farther behind the lines, were ready for operation. The maximum occupancy envisaged was 5,000 POWs

—a number that in reality was far exceeded as a rule. For guarding the camp and escorting transports, two Reserve Battalions with around 1,500 soldiers in total were deemed necessary.[133]

In the Dulags, although the POWs were recorded on lists in the order of their arrival, they still were not registered in accordance with the requirements of the international law of war; that step did not take place, apart from some exceptions, until they reached the Stalag. Even though postal traffic from the Dulag was generally not possible, the POWs were able to send the first notification postcard to the International Committee of the Red Cross, as stipulated by international law.[134]

Initially, Dulags were set up in August and September 1939 in connection with the invasion of Poland. Apparently, a fixed and definitive rule for naming the camps of this first wave did not yet exist. Four different approaches are discernible:

Place of organization (Dulags Döllersheim, Gneixendorf, Halbau)

Alphabet (Dulags A-L)

Roman numerals in combination with a letter of the alphabet

Arabic numbers in numerical sequence.

In view of the mobility of Wehrmacht POW camps, naming the camp after its original location was not a helpful approach, and the alphabet did not offer enough possible combinations. Therefore, a third naming convention came into use, one that was to become prevalent for all the camps in the territory of the Reich. As the first part of its name, every camp used the number of the Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) in which it was located, in Roman numerals, followed by an alphabet letter for distinguishing the camps within a Defense District.[135] All the Dulags in the first wave of organization had one thing in common: they were deployed in the territory of the Reich. Over the course of the winter of 1939–1940, to the extent that the Polish POWs were distributed to the Stalags, the Dulags became obsolete. Beginning in early 1940, almost all of them—with two exceptions—were reorganized as Stalags or Oflags.[136]

In 1940, in a second wave, a special group of Dulags was organized: the "Sea Lion" (*Seelöwe*) transit camps. These camps, which included seven Dulags and eight "downstream" alternate camps (*Ausweichlager*), were organized in September 1940 in preparation for the planned invasion of Great Britain. Rather unusually by Wehrmacht standards, the alternate camps became physically operational within the shortest possible time, and the Dulags were even completely established physically and fully manned as well. After the plan for the invasion was dropped, the camps were shut down in February 1941 without ever having been used.

The third wave of Dulags consisted of the camps with Arabic numerals, which began to be organized in March 1941 in preparation for the attack on the Soviet Union. There were 48 Dulags in total at first, and 8 more were added in 1942. These were not newly established camps but rather forward Stalags no longer needed in France. Depending on the date of release in France, these Frontstalags were gradually moved into the territory of the Reich in phases and then reorganized there as transit camps. In the process, the camps retained their numbers; that is, Frontstalag 100 became Dulag 100. Correspondingly, the numbering began at 100 and went up—skipping a few numbers—to 241. Gaps in the sequence are often attributable to the fact that no forward Stalag with this number had existed either. A further group of Dulags with numbers beginning at 300 was created by reorganizing existing camps of the Stalag, Oflag, or Heilag types that presumably had become superfluous. These camps, almost without exception, were deployed in the eastern theater of the war.

In a fourth organizational wave, in September 1943, five Dulags with numbers beginning at 400 were organized for deployment in southeastern Europe.

Unless the Dulags—primarily in the east—were destroyed by the enemy, the POW administration began shutting down the transit camps at the end of 1942, and it accelerated the closure process at the end of 1943. As stated in the section on the AGSSts, in the diminishing German sphere of power, POWs were increasingly handed over directly to the Stalags by the AGSSts, bypassing the transit camps altogether.

In addition to the Army, the Luftwaffe and the Navy also operated camps of the Dulag type, although their tasks were different to some extent. They also served the purpose of collecting the POWs and distributing them to the final camps, but at the same time they were also evaluation and interrogation camps, where expert interrogators from the respective branch sought to gather intelligence from the prisoners. Only when this phase was concluded could the prisoners be sent on to a permanent camp.

Camp for Enlisted Personnel and NCOs (*Stammlager*, Stalag)/Forward Camp for Enlisted Personnel and NCOs (*Frontstammlager*, Frontstalag)

In their structure and the scope of their tasks, the Frontstalags did not differ in any major way from the Stalags, and, therefore, they are discussed jointly here. In total, 263 of these two types of camps were in existence at some point during the war, including 7 Luftwaffe camps (Stalag Luft), 2 Navy camps (Marlag/Milag), and 254 that were operated by the Army.[137] Thus, the Stalag was by far the most common type of camp in the POW system of the Wehrmacht. Considering also that most POWs spent nearly all of their period of imprisonment in a Stalag, the Stalag was the typical camp of the Wehrmacht. In the following, therefore, its structure and organization are examined in greater detail than those of the other types of camps.

Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager, the full, official name of these camps, were used for permanent confinement of POWs. But the branches of the Wehrmacht differed as to which rank groups were to be accommodated together or separately. The Army Stalags held enlisted personnel and non-commissioned officers; separate camps existed for officers. The camps of the Luftwaffe and the Navy held personnel of all ranks at the same time, but the enlisted men and officers were housed separately within the camps.

In general, enlisted personnel could be used for labor under the terms of the regulations pertaining to the international law of war. NCOs, however, could be used only for supervisory purposes, unless they volunteered to work. The Luftwaffe and the Navy refrained from using captive air force and naval personnel entirely, as a labor force, but that did not hold true for the members of the

enemy army units. Naturally, the structure of the camps also reflected this disparity.

In addition, the fact that the organization of a Stalag was subject to very substantial changes over the course of the war must not be understated. Moreover, these changes could take completely different directions, depending on the theater of war. More detailed information on this subject is found in the sections on the individual theaters of war. The following remarks depict the ideal type of an Army Stalag, a camp in the territory of the Reich in 1942:

At the head of the Stalag was the commandant. His staff included:

The commandant group (*Gruppe Kommandant*)
: It included, among others, the deputy and the adjutant of the commandant, and was responsible for camp personnel.

The legal officer (*Gerichtsoffizier*)
: He not only advised the commandant regarding in-camp disciplinary action when infringements occurred but also handled the forwarding of more serious offenses to the military court.

The camp leader (*Lagerführer*)
: He was responsible for the everyday operation of the camp. He oversaw the heads of the POW units; for activity within the camp, the POWs—separated by nationality—were arranged in squads (*Korporalschaften*) headed by a POW. These squads, in turn, were subordinate to a POW company, which could consist of as many as 250 men, led by either a POW or a German NCO. Several companies then constituted a battalion, under the leadership of a German officer.

The labor deployment group (*Gruppe Arbeitseinsatz*)
: It did not control the deployment of labor but merely administered it. Responsibility for control was in the hands of a field office of the Employment Office (*Arbeitsamt*). Such a field office existed in every Stalag.

The medical officer (*Sanitätsoffizier*)
: He advised the commandant on matters related to medical

services and was the superior officer of his medical orderlies. Functionally, he was responsible for the medical care of the POWs, and physician POWs from the relevant countries generally lent him their support in this undertaking.

The counterintelligence officer (*Abwehroffizier*)
: His range of duties included defense against sabotage and espionage as well as exposure of resistance organizations. In addition, the postal censorship office (*Postprüfstelle*), which censored the prisoners' mail, was under his authority.

The administration (*Verwaltung*)
: It was responsible for providing supplies to the Stalag, particularly food supplies.

The motor pool (*Fahrbereitschaft*)
: As POW labor detachments were increasingly deployed far outside the camps, it became necessary to use vehicles to maintain the connection to the camp.[138]

In the first version of the Table of Organization, dated 1938, the Stalag staff consisted, in total, of approximately 14 officers and around 120 civil servants, NCOs, and enlisted men, with a planned camp capacity of 10,000 POWs. Two Reserve Battalions, with a strength of around 1,500 men, were budgeted for as the guard force. By 1942, the number of personnel on the staff had risen to 214 soldiers and the capacity to 30,000 POWs. In the final phase of the war, Stalags with occupancy numbers in the high five figures existed in the territory of the Reich. These numbers say little about the situation in the camp area, because as the war progressed, more and more POWs lived in labor detachments outside the camp rather than in the Stalag itself.[139]

The intended physical layout of the camp area (*Lagerbereich*) was as follows: the commandant's office was to be built apart from the rest, so that it would not be immediately threatened in the event of unrest or rioting. The guard and administration buildings were in the frontmost area, enclosed only by a single fence—the zone also known as the "German camp." Next came the entrance camp, with the functional buildings for the POWs: the barracks for reception, detention, disinfection, latrines, and workshops, the infirmary, and the ration supply depot. Most of the area was

occupied by the main camp, where the prisoners' quarters were located, which was secured by double rows of barbed wire. The main camp was supposed to consist of 10 groups of buildings, with four barracks for 250 men each in each group. At the center were the kitchens and the camp canteens, which sold various items to the prisoners. A hospital for 300 patients and the quarters of the guard battalions were to stand apart, off to one side of the camp. If such a camp could not be set up within already existing facilities, the POWs themselves were supposed to build it. The goal was to have all inhabited barracks erected within 90 days and the rest of the camp completed within an additional 30 days.[140]

The space requirement allotted to each POW was 2.5 square meters (27 square feet); by contrast, each guard was entitled to 3 square meters (32 square feet). The living conditions were thus very confined, even though the complex was extensive. With around 30 hectares (74 acres) for the camp, 5 hectares (12 acres) for the hospital, and 6 hectares (15 acres) for the guards' quarters, the complex occupied approximately 40 hectares (99 acres), about the size of 60 soccer fields.[141]

Various approaches were taken to naming the camps, depending on the planned deployment region. Camps for deployment in the Reich were named in accordance with the principle outlined above: "Defense District number + alphabet letter," with the letter assigned according to the planned sequence in which the camps were to be organized; the actual organization, however, might take place in a different order, depending on possible problems in implementation.

The first 35 Stalags of this type were erected within the territory of the Reich beginning in August 1939, concurrently with the invasion of Poland. Because many of these camps did not even exist at the time their staffs arrived on site, the POWs themselves had to build them. In 1940, 25 more camps within the Reich followed, most of which also were not built before the invasion of France, but only during or after the conclusion of the operations. In 1941, 10 more camps were organized, but without any discernible sign of a connection with the invasion of the Soviet Union. However, this is to be interpreted more likely as a reaction to specific demands, such as changes in the manpower requirement. In part, these were shadow camps. A last, smaller

organizational series of four camps followed in 1942. Oflags with Arabic numerals were used for this purpose; they were originally scheduled for deployment in the east, but then probably not needed. After that, that is, during the entire second half of the war, there was no further new organization of Stalags designated for deployment within the Reich.

Stalags outside the territory of the Reich were not envisaged at first, and none were created in Poland in 1939. A different picture emerged after the occupation of Belgium and the Netherlands: Stalags were needed, but the absence of Defense Districts there made it impossible to follow the previously adopted naming method. Like the Dulags, they were initially designated with letters of the alphabet—an obviously inadequate system, given the plans for further expansion that were in the offing. This naming convention, therefore, was in use for only a few months.[142]

The third naming scheme—Arabic numbers in numerical sequence for POW facilities intended for deployment outside the Reich—was first used during the "French campaign." The camps designated for deployment there were referred to not simply as Stalags but as forward Stalags, or Frontstalags, perhaps because they were planned for deployment in the occupied territory rather than within the Reich.[143]

Between June and August 1940, in a first wave, 69 Frontstalags were activated, beginning with the number 100, and continuing, skipping a few numbers, to 241. These camps were deployed exclusively in France. Often the POWs were not taken to the sites of the newly erected camps; instead, the Frontstalags took over camp areas that had already been set up by field units and, until then, administered by those same units. As French POWs began to be transferred from France to Germany, the Wehrmacht began closing Frontstalags in March 1941, mostly by restructuring them as Dulags while retaining the identifying numbers of the camps.

Independently of that measure, a second wave of activations followed in April 1941: an additional 19 Frontstalags with numbers beginning at 300. However, these camps were not immediately deployed; instead, within a few months, they were converted into Stalags. Apart from seven Frontstalags that continued to be deployed in France, camps with this name no

longer existed after mid-1942. Only one, Frontstalag 194, remained in existence through the end of the war.[144]

In preparation for the attack on the Soviet Union, POW camps were established on a large scale. In this case, the term "forward" was not employed. The first deployment wave included 30 camps, which were to be activated within three weeks; the second wave consisted of another 30 camps with a more generous deadline for completion.

They were given numbers beginning at 301 and continuing upward; those formed from Frontstalags that had been planned but never realized kept their original numbers. Four of these camps, however—obviously contrary to the original plans—were nonetheless deployed in the territory of the Reich. To make the classification clear, they were given, in addition to their Arabic numeral, the designation they would have received if they had been scheduled from the outset for deployment in the Reich. For example, Stalag 304, which was stationed in Zeithain, received the identifier 304 (IV H)—but only while it remained in the territory of the Reich. Upon transfer to a theater of war outside the Reich, the added identifier was dropped again. This special arrangement, however, applied only to the camps of the first and second waves, and only in 1941. "Arabic" Stalags that were deployed in Reich territory after that date did not receive the added designation. Ultimately, however, most of the "Arabic" Stalags that were deployed at some point in the territory of the Reich did receive the supplemental identifier.[145]

In 1942, 16 "Arabic" camps were established, followed by 4 others in 1943 and 1 last camp in 1944. In total, of the 88 "Arabic" Stalags, 4 were not deployed but instead were promptly restructured, and 5 others were deployed in Scandinavia. The vast majority, however, were destined for the eastern theater of war. As this theater gradually shrank in the post-1943 period, "Arabic" Stalags were destroyed, closed, or transferred into the territory of the Reich. Only ten of them continued to exist until the end of the war.

Officer Camp (*Offizierlager*, Oflag)

Because the Army was the only branch that did not put officers

into the Stalags, it was also the only branch that set up special camps for officers—the Oflags, 80 of which were activated during the war. In principle, their structure was the same as that of the Stalags, but they had no department for labor deployment, because officers were not required to perform labor that would benefit the enemy. In addition, the authorized size of the camps was only 1,000 officers, a tenth of the standard occupancy for a Stalag, although this limit was exceeded with increasing frequency and to an increasing extent over the course of the war. Correspondingly, the German permanent staff consisted of only 79 persons, 12 of them officers. Once the POW strength reached a level of 500 officers, at least one guard company was considered necessary. In addition, there were the orderlies for the officers and workers for the camp's maintenance—in all, around 10 to 20 percent of the officer personnel strength. For the auxiliary personnel, the regulations of a Stalag were in force; for the officers, those of the Oflag applied.[146]

The history of the activations took a course like that of the Stalags. At first, Oflags were established only in Reich territory and were named in accordance with the combination described above: "Defense District number + alphabet letter." In the first wave were 24 camps, some of which were set up even before the war began, with most established by the end of 1939.[147] They were unevenly distributed across the territory of the Reich: in the Defense Districts located farthest to the east, districts I, XX, and XXI, not a single Oflag was deployed.

Allied POWs cheer as tanks from the American 6th armored division arrive to liberate them, Bad Sulza, April 1945. USHMM WS #46518, COURTESY OF NARA.

Then, in a second wave in May and June 1940, immediately after the occupation of Belgium and the Netherlands, the Army established officer camps in a foreign country for the first time: Oflag Holland A and Oflag Holland B. After that, letters of the alphabet were no longer used to identify the Oflags, presumably for the same reasons as in the case of the Stalags.

In the third deployment wave, between May and September 1940, another 25 Oflags were added to house the large number of French, Belgian, and Dutch officers who were taken to Germany after the fighting ended. In the remaining years, only four more Oflags were activated in the territory of the Reich.

The fourth wave saw the creation of 12 Oflags, created in preparation for the operation in the east. Like the corresponding Stalags, they received an Arabic number as an identifier, beginning at 52, skipping a few numbers, and ending at 78. Three of them remained in Reich territory and were given the Defense District/alphabet letter combination as a supplement; however, most of them—one of them later shifted back into Reich territory—did not receive the add-on.[148]

All the Oflags of 1941 were new organizations. Half of them, however, were not used for housing officers; instead, they held NCOs and enlisted ranks, apparently because the Wehrmacht granted the appropriate treatment to far fewer officers than it originally had planned. In this respect, it was logical that these Oflags, from October 1941, were either converted into Stalags or closed.

In 1943, four more "Arabic" Oflags came into being, including three with numbers from 6 to 10, skipping some numbers; they did not follow the count that had been customary until then. These camps were established for special purposes, such as housing Polish POWs from the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.[149]

The sixth wave consisted of eight "Arabic" Oflags, initially organized in 1944 and interlocking with the old counting system, starting at 52. Thus, in the result, around one-third of all Oflags with Arabic numerals were not established until 1944—an unusually large share, in comparison with the activation history of other camp types.

Considering the history of the closure figures, it is striking that around a third of all Oflags were closed or reorganized in 1942—presumably, the result of a process of adapting the system to altered circumstances. Another third of the camps were closed in 1943 and 1944. The final third of them remained in operation until the end of the war.

Internment Camp (*Internierungslager*, Ilag)

Camps of this type existed only for the Army and the Navy, not for the Luftwaffe. Because the international laws of war did not include a convention on the treatment of interned civilians, there were also no rules specifying what tasks the internment camps were to perform and which individuals were to be imprisoned there. A list of instructions titled "Service Regulations for the Commandant of an Internment Camp (Camp for Civilians Subject to Military Service)," in which such matters could have been regulated, was announced but never published.[150] Therefore, the organizational type known as the Ilag did not develop in close adherence to conceptual guidelines; rather, its development was guided by practical necessities. In this process, three organizations

had a say in the treatment of the internees:

> The Wehrmacht asserted its interest when it was a matter of detaining or releasing individuals who were essentially able-bodied and, therefore, capable of serving the enemy as soldiers. The same thing applied to individuals who had knowledge that might be of interest to the enemy.
>
> The Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs was responsible for communication with the enemy, the protecting power, and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It paid attention primarily to the reciprocity of the treatment, with a view to preventing, if possible, the emergence of any reasons for reprisals against German civilian internees in enemy custody.
>
> The RSHA laid claim to a voice in all matters of Germany's internal security.

Since each of the three organizations accepted the claims of the other two in principle, the result was a mostly amicable but also complicated form of cooperation.[151]

The question of who was responsible for which Ilags is answered in quite different ways in the relevant literature. The reason lies in the complex history of the camps' origins. The first people to be interned were citizens of enemy nations who were on German territory when the war began. They were taken by the police to police-run internment camps. The second group was made up of crew members and passengers of ships taken captive by the Navy. They were transferred by the Wehrmacht to its own internment camps, but they had the same legal status as the members of the first group. Other groups followed later, such as the British citizens of the German-occupied Channel Islands. Some of them were deported at the request of the Wehrmacht; under international law, they were to be regarded "only" as civilian prisoners. For political reasons, they were nonetheless recognized as civilian internees, although they were not housed in Wehrmacht camps.

The Ilags that had been set up by the Wehrmacht were located as a matter of principle in the territory of the Reich. Apart from Marlag-Milag Sandbostel and Marlag-Milag Nord, they were

subordinate to the POW organization of the Armed Forces High Command and thus to the Commanders of Prisoners of War in the respective Defense Districts.

Generally, the number of the Defense District in which the camps were stationed served as their identifier. Sometimes they also were named for the place where they were stationed or by a combination of both methods, without the reasons for this being known.[152]

Ilags differed from Wehrmacht POW camps in the following ways:

- They generally held fewer than 1,000 internees.
- Families were also interned there, in addition to individuals.
- Civilian internees generally were not permitted to work outside the camp, while enlisted POWs, as a rule, were required to do so.
- As a matter of principle, civilian internees received no financial benefits from the Reich, whether service pay, wages, or the like.

Otherwise, the living conditions—communication by letter or telegram; transfer of money; inspections by the ICRC, the protecting powers, and the charitable organizations; distribution of charitable donations—were comparable to those of a POW camp.

In the present volume, all the Ilags that were under Wehrmacht control are covered. Specifically, they include:

- Ilag VII, Laufen
- Ilag VIII/H, Tost (Toszek)
- Ilag XIII, Nuremberg
- Ilag XIII, Wülzburg
- Ilag XVIII, Spittal
- Ilag Giromagny

In addition, there were internment camps that were run as

subcamps of POW camps. They are:

- Milag Sandbostel (subcamp of Marlag-Milag Sandbostel)
- Milag Nord (subcamp of Marlag-Milag Nord Westertimke)
- Ilag VIII/Z, Kreuzburg (Kružberk), a branch camp of Ilag VIII/H
- Ilag Kreuzburg (subcamp of Oflag 6, Tost)
- Ilag Kreuzburg (subcamp of Stalag 344)
- Ilag Tittmoning (subcamp of Ilag VII)[153]

The opposite constellation—a POW subcamp in an Ilag— also existed.[154]

Sometimes civilian internees were also housed in subsections of POW camps, although in this case they were not designated as internee subcamps. This was especially common in the final phase of the war. These camps include:

- Frontstalag 111, Drancy
- Stalag VI F, ZL Dorsten
- Stalag 317, ZL Landeck
- Stalag V B, Villingen

The Navy essentially used Army camps as intermediate stops for forwarding civilian internees of the Navy from the ports along the Atlantic coast to Marlag-Milags in northern Germany, without building special subcamps for this purpose.

Regarding the Ilags or subcamps for internees that were under Wehrmacht authority, the present volume seeks to provide exhaustive information on them. In addition, internees were accommodated in other camps, which were not subordinate to the Wehrmacht, even though in some cases their designations might suggest an affiliation with the Wehrmacht. Such camps generally came into existence through the conversion of former Wehrmacht camps, which retained their previous designation. The Wehrmacht provided support services for the following camps without having

overall responsibility for them:

Besançon

Compiègne

Konstanz

St. Denis.[155]

Most of these camps were in France, where the Wehrmacht was the only organization that had enough personnel to guard and administer a camp.

Repatriation Camp (*Heimkehrerlager*, Heilag)

As the regulations for the repatriation camps, Army Manual (*Heeresdienstvorschrift*, H.Dv.) 38/8a explained the purpose of this facility, "The Heilag is the receiving center for German repatriates and the distributing center for enemy repatriates." For German returnees, however, a Heilag was not only a place of welcome but also a screening site, for it was "to be anticipated that undesirable elements will also try to come to Germany via the Heilag."[156]

The following were candidates for repatriation even before the end of the hostilities:

Seriously ill and wounded men who had been proposed for repatriation by medical commissions

Protected personnel, that is, physicians, medical orderlies, and clergymen

Civilians whose retention was no longer of interest.

The repatriation camps in the territory of the Reich were subordinate to the Defense Districts, and those in occupied territory to the military commanders. No such camps existed in the Army's zone of operations or in the Luftwaffe and Navy.[157]

During the hostilities, Heilags were supposed to have a capacity of 150 persons per transit direction, that is, 300 in total. After the end of the fighting, the transit number was supposed to increase to

1,000 persons per direction. In exceptional cases, civilian internees were also supposed to be exchanged through these camps. In terms of their equipment, repatriation camps were not designed to accommodate people waiting for exchange for a lengthy period; their stay was intended to be as short as possible. The number of personnel at a Heilag was correspondingly small: 30 people, including 9 officers.[158] In addition, Heilags were, if at all possible, supposed to be stationed near the border with a neutral state through which the exchange could then be handled.

As the repatriation camps are presumably the group of POW camps on which the least research has been done thus far, the level of knowledge about them is rudimentary at best. The author is not even aware of a complete list of all the Heilags—only those in which foreign POWs were housed could be verified. The following remarks, in accordance with the basic approach of the present section, confine themselves to the repatriation camps that were used for the transit of foreign POWs. Camps for German repatriates are taken into consideration only if they are important for the understanding of systematic relationships.

Empirical findings suggest that the reality did not correspond to the standards of the regulations, which preserved the spirit of World War I, during which exchanges of small contingents of POWs had repeatedly been carried out. The camps were indeed planned for transit in both directions; however, that seems to have hardly ever been the case. The progress of events also served as an obstacle to transit of that kind. After the capitulations or ceasefires in Poland in September and October 1939, and in the Netherlands, Belgium, and France in May and June 1940, the German POWs had to be immediately set free by their detaining powers. Heilags did not yet exist at this time; they were not activated until June 1940. For this reason, most of the Polish POWs were released into their homeland even before the beginning of the invasion of France, without being channeled through repatriation camps.

The first Heilags were organized in June and July 1940 in Defense District V, at the border with France, for the repatriation of the French POWs who were permitted to return home after only a few months of captivity.[159] The same is true for Heilag XVII A, in the southeastern part of the Reich, with respect to the Yugoslav POWs. For naming the camps, the tried-and-true pattern of

"Defense District + alphabet letter" was employed.[160] After only a few months, the Heilags in Defense District V were shut down again, and camps in occupied France for transfer into the unoccupied zone were created instead—named for towns, because these were camps in a foreign country.[161]

As of 1942, camps were activated for foreign POWs in transit only in Defense Districts IV, VIII, and XXI. Some received Roman numerals as identifiers, while others were named for the deployment site. No reasons for the differences in naming methods are known.

The first camps organized still tended to comply with the demand that Heilags should be located near the border—they had a spatial link to the departing POWs' country of destination. However, the subsequent camps, beginning in 1942, were established in the eastern and southeastern parts of the Reich without any geographic connection to an exchange route. Only one Heilag was stationed in a port city.[162]

Because the Heilags were sparsely manned—with too few personnel to handle the regular camp operations alone—they generally had organizational support from other POW camps, although they retained their independence in terms of management. In addition, there were Heilags that were designated as subcamps or branch camps and, hence, were not independent. The question why they were not all run as subcamps, given their small scale, remains unanswered.[163]

Besides the 12 independent repatriation camps for foreign POWs, there existed other Heilags that were subcamps:

Heilag Lissa (Leszno), Grune subcamp of Oflag XXI C, Schildberg (Ostrzeszów)

Heilag Mühlberg, subcamp of Stalag IV B, Mühlberg

Heilag Schildberg, subcamp Heilag XXI of Oflag XXI C, Schildberg.

For the few Heilags below, documents indicate that they were used for transit in both directions:

Heilag Lissa

Heilag V B, Strasbourg

For the sake of completeness, mention is made here of the following repatriation camps for German soldiers, verified during the research:

Heilag II A, Güstrow

Heilag VII/2, Traunstein

Heilag Heilbronn

Heilag Stettin (Szcecin)

Finally, it should be pointed out once again that a considerable amount of research remains to be done on the topic of repatriation camps.

Allied POWs, imprisoned in a camp near Hammelburg, cheer as an American tank crashes through the barbed wire enclosure of the prison camp, April 8, 1945. USHMM WS #83801, COURTESY OF NARA.

Quantitative Comparison of Camp Types

In conclusion, the author intends to show the development of the

POW administration of the Wehrmacht and its focal points in quantitative terms. At the same time, the following tables are to be interpreted with caution. They are based exclusively on the official designation of the camps. For the Wehrmacht, however, consistently sustained principles did not play a particularly important role. Thus, there were Oflags that were used for housing enlisted ranks as well as Stalags in which officers were accommodated. Several POW camps were also co-opted for use outside the system of POW administration, for administrative tasks.

The Wehrmacht established 541 POW camps in total, although by no means were they all in existence at the same time. Quite the contrary, in many cases new camps were created by renaming and restructuring old ones. The table below gives an overview of the frequency of each type of camp:[164]

Type	Army	Luftwaffe	Navy	Total
AGSSt	76 (14%)	—	—	76 (14%)
Dulag	98 (18%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	103 (19%)
Stalag/ Frontstalag	254 (47%)	7 (1%)	2 (<1%)	263 (49%)
Oflag	80 (15%)	—	—	80 (15%)
Ilag	6 (1%)	—	—	6 (1%)
Heilag	12 (2%)	—	—	12 (2%)
Total	526 (97%)	10 (2%)	4 (1%)	540 (100%)

The table above clearly shows the dominance of the Stalag/ Frontstalag type. Considering also that the number of POWs managed by a Stalag was in the tens of thousands— and remained at such a level over several years—while an Ilag scarcely ever had a number of internees that even reached 1,000, and that the length of stay in an AGSSt was generally measured in days, the outstanding importance of the Stalag/Frontstalag for POW administration becomes even more apparent.

The table below shows key points in time for the activation of POW camps.

The result is clear: almost two-thirds of all camps were established in the years 1940 and 1941. The purposes they served

are addressed in the remarks on the organizational history of POW administration.

SOURCES Additional information about the Prisoner of War Organization of the Wehrmacht can be found in the following publications: Horst Boog, *Die deutsche Luftwaffenführung 1935–1945. Führungsprobleme. Spitzengliederung. Generalstabsausbildung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Anstalt, 1982); Jean-Claude Favez, *Das Internationale Rote Kreuz und das Dritte Reich: War der Holocaust aufzuhalten?* (Munich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1989); Gisela Figge, *Organisation Todt 1938–1945* (Potsdam, n.d.); Stefan Geck, *Das deutsche Kriegsgefangenenwesen 1939– 1945* (MA thesis, University of Mainz, 1998); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000); Joachim Hinz, *Genfer Abkommen: Das Kriegsgefangenenrecht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Entwicklung durch das vom 12. August 1949* (Berlin: F. Vahlen, 1955); Stefan Karner, *Im Archipel GUPVI: Kriegsgefangenschaft und Internierung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995); Wolf Keilig, *Das Deutsche Heer 1939– 1945: Gliederung—Einsatz—Stellenbesetzung* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1956); Walter Lohmann and Hans H. Hildebrand, *Die deutsche Kriegsmarine 1939–1945: Gliederung, Einsatz, Stellenbesetzung* (Bad Nauheim: Podzun, 1956); Martin Moll, *"Führer-Erlasse" 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); Reinhard Otto and Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im System der Konzentrationslager* (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2019); Rüdiger Overmans, "German Policy on Prisoners of War," in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. IX: *German Wartime Society, 1939–1945*, 10 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2014), pp. 729–875; Rüdiger Overmans, *Soldaten hinter Stacheldraht: Deutsche Kriegsgefangene des*

Zweiten Weltkriegs (Berlin: Propyläen, 2000); Franz Scheidl, *Die Kriegsgefangenschaft von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Ebering, 1943); Percy E. Schramm, *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht, Vol. 1: 1940–1941, Teilband 2* (Frankfurt: Bernhard and Graefe, 1961); Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2003); Alfred Streim, *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa": Eine Dokumentation* (Heidelberg: Müller, 1981); Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1991); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945*, 17 vols. (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966–2002); Gabe Thomas, *MILAG: Captives of the Kriegsmarine: Merchant Navy Prisoners of War, Germany 1939–1945* (Glamorgan: Milag Prisoner of War Association, 1995); and Sebastian Weitkamp, "'Mord mit reiner Weste': Die Ermordung des Generals Maurice Mesny im Januar 1945," in *Krieg und Verbrechen. Situation und Intention: Fallbeispiele*, ed. Timm Richter (Munich: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 31–40.

Type	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
AGSSt	—	8 (1%)	26 (5%)	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	36 (7%)	—	76 (14%)
Dulag	17 (3%)	15 (3%)	48 (9%)	8 (1%)	13 (2%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	103 (19%)
Stalag/Frontstalag	36 (7%)	98 (18%)	99 (18%)	22 (4%)	7 (1%)	1 (0%)	—	263 (49%)
Oflag	24 (4%)	27 (5%)	15 (3%)	2 (0%)	4 (1%)	8 (1%)	—	80 (15%)
Ilag	1 (0%)	2 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	—	6 (1%)
Heilag	—	3 (1%)	5 (1%)	2 (1%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	—	12 (2%)
Total	78	153	194	37	29	48	1	540

(14%)	(28%)	(36%)	(7%)	(5%)	(9%)	(0%)	(100%)

Rüdiger Overmans
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. In total, approximately 1,000 German POW camps and POW labor units existed during World War II—not simultaneously. If no more than 500 such installations were in existence at the same time, and each duty station had a strength of 100 soldiers, then around 50,000 personnel were involved in POW administration. Given the fluctuation that occurred over the six-year period, the number of German soldiers deployed within the system of POW administration at some point during the war was probably around 100,000. In addition, there were the guard units, the number of which has not been established thus far.

2. The publications by Alfred Streim and Christian Streit are frequently used as the basis for portrayals of organizational history. Both, however, focus on the early stage of the war and end around 1943; OKW/Chef Kriegsgef./Org (IV), Az. 2 f 24.12 a, Betr.: Behandlung von Akten des Kriegsgefangenenwesens bei Verlegung von Dienststellen, mit Bestätigungsvermerk Luftgaukommando VI, BA-MA, RL 19/65; Gottlob Berger, Kriegsgefangenenwesen, December 7, 1946, IMT-Dokument NO 1103.

3. Rü IVc, file note, June 15, 1938, BA-MA, RW 19/2140; file note, Major Breyer, November 10, 1938, BA-MA, RH 13/2; RdL u ObdL/GenStQu. 2, Nr. 77990/39 geh. (III C) Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenlager der Luftwaffe, November 9, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141.

4. See the essay by Raffael Scheck on POW administration in France.

5. Between 1942 und 1944, Stalags 304 and 315 were indeed deployed in these countries; nonetheless, there was no Commander of POWs there. Thus, there can be no discussion of a POW organization.

6. The following were stationed in Romania at various times: POW District Commandant A, Dulags 11, 123, 137, 160, 162, 180, 181, 191, 231, 241, AGSSts 11, 12, 15, and 16, as well as various POW construction and labor units, see Deutsche Heeresmission/Ib, Fernschreiben September 27, 1941, BA-MA, RH 20-11/381.

7. Schramm, *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*, vol. 1/2, pp. 892–893.

8. Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13; OKW/ChefKriegsgef./Org. (Ic), Az 2f24.12.c, Nr. 6222/43 Organisationsbefehl Nr. 51, November 18, 1943, BA-MA, RW 6/273.

9. Readers may note the absence of one theater of war from the list above: North Africa. Here, however, all POWs were the responsibility of the Italians. Only the Indian soldiers of the British Armed Forces were taken to Germany, see, Overmans, *German Policy on Prisoners of War*, p. 789.

10. OKW/Abt. Wehrmachtverluste und Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Az 2f24 10 geheim, Betr.: Geschäftsverteilungsplan, October 1, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141; OKW, 2f 46 10, WZ (I) Betr.: Organisation des OKW, November 27, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2149.

11. Kurt Linde, Kriegsgefangenenwesen OKW, BA-MA, N 133/v. 6, p. 3.

12. Karner, *Im Archipel GUPVI*, pp. 55–85. The statements about Poland refer to the period from the rebuilding of Poland's government structures, beginning in 1944, to the release of the German POWs; see Overmans, *Soldaten hinter Stacheldraht*, pp. 476–483.

13. Der Reichsarbeitsminister, Va 5135/6571/40 g, Betr: Verwendung von Kriegsgef. für wehrmachteigene Arbeiten, October 24, 1940, BA-MA, R 3901/20168; Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

14. Linde, Kriegsgefangenenwesen OKW, BA-MA, N 133/v. 6, p. 5.

15. The Norwegian and Danish soldiers were not a burden on the POW administration of the OKW because they were, in fact, not imprisoned; see Overmans, *German Policy on Prisoners of War*, pp. 755–758.

16. OKW/Abteilung Kriegsgefangene, Az 13 Kriegsgef. (CH 1), July 18, 1941, BA-MA, RH 18/410; OKW, Az. 2 f 4610, WZ (I), Betr.: Abteilung Wehrmachtverlustwesen (copy), February 8, 1941, BA-MA, RW 48/102.

17. The replacement of Breyer with von Graevenitz was at the behest of General Reinecke, the head of the General Office of the Armed Forces (AWA). Oberstleutnant Breyer was appointed head of the General POW Administration Department and deputy of the Chief of POW Administration; see Adolf Westhoff, affidavit, February 26, 1946, BA-MA, MSg 2/12655.

18. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Geschäftsverteilungsplan, August 22, 1942, BA-MA, RW 19/2144; Geck, *Kriegsgefangenenwesen*, p. 20.

19. The exact date of the move is not known. *Befehlssammlung*, No. 33, shows Torgau as the place of publication for the first time as of January 15, 1944; see OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 33, January 15, 1944.

20. Ottomar Krug, Biographische Sammlung zu deutschen Generalen und Admiralen: Winfried von der Schulenburg, BA-MA, MSg 109/10852; Kriegsspitzengliederung des OKW: Dienstanweisung für die Abteilung "Wehrmachtverluste und Kriegsgefangenenwesen," No. 1, issue of March 1, 1939, in Schramm, *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*, vol. 1/2, pp. 892–893; OKW, *H.Dv. 38/4 Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Durchgangslagers*, p. 39.

21. OKW/AWA Nr. 298/41, 27.1.1941, PAAA, R 145077; OKW/

AWA, Nr. 1335/41, 12.9.1941, BA-MA, RW 19/2109; Adolf Westhoff, affidavit, September 10, 1947, IMT-Dokument NO 5143.

22. Der Reichsführer-SS, June 21, 1943, IMT-Dokument NOKW 3239; Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Betr.: Schaffung der Dienststelle "Generalinspekteur für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht," June 28, 1943, BA-MA, R 58/397; Der Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Tgb. Nr. 275/44 geh, November 7, 1944, BA-MA, R 55/20858.

23. The Dulags are not taken into consideration here, because they all had been converted into Stalags.

24. See the essay by Raffael Scheck on POW administration in France.

25. Keilig, *Heer*, chapter 41, p. 9, and chapter 173, pp. 1–2; OKW/AWA/Kriegsgef I, Az 2f24.12a, Betr.: Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im W-Kr, February 18, 1941, BA-MA, RH 53-17/45; Wehrkreiskommando XVII/I b/Org, Az Ne, Betr.: Kdeure der Kgf in den W.K. XVII und XVIII, March 11, 1941, BA-MA, RH 53-17/45; OKW, *H.Dv. 38/5: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlagers*, pp. 6–7.

26. Keilig, *Heer*, chapter 41, p. 18; Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis X, n.d., no subject given, BA-MA, RH 53-10/55.

27. OKW/AWA/Kriegsgef I, Az 2f24.12a, Betr.: Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im W-Kr, February 18, 1941, BA-MA, RH 53-17/45; Keilig, *Heer*, chapter 41, p. 16.

28. Wehrkreiskommando VI/Ib/Org, Betr.: Richtlinien für den Arbeitseinsatz der Kriegsgefangenen, October 9, 1939, StA OS, Rep. 675, 1061 AI, WK VI; Adolf Westhoff, Kriegsgefangenenlager der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht für russische und polnische Kriegsgefangene, April 8, 1950, BA-MA, ZA 1/1941; Generalkommando WK X/I a: Zehn Jahre Wehrkreis X (activity report of Defense District X

Headquarters for 1935–1945), BA-MA, RH 53-10/37.

29. This restructuring seems to have taken place only in some of the Defense Districts. Divisions for Special Assignment 406, 410, and 411 in Defense Districts VI, X, and XI were not disbanded for the time being. At least in Defense District XI, the previous chain of command continued to be in effect; see Wehrkreiskommando XI/Abt. Kgf, Az 9b (I/37, I/74, I/4), Betr.: Kontroll-Offiziere; Verhältnis zu den Landesschützeneinheiten; Betreuung der Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos, January 9, 1943, HStA Hann., 122a-7061.

30. ChefHRüundBdE/AHA/Ia (I), geh. Betr. DivKdre z.b.V., December 13, 1939, BA-MA, RH 15/78; Stalag VIIIB, Stalagbefehl Nr. 19, May 9, 1942, BA-MA, MFB 2/1273; OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 14, June 26, 1942, Item 2: Disziplinarbefugnisse gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen; Wehrkreiskommando VI/Ib Org, Az. K 5, Betr.: Gliederung des Arbeitseinsatzes von Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VI, StA OS, Rep. 675, 1061 AE, WK VI.

31. The table is based exclusively on the formal criterion of which camps existed at any time in a Defense District. Divergent dates for establishment and closure are not considered, nor are subcamps and branch camps, as well as camps with arabic numbers.

32. Because of the small number of cases, there is no need to perform a quantitative analysis of the Ilags.

33. Stalags were indeed occasionally used for other purposes also. Stalags XVII A and XVII C were initially used as Dulags; Stalags IV A, IV D, IV E, IV F, and IV G served on occasion as shadow camps; the Zeithain branch camp of Stalag IV was primarily used as a hospital.

34. Wehrkreiskommando VI/Ib Org, Az. K 5, Betr.: Gliederung des Arbeitseinsatzes von Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VI, StA OS, Rep. 675, 1061 AE, WK VI.

35. Rüstungs-Inspektion des Wehrkreises VIII/Gr Ib, Az. 39gZ, Betr.: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines

"Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlagers," November 30, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141; OKW/Abteilung Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Sammelmitteilungen*, No. 10, February 9, 1942, Item 3: Disziplinarbefugnis gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen.

36. Wehrkreiskommando XI/Abt. Kgf, Az 9b (I/37, I/74, I/4), Betr.: Kontroll-Offiziere; Verhältnis zu den Landesschützeneinheiten; Betreuung; Wehrkreiskommando VI/Ib Org, Az. K 5, Betr.: Gliederung des Arbeitseinsatzes von Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VI, StA OS, Rep. 675, 1061 AE, WK VI.

37. Wehrkreiskommando XI/Abt. Kgf, Az 9b (I/37, I/74, I/4), Betr.: Kontroll-Offiziere; Verhältnis zu den Landesschützeneinheiten; Betreuung der Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos, January 9, 1943, HStA Hann., 122a-7061; Wehrkreiskommando XI/Abt. Kgf, Az 9b (I/37, I/74, I/4), Betr.: Kontroll-Offiziere; Verhältnis zu den Landesschützeneinheiten; Betreuung der Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos, March 9, 1943, HStA Hann., 122a-7061.

38. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/9: Dienstanweisung für den Lagerarzt eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers und Chefarzt des Kriegsgefangenenlagerlazaretts*, p. 9; OKW, *H.Dv. 38/11: Dienstanweisung für den Führer eines Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos*, pp. 11– 12; Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VIII, Betr.: Disziplinarbefugnis über Kriegsgefangene, March 23, 1943, BA-MA, MFB 2/1274.

39. Wehrkreiskommando XII/Ib (Mob), geh., Betr.: Kriegsgef.-Bau- u. Arbeits-Batl Nr. 36, 39 u. 42, November 26, 1940, BA-MA, RH 34/138; Wehrkreiskommando XII/Ib (Gef), geh., Betr.: Kriegsgefangenen-Bau- und Arbeitsbataillone im Wehrkreis XII, January 17, 1941, BA-MA, RH 34/138; Kdr.Kgf. im W.K. XVII, Az XX, Betr.: Kgf. Bau- u. Arb.Btlne 117 und 137, BA-MA, RH 53-17/42; Wehrkreiskommando XVII/Ib (Org)/Ib (Krgef), Az Kgf. I 4a/17/37/18, geh., Betr.: Einsatz der Kgf.Bau- u. Arb. Btlne und Versetzung von 18 zu Stalag XVII A, BA-MA, RH

53-17/42.

40. Kr.-Gef.-Bau- u. Arb-Batl. 24/der Kommandeur, Betr.: Vorschläge zur Bildung einer zusätzlichen Eingreifreserve von Kgf. nach Schadensfällen durch Terrorangriffe, BA-MA, RH 53-7/274; OKH/Chef HRü u. BdE/AHA/Ia (III), geh., Betr.: Aufstellung von Kdr. d. Landesbautruppen, Arbeits-Batl. (L) und KwKol. für die Beseitigung von Fliegerschäden, BA-MA, RH 15/240.

41. AOK 11/OQu/Qu 2: Richtlinien für militärische Hoheitsrechte, Sicherung und Verwaltung in den neuerworbenen Gebieten ostw. des Dnjestr, August 3, 1941, BA-MA, RH 20-11/381; Armeeabteilung Kempf/OQu/Qu2: Besondere Anordnung über die Erfassung von Kgf, Beute und Arbeitskräften. Zum Operationsbefehl für Zitadelle Nr. 1, g.Kdos, May 10, 1943, BA-MA, RH 20-8/207.

42. One example of the deployment of a POW construction battalion: the commander of construction troops, Mariupol outpost, reports the arrival of Construction Battalion (K) 64 (BauBtl(K) 64), see Kommandant rückw. Armeegebiet 531/Ib, Betr.: Laufende Terminmeldung, April 24, 1942, BAMA, RH 21-1/241.

43. On the French theater of operations, see the essay by Raffael Scheck. The eastern theater of war also included the POW organization in Romania not specifically discussed here; see Keilig, *Heer*, chapter 54, pp. 2–6; Diensteinteilung für den Stab des Generalquartiermeister, Stand bei Kriegsbeginn 1939, BA-MA, RH 3/389; GenStdH/GenQu: Gliederung Generalquartiermeister des Heeres am 1.10.40, BA-MA, RH 3/1.

44. Diagram of the chains of command regarding supply issues, n.d.; Organization and task allocation of the Senior Quartermaster Department of an Army Group, n.d., both BA-MA, RH 3/389; OKH/GenStdH/GenQu/Abt. I/Qu2: Betr.: O .Qu.Abt. der HGru, December 8, 1941, CAMO f 500, op 12454, d 326.

45. Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl

über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

46. Streim, *sowjetischer Kriegsgefangene*, p. 13; Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

47. Gehrke von Pawel-Rammingen, Kriegserinnerungen, September 24, 1941, BA-MA, N 322/1; Kdr der Krgef HGeb-Süd, Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenlager im Bereich des Feh.H .Geb. Süd, May 15, 1942.

48. Only those camps that were established for deployment in the eastern theater of war are included. Those camps that, contrary to the original plans, remained in the Home Command are listed separately as "Oflag/Stalag in the Reich."

49. Stalags: VI H, XII C, XII E, XVII D, XXI B; Oflags: VI E, VII D, VIII B, XI A, XIII A, XXI A.

50. Kommandierender General der Sicherungstruppen und Befehlshaber im Heeresgebiet Nord/Ia, Betr.: Unterstellung der Lsch.Btle, Feld- und Ortskdtren, Dulags, Stalags u. Oflags, April 8, 1942, BA-MA, RH 22/235.

51. Rounded data from the series of reports of OKH/GensStdH/GenQu/Abt. Kriegsverwaltung (Qu4), "Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet," "Italienische Militärinternierte im Op-Gebiet," and "Nicht-sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Operationsgebiet" for the aforementioned dates, BA-MA, RH 3/v. 150, RH 4/448, RH 2/2678.

52. Johannes Gutschmidt, war diary, October 10, 1941, BA-MA, MSg2/10902; Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

53. AOK 9/OQu/Qu2: Wochenbericht vom 7.11.-13.11.43, November 14, 1943, BA-MA, RH 20-9/423.

54. One of the consequences was that communication channels had to be created for the POWs' mail. Until then there had been no postal traffic from AGSSts. AGSSt 39 was

subsequently tasked with postal censorship for the entire area of Army Group Center.

55. Generalquartiermeister—Gliederung und Aufgabenverteilung, Stand 1945, BA-MA, RH 3/389.

56. File note, Major Breyer, November 10, 1938, BA-MA, RH 13/2; RdL u ObdL/GenStQu. 2, Nr. 77990/39 geh. (III C) Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenlager der Luftwaffe, November 9, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141; Rü IVc, file note, June 15, 1938, BA-MA, RW 19/2140; Kurt Linde, Kriegsgefangenenwesen OKW, BA-MA, N 133/v. 6, p. 20. In general, it should be noted that the sources on the organizational history of the Luftwaffe are disparate and contradictory. This is due first to the sparseness of the records and the small scale of the Luftwaffe's POW administration, and second to the fact that the associated remarks frequently are based on statements and reports by contemporary witnesses, who wrote them after the war from memory, without being able to rely on documents.

57. This group also included naval airmen as well as members of enemy air forces who voluntarily went into German captivity. They were called *Überflieger* rather than *Überläufer*, the usual term for deserters, see OKL/FSt/Ic, statements by Romanian deserters, January 19, 1945, BA-MA, RH 2/2786.

58. RMdL u. ObdL/Chef der Luftwehr, *Merkblatt für den Arbeitseinsatz der sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich der Luftwaffe* (*Merkblatt 205*), December 10, 1943, BA-MA, RL 2 II/4390; this pamphlet replaces *Merkblatt* No. 117, February 1942; Reichssicherheitshauptamt/IV B 5, No. 33065g, Einsatz sowjetrussischer Kriegsgefangener zur aktiven Luftverteidigung im Heimatluftgebiet, June 24, 1943, BArch, R 58/9806.

59. LgKdo Moskau/Qu, Stobau Az. 11 Nr. 2183/43 geh., Betr.: Neugliederung der Luftwaffenbautruppe, March 17, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178.

60. Because Dulag Luft also performed personnel administration functions such as registration, due to the relatively long stay of

the POWs in this camp, it functioned as a Stalag.

61. RdL u ObdL/GenSt/Qu1, Az. 19 a Nr. 7895/39 geh., Betr.: Kriegsgefangenendurchgangslager, November 17, 1939, BA-MA, RL III/482; RdL u ObdL/GenStQu. 2, Nr. 77990/39 geh. (III C), Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenlager der Luftwaffe, November 9, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141; Luftgaukommando I/Luftgauarzt: KTB-Einträge, September 13, 1943, April 4, 1943, April 11, 1943, May 26, 1943, June 23, 1943, BAMA, RL 19/4.

62. Oberst Dr. W. Walther, Die Luftwaffeninspektion 17, July 30, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/10; Lg Kdo Moskau/Qu, Stobau Az. 11 Nr. 2183/43 geh., Betr.: Neugliederung der Luftwaffenbautruppe, March 17, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178.

63. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes,* pp. 229–230.

64. Although the Luftwaffe certainly had a supply system, which resembled that of the Army in its main features, little is known about it. This is especially true for the supply troops. Although it is highly likely that the Luftwaffe possessed POW supply units like those of the Army, we were unable to identify them. With respect to construction, the POW units involved are indeed known, though little data is available on their deployment.

65. In individual cases, they also created personnel records and identification tags; it can be assumed, however, that this was done only temporarily, as a replacement for lost records.

66. See Feldluftzeuggruppe Moskau, BrB.Nr. 581/43 geh. Verw./Gr. I, Betr.: Einstellung von Hilfswilligen und Behelfspersonal, February 22, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178.

67. Of 33 units in total that were deployed, 21 were deployed predominantly or exclusively on the eastern front, 4 in Finland or Norway, and 8 in the territory of the Reich or in the west.

68. The files do not reveal a substantive connection to the reorganization of the entire POW administration as of October 1, 1944. Because this change in the construction organization had a substantial effect on the Luftwaffe but applied to the

POW administration only in part, such a connection can probably be ruled out.

69. Reichsminister Göring is said to have placed the entire Luftwaffe construction apparatus at the disposal of the Organisation Todt on May 3, 1944; on July 20, 1944, the commander in chief of the Navy, Grossadmiral Dönitz, followed suit. As of May 1, 1944, the construction sectors of the Luftwaffe and the Navy were subordinate to the Organisation Todt, see Figge, *Organisation Todt*, p. 82. The personnel strength of the Luftwaffe construction troops was approximately 40,000 men, the majority of them Soviet volunteers and POWs, see Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, pp. 288, 333; Hildebrand, *Luftwaffengenerale*, vol. 3, pp. 562–564; Oberst Dr. W. Walther, Die Luftwaffeninspektion 17, July 30, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/10; Die Gliederung der deutschen Luftwaffe (Kriegsspitzengliederung und Gliederung der Höheren Kommandobehörden von 1933–1945), November 25, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/175; Inspizient für ausländisches Personal der Luftwaffe Ost, Brb.Nr. 229/44 geh. (I), Betr.: Vortragsnotiz, October 1944, BA-MA, RL 2 III/459.

70. Der Chef der Luftwehr, Vorläufiges Merkblatt über die Behandlung der als Behelfspersonal in der Flakartillerie verwendeten sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen, IMT-Dokument No. 5798; A274: RdL u. ObdL Az 3p20, Betr: Einsparung von Personal bei den Lw.Bautruppen, October 29, 1942, BArch, R 3201/20173.

71. There were around 80,000 POWs; see Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, p. 289; Die Gliederung der deutschen Luftwaffe (Kriegsspitzengliederung und Gliederung der Höheren Kommandobehörden von 1933–1945), November 25, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/175. On February 17, 1945, Generalleutnant Grosch was transferred to the Leaders Reserve (*Führerreserve*); his successor was Generalleutnant Schulz. On June 28, 1944, Generalmajor—as of August 1, 1944, Generalleutnant—Heinrich Aschenbrenner was appointed Inspector for Foreign Personnel East, Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, pp. 289, 624–628; Hildebrand,

Luftwaffengenerale, vol. 1, pp. 27–28, 397–398; Inspizient für ausländisches Personal der Luftwaffe Ost, B rb.Nr. 229/44 geh. (I), Betr.: Vortragsnotiz, October 1944, BA-MA, RL 2 III/459; OKL/LwOrgStab/GenSt-GenQu/2. Abt. Nr. 2029/45 geh. Vorläufiger Dienst- und Stellenplan für die Inspekteur des ostvölkischen Personals der Luftwaffe, February 1, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 III/32.

72. According to Geck, *Kriegsgefangenwesen*, p. 16, there existed—analogous to the situation in the Army—a commander of POWs in every Luftwaffe administrative command headquarters that oversaw a POW camp. Geck does not cite evidence for his statement, and thus far no indication of such a function has been found in the files. Von Lindeiner was named commandant of Stalag Luft 3 on April 24, 1942. It is not known when the construction of the camp was complete. The date was close to the time when the commandant was appointed, however, see also Personalakte von Lindeiner-Wildau, Friedrich-Wilhelm, BA-MA, Pers 6/153948; Friedrich Wilhelm von Lindeiner-Wildau, Im Dienst der deutschen Luftwaffe, BA-MA, MSg 2/1517.

73. According to the report by von Lindeiner-Wildau, he was relieved on October 10, 1942; according to his personnel file, the corresponding order is dated November 3, 1942. Von Lindeiner-Wildau attributes the removal of the function of Commander of Prisoners of War of the Luftwaffe to a conflict between him and the department above him. As he depicts it, his function was taken over by an Inspectorate of Prisoner of War Administration for the Luftwaffe, of which there is no evidence in the records. It must be assumed that von Lindeiner-Wildau, who had no opportunity to refer to documents when writing his manuscript, suffered a memory lapse and mixed up the terms “Inspector” (*Inspizient*) and “Inspectorate” (*Inspektion*). Some sources, such as the testimony of Generalleutnant Grosch before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, ignore the existence of the Inspector and postulate the replacement of the Commander of the POW Camps of the Luftwaffe directly by Luftwaffe Inspectorate 17 (LIn 17); see Feldluftzeuggruppe Moskau, B

rB.Nr. 581/43 geh. Verw./Gr. I, Betr.: Einstellung von Hilfswilligen und Behelfspersonal, February 22, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178; LgKdo Moskau/Qu, Stobau Az. 11 Nr. 2183/43 geh., Betr.: Neugliederung der Luftwaffenbautruppe, March 17, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178; Friedrich Wilhelm von Lindeiner-Wildau, Im Dienst der deutschen Luftwaffe, BA-MA, MSg 2/1517; Personalakte von Lindeiner-Wildau, Friedrich-Wilhelm, BA-MA, Pers 6/153948.

74. Before the expansion of the area of responsibility, LIn 17 was commanded by Oberst Hamel; after the expansion occurred, as of May 1, 1943, he was replaced by Generalleutnant Grosch, who occupied this position until June 28, 1944, see Hildebrand, *Luftwaffengenerale*, vol. 1, pp. 397–398; Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, pp. 259, 570; OKW/ChefKriegsgef./Org. (Ic), Az 2f24.12.c, Nr. 6222/43 Organisationsbefehl Nr. 51, November 18, 1943, BA-MA, RW 6/273. It was not possible to determine the previous subordination of the Soviet POWs who had already served in the antiaircraft artillery and construction units, see Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, pp. 259, 596– 597; Oberst Dr. W. Walther, Die Luftwaffeninspektion 17, July 30, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/10; Die Gliederung der deutschen Luftwaffe (Kriegsspitzengliederung und Gliederung der Höheren Kommandobehörden von 1933–1945), November 25, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/175; LgKdo Moskau/Qu, Stobau Az. 11 Nr. 2183/43 geh., Betr.: Neugliederung der Luftwaffenbautruppe, March 17, 1943, BA-MA, RL 24/178.

75. According to Boog, *Luftwaffenführung*, p. 570, this name change applied also to the construction units. However, according to Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, vol. 15, 1979, p. 381, and the documents available, this change did not apply to the POW units.

76. Die Gliederung der deutschen Luftwaffe (Kriegsspitzengliederung und Gliederung der Höheren Kommandobehörden von 1933–1945), November 25, 1945, BA-MA, RL 2 VI/175.

77. Only Stalag Luft 5 (Wolfen) was exempt from this reorganization, because it functioned as a replacement unit for

the Army POWs deployed with the Luftwaffe units. The same was true for Dulag West, which, after a few months under the Chief of POW Administration, was subordinated to the Luftwaffe again, because it was primarily an interrogation camp, rather than a POW camp.

78. For example, Westhoff, Summary of the Questioning of General Adolf Westhoff by Colonel Curtis L. Williams, IGD dated November 2, 1945, IMT-Dokument RF 145 C, BA-MA, N 54/36. Only Geck, *Kriegsgefangenenwesen*, p. 16, takes the view that there was a commander of POWs in every Naval Group Command (*Marinegruppenkommando*), but cites no supporting documents. It was not possible to verify the existence of such a post.

79. Painfully evident here is the fact that scarcely any Naval Defense Office files have survived. The Navy's two large territorial commands—Station Command North Sea and Station Command Baltic, already in existence when the war began—published official bulletins, the *Stationstagesbefehle*. Beginning in 1939, a classified edition also was issued.

80. See "Richtlinien über die Behandlung von Kriegsgefangenen und Bergung von Leichen feindlicher Wehrmachtangehöriger," published for Station Command Baltic in *OTB*, No. 248/1939, Item IV: Übergabe der KfGefMarine an das Heer, and Annex 1, for the North Sea in MdN, *NTB* No. 226/1939. The instructions for the North Sea Station seemingly have not survived anywhere. Therefore, references in this text pertain to a revised version of these instructions dated November 28, 1939, on the assumption that no significant change was made in the brief interim, see MdN, *NTB 1939*, No. 276, November 28, 1939, Item VII and Annex 1.

81. MdN, *NTB,* No. 27/1940, No. 27, February 1, 1940, Item VI: Zwischenunterkünfte Marine; MdO, *gOTB*, No. 51/1941, July 2, 1941, Item V: Dulag Gotenhafen.

82. In the Station Command North Sea area, Stalag X A (Sandbostel) was earmarked as the POW camp for NCOs and

enlisted ranks, while officers were to be confined in Oflag X C (Itzehoe) and Oflag X B (Nienburg). As early as January 11, 1940, there was a change to this plan: all NCOs and enlisted personnel now were to be transferred to Stalag VII A (Moosburg) and officers to Oflag IX A (Spangenberg); see MdN, *NTB*. No. 8/1940, January 11, 1940, Item III: Behandlung von KrGef. In the Station Command Baltic area, various camps were envisaged, according to Defense District. In Defense District I, these camps were Stalag I A (Stablack) for NCOs and enlisted men, and Oflag Stablack for officers. The latter, though planned, never came into being. In Defense District II, NCOs and enlisted men were to be held in Stalag II A (Neubrandenburg) and officers in Oflag II A (Prenzlau). In Defense District X, the camp for NCOs and enlisted men was Stalag X A (Sandbostel); officers were to be confined in Oflag X C (Itzehoe), see MdO, *OTB*, No. 248/1939, October 11, 1939, No. IV: Übergabe der KrGef Marine an das Heer, and Annex 1. Special instructions for civilian internees existed only to the extent that ship officers, like officer POWs, were taken to Oflag IX A (Spangenberg), while the other members of the ship's crew were placed in Stalags; see MdN, *NTB,* No. 5/1940, January 7, 1940, Item IV: Marineinternierte im Offizierrang; MdO, *gOTB,* No. 2/1941, January 9, 1941, Item VI: Meldung Zivilinternierter von Schiffen.

83. The available reports about the evacuation routes date primarily from the years 1940 and 1941. It can be assumed that the procedure remained unchanged in the following years; see Thomas, *MILAG: Captives of the Kriegsmarine*, pp. 64–65, 75, 91.

84. Naval aviators occupied an intermediate position— they were sent to Navy, rather than Luftwaffe, camps. However, the interrogation of these aviators was conducted by a Luftwaffe interrogation group, which was deployed inside Dulag Nord.

85. The provision of the infrastructure for housing the Navy prisoners in France and in Sandbostel was mentioned previously. Also noteworthy is the administrative support of Dulag Gotenhafen by Stalag XX B and the assistance during the exchange of the POWs' camp money for Reichsmarks; see

MdO, *OTB,* No. 18/1944, February 8, 1944, BVA, Item IV: Versorgung der Kriegsgefangenen im Heimatskriegsgebiet mit Tabakwaren; MdO, *OTB,* No. 138/1944, November 9, 1944, Item VI: Fleisch und Fleischwaren, Fisch und Fischwaren für Kriegsgefangene; MdO, *OTB,* No. 150/1944, December 2, 1944, Item VI: Versorgung der Kriegsgefangenen im Heimatskriegsgebiet mit Tabakwaren.

86. For example: OKW/AWA/Krgef (IIIa), Nr. 588/40, March 18, 1940, Betr.: Behandlung von Besatzungsangehörigen und Fahrgästen feindlicher Schiffe, BA-MA, RW 5/27; OKM/ MarWehr/TR Ib, Nr. 25 246/44g, Betr.: Überführung der Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenlager der Kriegsmarine an Reichsführer-SS und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens, October 26, 1944, PAAA, R 40971.

87. OKW/Chef Kriegsgef Org III b, Nr. 3932, October 10, 1942, in: MdO, *OTB*, No. 200/1942, December 3, 1942, Item II: Anforderungen von kriegsgefangenen Arbeitskräften; MdO, *OTB*, No. 183/1942, October 31, 1942, Item IX: Einsatz von Kriegsgefangenen, Rückführung erkrankter Kriegsgefangener nach ihrer Genesung auf den alten Arbeitsplatz.

88. OKM, Kriegsgeschäftsverteilungsplan, April 1, 1942, BA-MA, RM 6/3397.

89. For this reason, the Army POWs who were transferred to the Navy were also not shown under "Navy" in the Wehrmacht statistics; thus, in contrast to the Luftwaffe, the number of personnel in this group is not statistically recorded. In the area of Station Command North Sea, Stalag X B (Sandbostel) carried out the personnel management function centrally for all the Stalags; see OKM [Navy High Command], *Bestimmungen Behelfspersonal*, p. 6; MdO, *OTB*, No. 183/1942, October 31, 1942, Item IX: Einsatz von Kriegsgefangenen, Rückführung erkrankter Kriegsgefangener nach ihrer Gene-sung auf den alten Arbeitsplatz; MdO, *OTB*, No. 200/1942, December 3, 1942, Item II: Anforderungen von kriegsgefangenen Arbeitskräften; MdO, *OTB*, No. 116/1943, July 26, 1943, Item VI: Einsatz sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener

als Behelfspersonal bei der Marine; MdO, *gOTB*, No. 40/1943, May 31, 1943, Item IX: Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene auf Soldatenplanstellen; MdN, *NTB*, No. 132/1944, December 18, 1944, BVA, Item IV: Bezahlung von Kriegsgefangenenarbeit.

90. This instruction to register the auxiliary personnel makes it clear how little the Station Command knew about the POWs deployed in its own area, see MdN, *NTB*, No. 25/1942, February 7, 1942, Item VIII: Kriegsgefangenenlager und Lager ausländischer Arbeiter im Befehlsbereich des Kommandos der Marinestation der Nordsee; MdO, *OTB*, No. 150/1943, October 6, 1943, Item IV: Steuerung des Einsatzes der russischen Kriegsgefangenen; MdO, *gOTB,* No. 40/1943, May 31, 1943, Item IX: Personelle Erfassung der in Soldatenplanstellen eingesetzten sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen.

91. As of February 1, 1943, the Station Commands were given new names: Naval Command East and Naval Command West. The Naval Defense Office was redesignated the Naval Troop Office (*Marinetruppenamt*) as of May 1, 1944; see Lohmann and Hildebrand, *Die deutsche Kriegsmarine*, No. 33, pp. 3–5.

92. The organization of this labor deployment took place, among other things, as part of the programs "Atlantic I," "Atlantic II," and "Atlantic III," which ended no later than December 1944; see MdN, *NTB*, No. 132/1944, December 18, 1944, Item VI: Bezahlung von Kriegsgefangenenarbeit; MdO, *OTB*, No. 200/1942, December 3, 1942, Item II: Anforderung von kriegsgefangenen Arbeitskräften. With the handover of the Navy Construction Office to the Organisation Todt in the summer of 1944, a portion of the deployment areas of the POWs was discontinued, see Deutsche Dienststelle, Ordre de Bataille de l'Ex-Wehrmacht: Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine, Part III, p. 108, BA-MA, RW 48/323.

93. Numerous special provisions are found for the Italians; see MdN, *gNTB*, No. 30/1944, July 25, Item XII: Gesundheitliche

Überwachung bei italienischen Militärinternierten; MdN, *NTB*, No. 44/1944, November 10, 1944, Item XV: Beurlaubung italienischer Soldaten in der deutschen Wehrmacht; MdO, *OTB*, No. 144/1943, September 27, 1943, BVA, Item II: Verpflegung eingegliederter italienischer Einheiten; MdO, *OTB*, No. 156/1943, October 16, 1943, Item III: Verpflegung italienischer Kriegsgefangener; MdO, *OTB*, No. 157/1943, October 19, 1943, Item X: Merkblatt über die Behandlung bündnistreuer italienischer Soldaten; MdO, *OTB,* No. 179/1943, December 4, 1943, Item II: Abfindung der italienischen Soldaten, die sich zur Fortsetzung des Kampfes an der Seite der deutschen Wehrmacht bereit erklären; MdO, *gOTB,* No. 51/1944, October 14, 1944, Item XV: Beurlaubung italienischer Soldaten in der deutschen Wehrmacht; MdO, *gOTB*, No. 55/1944, November 9, 1944, Item XV: Beurlaubung italienischer Soldaten in der deutschen Wehrmacht; MdO, *gOTB*, No. 60/1944, December 6, 1944, Item XI: Urlaub von Angehörigen der ital.-republikanischen Wehrmacht nach Italien; MdO, *gOTB,* No. 18/1945, April 11, 1945, Item XI: Überführung in Wehrmachtdienststellen eingesetzter ital. Militärinternierter als ital. Soldaten in die deutsche Wehrmacht. In 1942, Station Command North Sea ordered reports to be made on the nationalities of the POWs deployed as auxiliary personnel; therefore, it is possible that the Soviets were not the only nationality to perform this function. One could conjecture that French POWs might have been involved as well, although labor deployments of French prisoners in the Navy are not mentioned in the literature.

94. See the chapter on the Navy in this volume.

95. See Deutsche Dienststelle, Ordre de Bataille de l'Ex-Wehrmacht, Part III, p. 108, BA-MA, RW 48/323.

96. Moll, *Führer-Erlasse,* pp. 460–461. Since 1941, Himmler had been trying to extend his influence over the administration of POWs, with a view to eventually taking it over completely; see Overmans, *German Policy on Prisoners of War*, pp. 858–861.

97. Overmans, *German Policy on Prisoners of War*, pp. 861–867.

98. Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VII/Ia, Az AII/1, Betr: Abgrenzung der Aufgaben im Kriegsgefangenenwesen zwischen Oberkommando der Wehrmacht und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres, November 6, 1944, BAMA, RH 53-7/724.

99. OKM / Mar.Wehr/TR Ib, Nr. 25 246/44g, Betr.: Überführung der Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenlager der Kriegsmarine an Reichsführer-SS und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens, October 26, 1944, PAAA, R 4097; OKW/Abt. Wehrmachtverluste und Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Az 2f24 10 geheim, Betr.: Geschäftsverteilungsplan, October 1, 1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2141.

100. Dulag Luft was also transferred to the Army at first, but as early as December 1944, it was reincorporated into the Luftwaffe. The guard units were given Army designations with numbers above 1,000; see StvGenKdo XVII/Ib/Org (2), Betr.: Eingliederung der Kommandanturen und des Wachpersonals der Kriegsgefangenenlager der Luftwaffe in das Heer, January 7, 1944, BA-MA, RH 53-17/80.

101. Befehlshaber der Ersatzheeres/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Betr.: Vorlläufige Dienstanweisung für den "Höheren Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis," BA-MA, RH 53-7/724.

102. Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Betr.: Neue Organisation des Kriegsgefangenenwesens, November 17, 1944, BA-MA, RH 49/111.

103. Accordingly, the official publication of orders, the *Befehlssammlung*, contained two sections on November 15, 1944: the orders of the Inspector for POW Administration and the order of the Chief of POW Administration; see OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 46, November 15, 1944.

104. Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VII/Ia, Az AII/1, Betr: Abgrenzung der Aufgaben im Kriegsgefangenenwesen zwischen Oberkommando der Wehrmacht und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres, November 6, 1944, BAMA, RH 53-7/724.

105. The only evidence of this declaration is found in the *Nordseestationstagesbefehle*, but it must be assumed that the order was addressed to the whole of the subordinate area and that there are simply gaps in the historical record; see MdN, *NTB*, No. 18/1945, February 16, 1945, Item VII: Behandlung von Kriegsgefangenen.

106. Toward the end of 1944, the OKW ordered the murder of a French general who was a POW in reprisal for the murder of a German general who was a prisoner in French hands. This order was carried out in a collaborative arrangement between the Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the leadership of the system of POW administration—albeit without the involvement of the Chief of POW Administration or his deputy; see Weitkamp, *Mord mit reiner Weste*, pp. 31–35.

107. Der Inspekteur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD Düsseldorf, Übermittlung eines Fernschreibens RF-SS, October 6, 1944, BA-MA, R 58/397; Gottlob Berger, Krgsgef .Wesen, December 7, 1946, IMT-Dokument NO 1103.

108. Generalkommando WK X/I a: Zehn Jahre Wehrkreis X (Tätigkeitsbericht des Wehrkreiskommandos X von 1935–1945), BA-MA, RH 53-10/37; Adolf Westhoff, Aufgabe und Arbeitsweise des Chefs bzw. Inspekteurs des Kriegsgefangenenwesens im OKW, n.d., BA-MA, MSg 1/2012.

109. Befehlshaber Ersatzheer/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, Az. 2f.24.16 Gr. III/2, Betr.: Arbeitseinsatz polnischer Offiziere, December 28, 1944, BA-MA, RW 5/731; OKW/WFSt, Qu/Verw. 1, Betr.: Arbeitseinsatz polnischer Offiziere, BA-MA, RW 4/731.

110. OKW/Abteilung Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Sammelmitteilungen*, No. 1, June 16, 1941, Item I/1: K r.Gef.

fremder Volkszugehörigkeit in feindlichen Heeren.

111. Hinz, *Kriegsgefangenenrecht*, p. 22.

112. See the section of this volume on the POW organization in France.

113. A conference planned for 1940, which was supposed to reach an agreement under international humanitarian law to regulate the status of the civilian internees, never took place because of the war; see Favez, *Internationale Rote Kreuz*, p. 577.

114. Thus, all US and British citizens in Germany were treated as civilian internees, although, for example, the civilians who were deported from the German-occupied Channel Islands by request of the Wehrmacht should have been classified as civilian prisoners. Over time, this principle seems to have been applied to additional categories of people; see OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 15, August 10, 1942, Item 116: Festsetzung und Überführung feindlicher Staatsangehöriger in deutsche Lager.

115. Marinestation der Ostsee, *Geheimer Ostseestationstagesbefehl*, No. 4/1942, January 14, 1942, Item VI: Begriff der Unterstellung; Marinestation der Ostsee, *Geheimer Ostseestationstagesbefehl*, No. 5/1942, January 20, 1942, Item IV: Begriff der Unterstellung; OKH, *Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen*, No. 9/1943, April 7, 1943, Item 308: Begriff der Unterstellung, in reference to Order of OKW/AWA/WAllg(IIc), No. 161/43g, March 9, 1943.

116. An exception is Stalag 304, which was transferred from Germany to Belgium in 1942 along with its prisoners.

117. Exceptions include Oflag 67, which as "Oflag 67 Neubrandenburg" used the designation of its duty station in its name for a time. Other such camps were Dulag Döllersheim, Dulag Gneixendorf, and Dulag Halbau as well as the alternate camps of the Operation Sea Lion transit camps.

118. Organizational regulations were not followed strictly in the Wehrmacht. Thus, there was hardly any rule without an

exception. Two examples: the Stalag Luft camps were defined as fixed in place. Nonetheless, except for Stalag Luft 5, they all were moved at least once, without any change in their names. The Navy's first Stalag Milag was located initially in Sandbostel and named for this place. Then, along with the commandant's office and the POWs, it was moved to the newly built Marlag-Milag Nord in Westertimke.

119. The Table of Organization (*Kriegsstärkenachweisung*, KStN) specifies the tasks, organization, permanent staffing, and equipment of a military unit.

120. In the territory of the Reich, there were approximately 80 Stalags, each of which may have maintained 400–500 labor detachments—varying in strength between one POW and several hundreds, if not thousands, of POWs—during 1943 and 1944, the years of the most extensive deployment of labor in quantitative terms. Thus, there were approximately 30,000–40,000 labor detachments. Considering, in addition, that such detachments were also disbanded or newly activated over the course of the war, it can be assumed that the number of labor detachments for the overall war period might well have been in the upper tens of thousands.

121. For the purview of the Navy, the unauthorized use of the term "camp" (*Lager*) was prohibited; see Marinestation der Nordsee, *Nordseestationstagesbefehl*, No. 148/1943, September 20, 1943, Item XXII: Bezeichnung von Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos. In the other branches of the Wehrmacht, similar regulations may well have existed, evidently without success.

122. Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

123. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 15, August 10, 1942, Item 133: Bezeichnung der Lager.

124. On this, see the remarks in the section on Stalags.

125. These included Ilag Wülzburg/TL Oflag; Oflags IV B, VII C,

XIII B, and XIII D; Stalag III D/ZL Wuhlheide and ZL Wustrau I, Stalag XX A.

126. Overmans, *Jewish POWs*, p. 48.

127. See, for example, OKW, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 35, May 1, 1944, Item 535: Arbeitsverweigernde und wiederergriffene italienische Militär-Internierte. The special camp (*Sonderlager*) of the Mauthausen concentration camp occupied a special position. The camp held "legion" members who had been removed from this service and returned to the status of POW for reasons such as crimes, unreliability, etc. The special camp thus served as a penal facility for POWs. POWs who had been sentenced by Wehrmacht courts to prison terms for "normal" offenses served their time as "guests" in Wehrmacht prisons, which were meant for German soldiers.

128. Streim, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 6; Otto and Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im System der Konzentrationslager*, pp. 48–84.

129. Only Auffanglager 6 was separated. The meaning and weight of the supplemental term "mobile" is unclear. Auffanglager 7 was restructured as an Oflag as early as 1940.

130. Auffanglager 13, 14, 15, and 16 were in existence only for a few months.

131. AHA, *KStN Heer*, No. 7811, August 27, 1944; Gehrke von Pawel-Rammingen, war memoirs, entries dated September 24, 1941, and October 27, 1941, BA-MA, N 322/1.

132. AGSSt 23: western front, AGSSt 25: North Africa (not implemented), AGSSt 102, 103, 105, 107: assigned to the 2nd Hungarian Army on the eastern front.

133. OKW, *H.Dv. No. 38/4, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Durchgangslagers*, pp. 7–11.

134. To be recorded in the Dulag: deaths, successful escapes, and POWs who were deployed in labor detachments or in the

camp on a long-term basis, OKW, *H.Dv. No. 38/4, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Durchgangslagers*, pp. 11–13.

135. The territory of the Reich was divided into 13 Defense Districts with the numbers I–XIII, as well as XVII and XVIII, added in 1938 for the newly incorporated Austrian territories. After the conquest of Poland, the two additional Defense Districts, XX and XXI, were created. They include the northern Polish territories, which were incorporated into the Reich.

136. OffzDulag XII existed until July 1940. Dulag B even longer, until its closure in October 1940.

137. Arabic numerals: 88; Roman numerals: 74; alphabet letters: 4; Frontstalags: 87.

138. AHA, *KStN Heer Nr. 7805*, August 1, 1942; OKW, *H.Dv. 38/5, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandeur eines Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlagers*, pp. 7, 15, 18–19, 22–23.

139. For every additional 10,000 POWs, the staff could be increased by 60 soldiers, including 6 officers; see AHA, *KStN Nr. 7805,* September 1, 1938, and August 1, 1942; OKW, *H.Dv 38/5, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandeur eines Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlagers*, pp. 9–13; Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht, Befehl über das Kriegsgefangenenwesen, May 30, 1943, BA-MA, RW 41/13.

140. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/5, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandeur eines Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlagers*, p. 9; Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 29.

141. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/12*, *Dienstanweisung über Raumbedarf, Bau und Einrichtung eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers*, p. 5.

142. Stalag Holland A–Stalag Holland D.

143. Regarding personnel, the Frontstalags—in comparison with the Table of Organization for Stalags (*Stalag KStN*) dated 1938—were better staffed, especially in enlisted ranks; see AHA, *KStN Nr. 7805,* September 1, 1938; AHA, *KStN Nr. 7809,* January 31, 1941.

144. Including two "latecomers," which were not activated until November 1941, but, like the others, were renamed as Stalags within a few weeks.

145. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenenwesen, *Befehlssammlung*, No. 12, April 8, 1942, Item 50: Bezeichnung der KrGef-Lager, names 12 camps. In addition, there were Stalags 315 and 323, which had already been transferred out of Reich territory at the time of the order. Among others, Stalags 344, 383, and 389 did not receive a supplemental identifier after their transfer into the territory of the Reich; see Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 35–39.

146. In the army manual published before the war began, the maximum occupancy is given as 1,000 officers; the Table of Organization dated 1942 already provides for a maximum occupancy of 1,500; see AHA, *KStN 7803,* August 1, 1942; Streim, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 11; OKW, *H.Dv 38/5, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandeur eines Kriegsgefangenen-Offizierlagers*, pp. 5, 10, 13.

147. Oflags II A, X A, and XI were established before the war began.

148. The supplemental identifier was given to Oflags 54, 55, and 62; Oflags 6, 8, 10, 52, 57, 60, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 78, 79, 80, and 83 were not given supplemental identifiers.

149. In addition, Oflag 52 was set up in 1942.

150. OKL, *Merkblatt für die Verwaltung im Kriegsgefangenenwesen*, Annex 2, p. 3; only for the counterintelligence officer of an Ilag did instructions exist, *H.Dv. Nr. 38/10, Dienstvorschrift für den Abwehroffizier in den Kriegsgefangenenund Interniertenlagern der*

Wehrmacht.

151. Even the actors at the time were not always aware of the division of responsibilities. For example, the Armed Forces High Command protests in a letter dated May 19, 1944, saying that it is not responsible for Milag Nord. The Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs had to point out that this perception was completely incorrect; see AA/R XIII/GK Lautz i.V., Aufzeichnung für Herrn Assessor Scholl, August 2, 1944, PAAA, R 40971.

152. Only Ilag Giromany was in France. It had been moved there from Reich territory due to housing problems.

153. Ilag Kreuzburg appears three times in the list, although it was, in fact, a single camp. However, it changed its organizational connection several times. Initially, it was subordinate to Ilag XIII, then to Oflag 6, and finally to Stalag 344.

154. Ilag XIII in Wülzburg had a subcamp, an Oflag for Soviet staff officers.

155. It was also possible to verify that the Wehrmacht provided support services for a civilian prisoners' camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*), the Fort de Romainville police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*).

156. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/8a, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers während der Feindseligkeiten*, pp. 9, 11.

157. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/8a, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers während der Feindseligkeiten*, pp. 14, 28–31.

158. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/8a, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers während der Feindseligkeiten*, pp. 9, 16, 55.

159. Heilags V A, V B, and V C.

160. Heilags V A, V B, and V C.

161. Heilags Chalon-sur-Saône, Compiègne, and Rouen.

162. Heilag Stettin for German repatriates.

163. OKW, *H.Dv. 38/8a, Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers während der Feindseligkeiten*, pp. 28–29.

164. The two tables shown here are based on the following information:

The percentages show the shares for the entire table. Because of rounding, they do not necessarily add up to 100%.

Subcamps are not included. An exception is Ilag Kreuzburg, which was subordinate to three different main camps in succession.

Reestablishments are not considered.

Auffanglager (Auff.Lg.) are included in the category AGSSt.

Luftwaffe camps and Marlag Milag are included in the category Stalag/Frontstalag.

Zweig- and Teillager are not counted separately.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 1

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 1 on June 11, 1941, from the Mobile Reception Camp for Prisoners of War (*Bewegliches Auffanglager für Kriegsgefangene*, Auflag) 1.[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 083 between February 16 and July 18, 1941; the number was struck between February 10 and August 23, 1943. AGSSt 1 was under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585). The staff consisted of 80 to 100 men and 6 to 8 officers, including a commander (Hauptmann Hermann Knabe), an adjutant (Leutnant Hans Elven), two other officers, and two doctors.

AGSSt 1 deployed to the occupied Soviet Union. Among other locations, the unit was deployed to the city of Poltava (map 9f) in the autumn of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942[2] and to the city of Belgorod (9d) in the spring of 1942.[3] Thereafter, the unit changed locations roughly every four weeks, until it was destroyed during the Battle of Stalingrad in February 1943.

AGSSt 1 held Soviet prisoners of war. The conditions in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Overcrowding, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of proper medical care, and harassment from the German guards led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high death rate. The Germans handed sick Soviet soldiers over to Soviet army doctors and orderlies for treatment but presumably failed to provide them with adequate medical supplies. Many Soviet prisoners reportedly died from typhus.

As in other camps, the Germans carried out selections to weed out Jews and political commissars among the prisoners. Those selected were then shot by the guards or Security Service

(*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 1 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; RH 23: 319–329, Korück 585); BArch B 162/8501, 7188; WASt; and GAKhO collection r-3086.

Additional information about AGSSt 1 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 28.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, vol. 2, p. 28.

2. Subdivisions and departments that are subject to Korück 585 (as of 12/12/1941), GAKhO collection r-3086, inventory 1, file 1, document 35.

3. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 2

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 2 on March 27, 1941. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 764 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on June 16, 1944. From June 1941 onward, AGSSt 2 fell under the jurisdiction of the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559). Between 1941 and 1942, Hauptmann Reeber served as commandant of AGSSt 2. AGSSt 2 deployed to different localities in Belorussia and Russia, including the cities of Minsk (map 9b), Shklov (today Shklou, Belarus) (9b), Roslavl' (9c), Smolensk (9c), Spas-Demensk (9c), Iukhnov (9c), and Mikhailovka (9c). During deployment in the Smolensk region, AGSSt 2 subcamps operated in the cities of El'nia (9c) and Krasn'ii.[1]

As of October 10, 1941, AGSSt 2 was located in the city of Iukhnov. The camp remained here for a significant period of time. In Iukhnov, it served as a gathering place and transit point for Soviet soldiers and officers who had been taken captive in the Viaz'ma region. The camp was located on a sandy hill, and the prisoners lived in huts. Each hut contained three brick furnaces.[2] The camp was designed to hold 10,000 prisoners, but the number of prisoners delivered to the camp was significantly higher. Most of the prisoners were transferred through AGSSt 2 on their way to camps in the cities of Smolensk and Roslavl'. Registration records from October 17, 1941, show 5,500 prisoners registered in the camp. Another 19,500 prisoners were on a foot march toward Roslavl', and camp authorities expected the arrival altogether of 150,000 new prisoners.[3]

AGSSt 2 prisoners endured overcrowding, extremely meager and unpalatable food, including horsemeat and rotten potatoes, and

mistreatment by the guards. In the absence of proper medical care, these conditions caused illness and high mortality rates.[4] Similar conditions prevailed in other localities where AGSSt 2 was deployed. The Wehrmacht disbanded AGSSt 2 on February 11, 1944.[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 2 is located at BA-MA, RH 23: 122 (26), 124 (6, 21, 36), 125 (18), 126 (16, 34–35), 129 (347, 381, 419), 146 (23–24), 148 (3), 150 (87), 151 (55), 154 (61), 161 (35), 194 (231), 251, 322 (11); also, GASmO, collection r-1630: inventory 1, file 303, document 560b; file 305, document 45; inventory 2, file 6, documents 57, 58, 59; file 19, document 35.

Additional information about AGSSt 2 can be found in the following publication: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944. Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004).

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NOTES

1. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 28–29.
2. BA-MA, RH 22: 251, Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J., O.U., 6.11.1941, Anlage 39 zum KTB Ltd.Kgf. Bez. Kdt. HK Mitte.
3. BA-MA, RH 23: 126, Korück 559, Qu Tgb. No. 4086, St.-Qu., October 17, 1941.
4. GASmO, collection r-1630: inventory 1, file 303, document 560b; file 305, document 45; inventory 2, file 6, documents 57, 58, 59; file 19, document 35.
5. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 28–29.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 3

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 3 from the Mobile Reception Camp for Prisoners of War (*Bewegliches Auffanglager für Kriegsgefangene*, Auflag) 3 on May 6, 1941.[1] AGSSt 3 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 183 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on February 25, 1944. Initially, AGSSt 3 deployed to the Warsaw region, where it remained until June 22, 1941. It then redeployed to the city of Brest (map 9e), on the western border of the USSR, where fighting was still going on. Until July 3, 1941, AGSSt 3 was under the jurisdiction of Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 286, under the Fourth Army in Army Group Center. From July 4, 1941, onward, it came under the command of the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580) and deployed to different localities in Belorussia, Ukraine, and Russia.[2] Hauptmann Kurt Udo Hagen Friedrich von Westernhagen (1891–1945) served as the camp's first commandant, until August 3, 1941. He was succeeded by Hauptmann Finster on August 4, 1941, followed by Hauptmann Wilhelm Klages on August 23, 1941.

In July 1941, AGSSt 3 operated prisoner of war camps, and possibly subcamps, in the cities of Kobryn (9e), Slonim (9b), Baranovichi (July 6–10) (9b), Slutsk (July 11–24) (9b), and Bobruisk (July 25–August 14) (9b).[3] A subcamp of Bobruisk operated in the city of Staryi Bykhov on July 25, 1941. At the end of July, the camp in Bobruisk had 8,000 prisoners.[4] In Belorussia, AGSSt 3 also deployed to Gomel' (9c), with a subcamp in Zhlobin, Zhuravichi (9c), Kaplichi (9c), Rechitsa (9c), and Chaplin (9e). In Ukraine, AGSSt 3 deployed to Berezna (9e), Glukhov (today Hlukhiv) (9c), Konotop (9f), Nezhin (today Nizhyn) (9e),

Seredyna-Buda (9c), and Chaplino (9f). In Russia, AGSSt 3 deployed to Volovo (9d), Droskovo (9d), Zhizdra (9c), Kromy (9d), Livny (9d), Ponyri (9d), Ryl'sk (9c), Unecha (9c), and Shchigry (9d).[5]

The conditions at AGSSt 3 camps were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners in Belorussia, Ukraine, and Russia. Prisoners endured tremendous overcrowding and horrible sanitary conditions without proper medical care. They suffered from hunger, malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse at the hand of the German guards, which led to high mortality rates among prisoners. Oberleutnant Franz Keiner, a German military intelligence officer of the Intelligence office (*Abwehr*), aided by prisoner informants, led selections of Jews and Communists from the newly arrived prisoners. Those selected were then passed on to the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) to be shot. After October 1941, the SD took over the selections.

The Wehrmacht ordered the dissolution of AGSSt 3 on January 2, 1944. In 1967, the Central Office for State Justice Administration (*Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen*, ZDL) began a preliminary inquiry into former members of AGSSt 3 suspected of murder or accessory to murder of socalled undesirable prisoners, mainly Jews and Communists. By that time, however, 19 former members of AGSSt 3, including 3 of the commandants, were dead, and 10 members remained unidentified. The ZDL interrogated 18 former members of AGSSt 3 as witnesses. Only the former orderly Wilhelm Becker revealed that selections had taken place at AGSSt 3. The preliminary inquiry was terminated on July 20, 1972, without results.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 3 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 170, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, 186, 187, 191, 192, 195, 196, 197, 201; NARB, file 510-1-75; and BArch B 162/27741–27742: Überprüfung der Armeegefangenenstelle 3 im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Süd.

Additional information about AGSSt 3 can be found in the following publication: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004).

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1. BArch B 162/27741, Bl. 31, 57.
2. BArch B 162/27741, Bl. 9. Until December 1941 the director of the Rear was General-Lieutenant Ludwig Müller (1878–1972).
3. BArch B 162/27741, Bl. 22, 90, 99; BA-MA, RH 23: 170, Bl. 55–56.
4. BA-MA, RH 23: 170, Bl. 131.
5. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 28–29.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 4

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 4 on May 6, 1941. Beginning in June 1941, AGSSt 4 fell under the jurisdiction of the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580). AGSSt 4 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 013 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. Hauptmann der Reserve Schmitz served as commandant of AGSSt 4. The guards came from the 974th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) and the 551st and 581st Guard Battalions (*Wachbataillonen*).

AGSSt 4 deployed to different localities in Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia. In Poland, AGSSt 4 deployed to Bełz (today Belz, Ukraine) (map 5). In Belorussia, AGSSt 4 deployed to the cities of Baranovichi (9b), Bragin (today Brahin) (9e), Volkovysk (4c), Gomel' (9c), Krichev 9c, Krupki (9b), Minsk (9b), Mogilev (9b), Mstislavl' (9c), and Khoiniki (9e). In Ukraine, AGSSt 4 deployed to the cities of Belopol'e (today Bilopillia) (9f), Buryn' (9f), Vorozhba (9c), Novgorod-Severskii (today Novhorod-Sivers'kiy) (9c), and Repki (today Ripky) (9e). In Russia, AGSSt 4 deployed to the cities of Briansk (9c), Dubrovka (9c), Kastornoe (9d), Kursk (9d), Shchigry (9d), Glushkovo (9c), and Gorshechnoe (9d).[1]

From late 1941 and continuing through 1942, AGSSt 4 operated in the city of Kursk. In addition to prisoners of war, male civilians from the city were also detained in the camp. According to Soviet intelligence, 15,000 people were registered at the site on November 30, 1941, and as many as 10,000 people on January 20, 1942. The majority of the prisoners were lightly dressed and without shoes after the Germans seized their hats and warm outerwear. Dead bodies remained in the barracks for weeks.[2]

According to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (UNKVD report from November 12, 1941), "There was no food given out in the camp. The prisoners ate only that which their relatives passed to them."[3] An intelligence report from February 13, 1942, stated that the camp in Kursk held many prisoners, the majority of whom were male civilians. The men were kept in the barracks of military warehouse No. 311 and in the twine factory. According to the report, "The prisoners are half-naked, the barracks are not heated, and they eat soup made with potato peels and meat from fallen cattle. There is a great deal of death in the camp."[4] At one point, AGSSt 4 reported that the SS had taken about 20 prisoners out of the camp and hanged them in a public square in Kursk, where their bodies remained for weeks.

Men from the civilian population were also imprisoned during the deployment of AGSSt 4 to the area surrounding the city of Shchigry. They suffered exhaustion, hunger, and abuse. Many were executed in the courtyard. According to the recollections of the surviving prisoners, the dead were thrown into a large hole in the ice on the pond. Many of the bodies froze in the ice and reappeared during spring thaw. The Germans also shot large groups of prisoners in a ravine behind the village.[5] Similar conditions prevailed in most places in which AGSSt 4 was deployed. The Germans ordered the camp's disbandment on February 11, 1944, and its field post number was struck on February 25, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 4 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 170 (39, 59, 81, 108, 131, 144, 169, 226, 250, 276), 171 (31, 68, 104, 145, 175), 172 (22, 48), 176 (204, 444–445), 177 (4, 16–17), 178 (46), 182 (67, 204–205), 183 (122), 185 (184–185), 187 (33–34), 191 (158), 192 (107, 143), 194 (84, 300), 195 (36, 97, 236), 196 (102), 197 (53), 200 (115), 201 (204); NARB, file 510-1-75; and AFSBKO, files 4–6, 131, 132, 136.

Additional information about AGSSt 4 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg: Front und militärisches Hinterland*

1941/42 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2009).

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NOTES

1. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 30–31.
2. AFSBKO, collection 4, file 6, document 20; file 136, document 75.
3. AFSBKO, collection 4, file 131, documents 48–49.
4. AFSBKO, collection 4, file 132, document 128.
5. *Book of Memory of the Kursk Region*—T.8.—Kursk, 1995, p. 245.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 5

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 5 on May 6, 1941, under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585).[1] Major zur besonderen Verfügung Ludwig Euler served as camp commander. The adjutant was Oberleutnant Schmidt, and the aide-de-camp was Oberleutnant Richard Kossatz. Dr. Carl Abels served as camp doctor until the spring of 1942, when he was succeeded by Dr. Andorf. AGSSt 5 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 895 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck on February 12, 1945. The official order to disband AGSSt 5 was dated January 27, 1943.

AGSSt 5 first deployed to the Lublin area in Poland (map 5). Beginning in July 1941, the camp operated in various localities in Ukraine and Russia. In July and August 1941, the camp was located in Fastov (today Fastiv) (9e). In the fall of 1941, it deployed to Piriatin (9f) and Poltava (9f). Between November 1941 and June 1942, AGSSt 5 was located in Volchansk (today Vovchans'k) (9d), and between September and November 1942, in Kalach (9d). At the end of 1942, during the Battle of Stalingrad, the camp was dispersed, and its remnants were gathered at Morozovsk (9d). AGSSt 5 was then transferred to the town of Shakhty (9d), where it was disbanded as an independent camp and was consolidated with Dulag 201 on February 11, 1943.

AGSSt 5 held Soviet prisoners of war. The camp featured the same overcrowding and catastrophic sanitary conditions that prevailed in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse and, in the absence of proper medical care, suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted a selection of Jews and

Communists among the prisoners. Those selected were then shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or guards near the camp.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 5 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; RH 23: 319–329, Korück 585); BArch B 162/27743–27744: Überprüfung der Armeegefangenenstelle 5 im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Süd; and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 5 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 39.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 39.

2. Überprüfung der Armeegefangenenstelle 5 im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Süd, BArch B 162/27743.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 6

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 6 on March 27, 1941, from Frontstalag 136. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 05 738 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. From July 1941, AGSSt 6 fell under the command of the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559).

The staff consisted of approximately 20 men, of whom approximately a dozen at any given point were officers. The first commander of the unit was Hauptmann Nicolai who remained in that position until August 16, 1942. His successor was Hauptmann Herrmann, and the third commander, beginning in September 1944, was Oberst Burckhardt.

From 1941 to 1943, AGSSt 6 deployed to different localities in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, AGSSt 6 deployed to the city of Minsk (map 9b) and, in September 1941, near the city of Orsha (9b). In Russia, the unit deployed to the cities of El'nia (9c), Maloiaroslavets (9c), Medyn'(9c), Ostër (9c), Roslavl' (9c), Smolensk (9c), and Iukhnov (9c).[1] By September 11, 1941, the camp, which was then located 3 to 4 kilometers (1.8 to 2.5 miles) to the south of Orsha (9b), held 5,000 prisoners of war.[2] From the start of 1942 until the fall, the camp had relocated back toward Smolensk and operated just to the northwest of the city, in Ost'e (9c). From there, it was moved further west and spent most of 1943 in the Mogilev region of Belorussia (9b).[3]

The conditions in AGSSt 6 during its deployment to different localities in Belorussia and Russia were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. The tremendous overcrowding in small spaces, small quantities of barely edible food, horrible sanitation, and lack of proper medical care brought about famine

and disease, which led to an extremely high mortality rate, especially in the first year or so of the camp's existence. Abuse by the guards made the situation still worse.

While stationed in Ostër, the unit interacted with a forced labor camp of Jews who were made to work in peat mining. The extent to which AGSSt 6 actually administered or oversaw the camp is unknown, but it is clear from postwar testimony that officers exhibited some control over the camp and personally handled the prisoners. The camp consisted of three dilapidated wooden barracks housing approximately 80–100 Jews who were in "extremely poor physical condition."[4]

According to one former member of the unit, they were tasked with carrying out executions of those prisoners deemed unfit for work. In his postwar testimony, Walter Beer stated:

> I can remember 3 to 4 instances in which Kompanie-Feldwebel Schulz organized shootings of some 2 to 3 Jews each who were no longer capable of work and disabled…. The shootings were carried out by soldiers of our AGSSt 6. I myself was supposed to take part on one occasion. But because I had urgent work to tend to as a driver, I was able to get myself out of this task. I'm of the opinion that the Jews who were shot were not deathly ill, but rather that they could have become fully healthy again with appropriate care and treatment.[5]

These allegations resulted in an extensive investigation during the 1960s into the executions of Jews, as well as other groups, by the personnel of AGSSt 6, but the small size of the unit and the few postwar survivors limited West German efforts to prosecute.

The Germans disbanded the unit at the end of 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 6 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 124, 126, 128, 129, 148, 154; NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 8; USHMMA, RG-14.101; and BArch B 162/8523.

Additional information about AGSSt 6 can be found in the following publication: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager*

sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 32–33.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23: 124, 126, 128, 129, 148, 154. (There is some question about the accuracy of some of these locations.)

2. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 8, frame 782.

3. Verfügung (February 8, 1973), USHMMA, RG-14.101, B8523, #2755.

4. Statement by Walter Beer (April 13, 1965), USHMMA, RG-14.101.2755.

5. Ibid.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 7

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 7 on March 27, 1941. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 893 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. In June 1941, AGSSt 7 came under the jurisdiction of the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 582).

From 1941 to 1943, AGSSt 7 deployed to different localities in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, AGSSt 7 deployed to the cities of Vileika (July 1941) (map 9b), Postavy (July 1941) (9b), Polotsk (August 1941) (9b), and Disna (August 1941)(9b). In Russia, the unit was stationed in the cities of Velikie, Luki (September 1941) (9a), Zubtsov (9c), Kromy (9d), Rzhev (9c), Rudnia (9b), Smolensk (9c), Staritsa (9c), Sychëvka (9c), Toropets (9a), and Iartsevo (9c).[1]

In 1943, the unit came under the command of Prisoner of War Commandant (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) A. Conditions in the camp were the same as those in most other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Tremendous overcrowding in a small space, food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity, and a lack of proper housing, sanitation, or medical care led to an extremely high death rate, which abuse by the guards only exacerbated. Thus, 342 prisoners died in the camp between June and October 1941 alone. They accounted for 76 percent of all the prisoners who died during this period in all the camps in the Ninth Army Rear Area. From October 2 until November 15, 580 additional prisoners died in the camp.[2] As in other camps, Jews and Communists from among the prisoners and the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or guards shot them near the camp.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 7 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 219–225, 229, 232, 236, 239, 247, 263; and BArch B 162/27745–27746: Überprüfung der Armeegefangenenstelle 7 im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte.

Additional information about AGSSt 7 can be found in: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 32–33; and Theo J. Schulte, "The German Army and National Socialist Occupation Policies in the Occupied Areas of the Soviet Union 1941–1943" (PhD dissertation, School of History, University of Warwick, April 1987).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23: 219–225, 229, 232, 236, 239, 247, 263; Tätigkeitsbericht über den 1. Einsatz der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle 7 vom 8.-16.7.1941 in Postawy (BA-MA, RH 23: 222).

2. Korück 582 (Qu.) v. 26.11.1941 an AOK 9 (O.Qu./Qu. 2), Betr.: Abgänge von Kriegsgefangenen (BA-MA, RH 23: 222); Schulte, "German Army," pp. 218, 366.

3. For details, see Überprüfung der Armeegefangenenstelle 7 im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte, BArch B 162/27745–27746.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 8

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 8 on March 27, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 44 285 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. Beginning in June 1941, AGSSt 8 fell under the jurisdiction of the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 582). At the end of June, AGSSt 8 was stationed for a time in Wilna (today: Vilnius, Lithuania) (map 9b). After this, AGSSt 8 deployed to different localities in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, these localities included the cities of Vileika (9b), Vitebsk (9b), and Lepel' (9b). Locations in Russia included the cities of Viaz'ma (9c), Demidov (9b), Staritsa (9c), Sychëvka (9c), and Iartsevo (9c).[2]

For a long period in 1942, AGSSt 8 was located in the city of Sychëvka. In Sychëvka, the unit was stationed on the outskirts of the city, in 9 to 10 stone and wooden buildings formerly used as a vocational-technical school. Three of the buildings were used as baths, laundry facilities, and commandant headquarters; the rest were used for the prisoners of war (POWs). On December 17, 1941, one of the buildings was destroyed by Soviet aircraft. The camp was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire. Guards with dogs patrolled the area between the rows of barbed wire.

There was a Russian police force in the camp, which comprised about 20 people. In addition, seven others were called sergeants. They wore German uniforms, but their clothing lacked shoulder straps. At times, they acted in the role of duty attendant. They were considered superior to the police in the camp, since distinguished policemen were promoted to sergeant. The camp commandant was an officer in the rank of Oberleutnant. His translator from January through May 1942 was a man named

Chernov. The commandant was a German from the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) who was personally involved in the shooting of POWs. Two of the translators and another one of the Germans were also from the Volga German ASSR. According to former POW Vladimir Galinin, who was in the camp in September 1942, the POWs in the camp during that period numbered around 18,000.

The conditions in the camp during its deployment in various towns of Belorussia and Russia were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Enormous overcrowding in a small area, food that was inadequate in both quantity and quality, and a lack of proper housing, sanitation, and medical care all combined to cause an extremely high death rate, which abuse by the guards only made worse. For example, between June 22 and November 15, 1941, 18 prisoners died in the camp, and 187 prisoners were shot "as partisans."[3]

The daily routine in the camp was as follows: prisoners arose at five o'clock in the morning, ate breakfast, and went to work; from noon to one o'clock, they had lunch; they ate dinner after returning from work; after dusk, roll call, all-clear signal, and sleep. The prisoners received a tin of soup and 200 grams (about 7 ounces) of bread at each meal. The male POWs were used for loading-unloading work, for road repair, and in the quarry. Women worked inside the camp. There was recruitment in the camp for intelligence, sabotage, and counterintelligence schools of the Abwehr, for the "Eastern Battalions," for the Secret Field Police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*, GFP), and for use inside the camp.[4] As in other camps, prisoners were screened to weed out Jews and Communists, whom a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or guard detachment then shot near the camp.[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 8 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 20 (12), 219, 220 (76, 83), 221 (4–49, 245), 223 (13–14, 75), 224 (65, 106, 112), 225, 232 (7), 239 (127, 140, 149), 241 (31, 46); and BArch B 162/27756–27757: Überprüfung der im Raum Smolensk-Rschew-Wizebsk (Witebsk) eingesetzten Armeegefangenensammelstelle 8 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft u.a. sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener.

Additional information about AGSSt 8 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 34–35; E. S. Fedorov, "Sychevska," in E. S. Fedorov, ed., *Pravda o voennom Rzheve: Dokumenty i fakty* (Rzhev: Rzhev. proizv.-poligr. predpriiatie, 1995); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 30; Theo J. Schulte, "Korück 582," in *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger, 1995), pp. 323–342; and Theo J. Schulte, "The German Army and National Socialist Occupation Policies in the Occupied Areas of the Soviet Union 1941–1943 (PhD dissertation, School of History, University of Warwick, April 1987).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenenstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 30.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, pp. 34–35.

3. Korück 582 (Qu.) v. 26.11.1941 an AOK 9 (O.Qu./Qu. 2), Betr.: Abgänge von Kriegsgefangenen (BA-MA, RH 23: 222); Schulte, "German Army," pp. 218, 366.

4. Fedorov, "Sychevska."

5. Überprüfung der im Raum Smolensk-Rschew-Wizebsk (Witebsk) eingesetzten Armeegefangenensammelstelle 8 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft u.a. sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener, BArch B 162/27756–27757.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 9

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 9 on March 26, 1941. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 40 086 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. The number was struck on March 1, 1944. Beginning in June 1941, AGSSt 9 fell under the command of the 87th Infantry Division. It was later assigned to the 221st Security Division and then to the 286th Security Division of the Army Group Center Rear Area Command. Major Siehler served as camp commandant.

From 1941 to 1942, AGSSt 9 was deployed to different sites in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, AGSSt 9 was stationed in the cities of Garadok (today Gródek, Poland) (map 4c), Grodno (4c), Baranovichi (9b), Biaroza-Katuzskaia (today Biaroza) (9e), Borisov (German: Borissow; today Barysaw, Belarus) (9b), and Orsha (9b). In Russia, AGSSt 9 was stationed in the cities of Mozhaisk (9c) and Iartsevo (9c) and in the village of Tëmkino (9c).[1] In Mozhaisk, the camp was located in a monastery. As of August 22, 1941, 22,500 prisoners were confined in AGSSt 9 in the city of Borisov.[2] AGSSt 9 held approximately 64,000 prisoners in total.[3]

AGSSt 9 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners in Belorussia and Russia. Prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse and, in the absence of proper medical care, suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted a selection of Jews and Communists among the prisoners. A Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment or guards then shot those selected near the camp.

In the spring of 1942, AGSSt 9 deployed to the village of Vyskokoe (Vitebskaia voblasts'). During this time, the camp was

not used for POWs. Instead, it served for the formation of subdivisions composed of recuperating German soldiers.[4] The Wehrmacht ordered AGSSt 9 disbanded on February 11, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 9 is located in BA-MA (RH 22: 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 247, 248; RH 23: 56, 343) and NARB (file 4683-3-917).

Additional information about AGSSt 9 can be found in the following publication: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 34–35.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 22/224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 247, 248; RH 23/56, 343.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-87/137, Kriegstagebuch 87. Inf. Div. 29.7.-28.8.1941.
3. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 34–35.
4. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 64.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 10

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 10 on March 20, 1941.[1] Following the outbreak of war with the Soviet Union in June, AGSSt 10 initially followed the 102nd Infantry Division as it invaded Lithuania. For several weeks in July, the camp operated near Wilna (today: Vilnius, Lithuania) (map 9b). By July 25, they had deployed further east, near Švenčionys (9b). By late fall, the unit had moved into Belorussia and spent much of the winter in Orsha (9b); however, other accounts have it in Disna (9b) in late July and early August 1941, and then in the towns of Nevel' (9e), Sychëvka (9c), Vitebsk (9b), and, in February 1942, in Orsha (9b). From the end of April 1942 until February 1943, the camp was located in Gzhatsk (now Gagarin) (9c), and then it was redeployed to El'nia (9c). In August 1943, the camp was moved via Smolensk (9c) to Orsha again.[2] AGSSt 10 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 40 635 between February 28 and July 27, 1941; the number was struck on December 7, 1943.

Starting on July 15, 1941, AGSSt 10 was subordinate to the 403rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). As of July 28, 1941, it was the responsibility of the 102nd Infantry Division. On August 6, 1941, responsibility for the camp returned to the 403rd Security Division and, in February 1, 1942, to the 286th Security Division. As of April 27, 1942, it was subordinate to the Third Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 590), part of Army Group Center.[3]

The camp's German military personnel included about 20 people. The camp commandant was Hauptmann Dr. Ludwig Prinz until November 18, 1942, when he was replaced by Hauptmann Dr. Leonhard Jorres. Until March 31, 1942, the camp adjutant was

Hauptmann Wilhelm Dahm; the camp officers (*Lageroffizier*) were Hauptmann Karl Genzel and Leutnant Leopold Jüttner; the aide-de-camp (*Ordonnanzoffizier*) was Hauptmann Gustav Martens; and the camp physicians were Dr. Karl Schorndorff, Dr. Berthold Collatz (from December 1941 until November 1942), Oberarzt Dr. Alexander Draeger, and Oberarzt Dr. Otto Frank (from the end of January until June 1943). The physicians' assistants were Dr. Rudolf Alberti (until February 1943) and Dr. Karl Krauhs (from October 1942 until August 1943).[4]

The conditions in AGSSt 10 were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Enormous overcrowding in a small area, lack of shelter, food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity, dreadfully unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical aid led to mass starvation and disease, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards made matters still worse. The Germans regularly screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables" (Communists and Jews), who were then executed near the camp.[5]

The camp was disbanded by an order of Army Group Center, dated November 19, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 10 is located in BA-MA (RH 22: 224, 225, 227, 230, 247, 248; RH 23: 56, 154, 239, 343); BArch B (162/27758–27759: Überprüfung der im Raum Smolensk eingesetzten Armeegefangenensammelstelle 10 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft u.a. sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener); and NARB (file 4683-3-917).

Additional information about AGSSt 10 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 36–37; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 30.

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel der AGSSt 10, BArch B 162/27759, Bl. 23.
2. BArch B 162/27758–27759.
3. Stammtafel der AGSSt 10, BArch B 162/27759, Bl. 23.
4. BArch B 162/27758–27759.
5. Ibid.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 11

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 11 on March 26, 1941, from Frontstalag 186. Its field post number (*Feldpostnummer*), 41 024, was issued between February 28 and July 29, 1941, and struck on December 27, 1944. It received a new number, 00 082, on December 4, 1944.

From 1941 to 1942, AGSSt 11 was assigned to the Eleventh Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 553) and moved frequently as that army advanced or redeployed to other sectors of the front. In July 1941, AGSSt 11 was stationed first in the city of Bel'tsy (now Bălţi, Moldova) (map 9g) and then in Orgeev (now Orhei, Moldova) (9g).[1] At the end of August and beginning of September 1941, it was deployed in Varvarovka (now Varvarivka, Ukraine) (9g), and from September 8 it was in Berislav (now Beryslav) (9g). From September 28 until the end of October 1941, it was located in Chaplinka (9g).

From November 1941 until July 1942, AGSSt 11 was deployed to Crimea, specifically to the cities of Simferopol' and Feodosiia (9h), where it oversaw a large population of prisoners, in cooperation with other units. On June 11, 1942, the unit was stationed in the village of Tole (now Dachne) (9h). At that time, camp personnel consisted of 6 officers and officials, and 17 noncommissioned officers and privates.[2] In the beginning of July 1942, during the unit's deployment in Tole, an SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment carried out a selection in the camp and killed a significant number of Jews.[3] In August 1942, the camp was stationed for some length of time in Kerch (9h).

In August 1942, AGSSt 11 came under the command of the First Armored Army Rear Area Command (Korück 531).

Throughout the second half of 1942 and the beginning of 1943, it deployed to different localities in the northern Caucasus, in particular Mineral'nye Vody, midway between the Black and the Caspian Seas (9i). At the end of October 1942, it was stationed in the city of Prokhladnyi (9i). At that time, camp administrative personnel consisted of 21 Germans and 23 guards from the local population.[4] In mid-1943, the camp was deployed to the city of Barvenkovo (9f). In 1943 and 1944, it was stationed in various cities in Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, and Austria.

Conditions within camps were primitive and highly dependent on the number of prisoners and existing infrastructure. At the Berislav camp, the Germans held 3,000 prisoners in a schoolhouse. By contrast, according to statements gathered by postwar Soviet investigators, the camp in Varvarovka was open air with few structures of any kind. One prisoner described conditions as "inhumane." Despite the hot summer months in which this camp operated, prisoners received almost no water. "The sick and wounded in the camp," one former prisoner recalled, "received no medical aid, and each day several died … On the march to the camp, German soldiers shot those POWs who had fallen behind, with automatic weapons."[5]

Another former prisoner at the Berislav camp recalled several thousand prisoners held under brutal conditions. He also recalled incidents of routine mass executions, stating: "In this camp, the Germans daily conducted selections of Communists, commissars, and Jews. Thereafter these were led in groups of 20–30 men to a hill, which was 200–300 meters [about 660–980 feet] from the barbed-wire fence of the camp, and there they were shot. These actions—that is to say, the shootings—were carried out by German soldiers, if I'm not mistaken."[6]

AGSSt 11 was overrun by the Red Army and destroyed in late 1944. On December 15, the Wehrmacht reestablished it; a new field post number 00 082 was assigned already on December 4. The date of the unit's final disbanding or destruction is unknown.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 11 is located in BA-MA (RH 23/62–97: Korück 553; RH 23/13–17: Korück 531) and BArch B 162/27760–27761: Überprüfung der in der Ukraine

eingesetzten Armeegefangenensammelstelle 11 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft u.a. sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener.

Additional information about AGSSt 11 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 30; S. P. Tsakun, ed., *Spravochnik o natsistskikh lageriakh voennoplennykh, deistvovavshikh na okkupovannoi territorii Ukrainy v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, v formakh uvekovecheniia pamiati pogibshikh* (Kiev: 2002).

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NOTES

1. AOK 11, Qu. 2, Tätigkeitsbericht v. 1.8.1941 (BArch B 162/7187, fol. 10).
2. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 63, fr. 629.
3. Ortskommandantur II/576 (V) an den Korück 553/Abt. Qu. v. 16.7.1942 (NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 233, fr. 424).
4. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 77, fr. 127.
5. Statement by Dmitrij Misjewitsch (December 9, 1974), USHMMA, RG-14.101, Reel 2617.
6. Statement by Ivan Novikov (December 2, 1975), USHMMA, RG-14.101, Reel 2617.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 12

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 12 on March 26, 1941. From 1941 to 1942, AGSSt 12 was assigned to the Eleventh Army, which was part of Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) during the invasion of the Soviet Union, fighting in Bessarabia, southern Ukraine, and Crimea. AGSSt 12 moved in accordance with the movements of the Eleventh Army. During the period when AGSSt 12 was assigned to the Eleventh Army, the unit fell under the jurisdiction of that army's Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 553). In August 1942, AGSSt 12 was reassigned to the First Panzer Army. While the unit was assigned to the First Panzer Army, it came under the jurisdiction of Korück 531. AGSSt 12 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 656 between February 28 and July 29, 1941.

AGSSt 12's primary role was the initial processing and treatment of captured Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who were shortly thereafter transferred to transit camps (Dulags) and main POW camps (Stalags). There were generally between 500 and 1,000 prisoners at a time in AGSSt 12, although the population varied widely, and at times as many as 3,000 prisoners were present. The prisoners were sorted and segregated by nationality and religion. In some cases, the "weeding out" (*Aussonderung*) of "undesirable" prisoners (such as Jews and political commissars) was performed by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel accompanying AGSSt 12, but sometimes this was not done until the prisoners arrived at other camps.[1]

German personnel at AGSSt 12 consisted of 6 officers, 3 noncommissioned officers, and 10 privates.[2] The commandant of AGSSt 12 from 1941 to 1942 was Hauptmann Phillip Hund. In

1942, Hund was succeeded by Major Raestas, a Baltic German who spoke both German and Russian, whose adjutant was Hauptmann Volkmar. Witnesses stated that Volkmar was responsible for the weeding out of Jews and political commissars during this time. Raestas remained in this position through at least 1944. The 2nd Company of the 49th Guard Battalion (*Wachbataillon*) guarded the camp. This company consisted of 4 officers, 22 noncommissioned officers, and 222 privates. The commander of the 2nd Company was Hauptmann Kuch. Dr. Metz served as the chief doctor in the unit for a time, followed by Dr. Walter Gass and Dr. Raabe (who had previously been a missionary in China, according to former staff member Johann Hagen). As Leutnant Julius von Wowern Matthiesen—who was part of the staff of AGSSt 12 in 1943—recalled, the unit's personnel, particularly the medical staff, changed frequently.[3]

In June 1941, AGSSt 12 was sent to Giurgiu, Romania (map 7), with the Eleventh Army in anticipation of the invasion of Bessarabia, which commenced on July 2, 1941. During the summer of 1941, the unit moved rapidly with Army Group South's advance through Bessarabia and southern Ukraine: on July 27, 1941, the unit was located in the city of Bel'tsy (today Bălţi, Moldova) (9g); on August 10, it redeployed to the city of Kodyma (9g); and at the end of August, the unit redeployed to the village of Varvarovka, near the city of Nikolaev (today Mykolaiv, Ukraine) (9g).[4] From about mid-September to September 25, 1941, AGSSt 12 was located in the village of Snigirevka (today Snihurivka, Ukraine). From September 26 on, the camp was in the village of Kalga (9h), and then in the city of Melitopol' (9h), where it arrived soon after the occupation of the city, on October 6; it remained there until October 21. On October 20, Korück 553 gave the order to transfer AGSSt 12 to the city of Armiansk (9h).[5]

Several instances of weeding out and shooting of Jews and political commissars were documented during this time. In Snigirevka, 20 Jewish prisoners were removed from the camp and shot by the SD. In Melitopol', Jewish prisoners were transferred to Sonderkommando 10a to be shot. On October 10, the administration handed over 49 Jewish prisoners to the Sonderkommando, and on October 15, another 26.[6] Existing AGSSt 12 reports from October 12 show that another 54 Jewish

prisoners were removed on that day.[7] Thus, there is evidence that at least 129 Jewish prisoners were given to Sonderkommando 10a to be shot. Between October 11 and October 21, 1941, while the camp was at Melitopol', 18,475 prisoners were evacuated to the west from AGSSt 12. Another 192 prisoners died in AGSSt 12 during this period.[8] In early November 1941, the camp was deployed to Dzhankoi (9h), in Crimea. From November 13 until December 29, 1941, AGSSt 12 was deployed to the city of Feodosiia, also in Crimea (9h).[9] AGSSt 12 continued to be stationed in Crimea throughout the first half of 1942, during the Axis offensive in that area.

In August 1942, AGSSt 12 was transferred to the First Panzer Army. Throughout the second half of 1942, the camp was stationed in different locations in the northern Caucasus. For example, at the end of October 1942, AGSSt 12 was deployed to the city of Prokhladnyi (9i). In Prokhladnyi, its staff was temporarily reduced to only nine people.[10] From late 1942 through 1943, AGSSt 12 moved westward as German forces retreated back through Ukraine. In November 1942, it was located in Ordzhonikidze (today Yenakiieve, Ukraine) (9f). By April 1943, it had relocated to Shepetovka (today Shepetivka, Ukraine) (9e); in September of that year, it was in the village of Ivankov (today Ivankiv, Ukraine) (9e), about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Kiev; and by the end of 1943, it was in Zhitomir (today Zhytomyr, Ukraine) (9e).[11] AGSSt 12 was disbanded in early 1945 as German forces withdrew to the west.[12]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 12 is located in BArch B 162/8810 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101-M.2772.00002176-00002280); BA-MA (RH 23/62–97: Korück 553; RH 23/13–17: Korück 531); and NARA, Microcopy T-501.

Additional information about AGSSt 12 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Yu. Korol', *Tragediya viys'kovopolonenykh na okupovaniy terytoriyi Ukrayini v 1941–1944* (Kiev: Akademiya, 2002); Federal Archival Agency of Russia, Russian State Military Archive (RGVA), Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten, Suchdienst München des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes, and Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge

e.V., ed., *Orte des Gewahrsams von deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion (1941–1956): Findbuch* (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer Politischer Gewaltherrschaft, 2010); Tetana Pastushenko, "Systema nimets'kykh taboriv dlya radyans'kykh viys'kovopolonenykh v Ukrayini: cherven'—gruden' 1941 r.," *Kraesnavstvo* 2 (2011): 119; and S. P. Tsakun, ed., *Spravochnyk o natsystskykh lageryakh voennoplennykh, deystvovavshykh na okkupyrovannoy terrytoryy Ukrayny v gody Velykoy Otechestvennoy voyny y formakh uvekovechenyya pamyaty pogybshykh* (Kiev: VPP Kompas, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle Nr. 12, BArch B 162/8810, Bl. 23 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2772.00002204).
2. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle Nr. 12, BArch B 162/8810, Bl. 67 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2772.00002251).
3. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle Nr. 12, BArch B 162/8810, Bl. 10 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2772.00002190).
4. Pastushenko, "Systema nimets'kykh taboriv," p. 119.
5. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 57, fr. 7.
6. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 57, fr. 29.
7. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 57, fr. 34.
8. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 57, fr. 29.
9. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 58.
10. NARA, Microcopy T-501, roll 77, fr. 127.

11. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle Nr. 12, BArch B 162/8810, Bl. 66 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2772.00002250).

12. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle Nr. 12, BArch B 162/8810, Bl. 30 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2772.00002212).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 13

The Wehrmacht reorganized Auflag 13 to form AGSSt 13 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X on March 21, 1941. AGSSt 13 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 511 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. From June 1941 onward, AGSSt 13 came under the jurisdiction of the Sixteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 584). Between 1941 and 1943, AGSSt 13 deployed to at least ten locations behind the Eastern front, including the village of Loknia (map 9a).[1] As of May 15, 1942, the camp personnel consisted of 20 people, including six officers, four noncommissioned officers, and ten privates.[2]

During its deployment to Loknia, AGSSt 13 featured the same overcrowding and catastrophic sanitary conditions that prevailed in most such camps for Soviet prisoners of war in Belorussia and Russia. Prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse. In the absence of proper medical care, they suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted selections of Jews and Communists among the prisoners. A Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment or guards then shot those selected near the camp.[3] The Wehrmacht disbanded AGSSt 13 in October 1944 and transferred its remaining prisoners to Dulag 110.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 13 is located in BA-MA, RH 23: 295–299; BArch B 162/25777–25778, "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen in der Armeegefangenenstelle 13; and WASt.

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NOTES

1. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 82, fr. 1122 (15.5.1942); fr. 97 (10.1.1943), AOK 16, Korück 584: Sicherungstruppe Stand am 15.5.1942, 10.1.1943, in NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 82, fr. 1122 (May 15, 1942); fr. 97 (January 10, 1943).

2. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 82, fr. 1122, AOK 16, Korück 584: Sicherungstruppe (May 15, 1942).

3. BArch B 162/25777–25778, p. 13.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 14

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 14 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X on March 21, 1941, from Auflag 14.[1] It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 346 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. From June 1941 onward, AGSSt 14 came under the command of the Sixteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 584).

From 1941 to 1943, AGSSt 14 deployed to various locations behind the eastern front, including the city of Demiansk (map 9a).[2] As of May 15, 1942, German camp personnel consisted of 13 people (6 officers, 3 noncommissioned officers, and 4 privates).[3] The camp commandant was Hauptmann Saeger at first, then later Hauptmann Xanke. The adjutants were Oberleutnant Theuring from Schleswig and, later, Oberleutnant Reitz from Harburg.[4]

During AGSSt 14's deployment in Demiansk, the conditions of confinement for prisoners of war (POWs) were the same as in other camps for Soviet POWs. From September 13, 1941, onward, the camp was located in an area known as the "Popovo Swamp." This area had always carried an evil reputation among local residents. It was always shrouded in fog, and nothing grew there except for moss and lichen. The prisoners lived in 16 underground bunkers without windows. The combination of overcrowding, malnutrition, exhaustion, and the lack of sanitation and medical care led to mass illness and tremendous mortality. Abuse by German guards only exacerbated these conditions.[5] As in other camps, selections of Jews and Communists among the prisoners took place, first by the camp personnel, and later by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD). In the latter case, an SD or guard detachment then shot those selected near the camp. Camp

personnel testified after the war that they knew nothing of such actions, and that the high number of prisoner deaths was due to "natural causes."[6]

The Germans disbanded the camp on March 18, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 14 is located in BA-MA, RH 23/295–299; WASt; GARF, file 7021-34-763: Demiansk; and BArch B 162/25775–25776: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen in der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 14.

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NOTES

1. Note: Auflag 14 was formed, with a staff, but never actually operated as a camp; it was almost immediately redesignated AGSSt 14.
2. AOK 16, Korück 584: Sicherungstruppe Stand am 15.5.1942, 10.1.1943, in NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 82, fr. 1122 (15.5.1942); fr. 97 (10.1.1943).
3. AOK 16, Korück 584: Sicherungstruppe, Stand am 15.5.1942, NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 82, fr. 1122.
4. These and other names are in the testimony of Helmut Böckmann, BArch B 162/25775, Bl. 55.
5. GARF, file 7021-34-763.
6. BArch B 162/25775–25776.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 15

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 15 on March 21, 1941, from the nonoperational Prisoner of War Reception Camp (*Kriegsgefangenen-Auffanglager*) 15. AGSSt 15 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 26 100 between February 16 and July 18, 1941.[1] Beginning in May 1941, the camp was under the jurisdiction of the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550).

Between 1941 and 1942, AGSSt 15 deployed to various populated areas of Ukraine. From late 1941 through mid-1942, AGSSt 15 was located in Nikitovka (today Mykytivka) (map 9f).[2] Beginning in August 1942, the camp was located in the northern Caucasus. During the fall of 1942, AGSSt 15 operated in Novorossiisk (9h).[3]

AGSSt 15 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, abuse and, in the absence of proper medical care, suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted selections of Jews and Communists from among the prisoners. A Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment or guards then shot these prisoners near the camp.

AGSSt 15 was overrun by the Red Army and destroyed in 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 15 is available in BA-MA (RH 49/3) and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 15 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*

1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 31.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3, Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 31.

2. BArch B, 162/7188, Bl. 64; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten (May 20, 1942).

3. NARA, T 311, roll 150, fr. 196118.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 16

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 16 on March 21, 1941, from the nonoperational Prisoner of War Reception Camp (*Kriegsgefangenen-Auffanglager*) 16. AGSSt 16 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 858 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.[1] Under the authority of the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550), AGSSt 16 was deployed to Ukraine.[2] For example, in August 1941, it operated in the city of Uman (map 9e). From the end of 1941 through mid-1942, it was located in Druzhkovka (9f).[3] From August 1942 on, AGSSt 16 operated in the northern Caucasus. For example, in the fall of 1942, it was located in Apsheronsk and Khadyzhensk (9h)[4]

AGSSt 16 featured the same overcrowding and catastrophic sanitary conditions that prevailed in most such camps for Soviet prisoners of war in Ukraine and the northern Caucasus. Prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse, and in the absence of proper medical care, they suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted selections of Jews and Communists among the prisoners. Those selected were then shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or guards near the camp.

AGSSt 16 was overrun by the Red Army and destroyed in 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 16 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/3) and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 16 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*

1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 31.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3, Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 31.
3. BArch B, 162/7188, Bl. 64; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten (May 24, 1942).
4. NARA, T 311, roll 150, frame 196118.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 17

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 17 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI on March 24, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 196.[1] AGSSt 17 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 40 285 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. Beginning in April 1941, the unit was under the jurisdiction of the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583). Following the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, AGSSt 17 was moved from East Prussia to Lithuania. In the late summer of 1941, AGSSt 17 was stationed in Krasnoe Selo and then in Vyritsa (both in map 9a), among other places.[2] In early 1942, the unit was reinforced with members of the 10th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). Throughout the rest of 1942, AGSSt 17 was moved to several locations, including Volkhov and Finëv Lug (map 9a). Finally, the unit absorbed a prisoner of war (POW) volunteers camp (*Hilfswilligenlager*), including three companies of Russians, in Vyritsa. The commandant was Hauptmann Ernst Lauckert for most of the camp's existence, until late 1944.[3]

AGSSt 17 featured the same overcrowding and catastrophic sanitary conditions that prevailed in most such camps for Soviet POWs, especially during its operation in Krasnoe Selo and Vyritsa. Prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse and, in the absence of proper medical care, suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. As in other camps, the Germans conducted selections of Jews and Communists among the prisoners. A Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment or guards then shot those selected, near the camp.[4] In 1944, AGSSt 17 was pulled back through the Baltics and disbanded in the village of Stablack (today, Stabławki, Poland) (4c).[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 17 is located in BA-MA (RH 22 and RH 23: 277–288); GARF (files 7021-30-244: Krasnoye Selo; 7021-30-248: Vyritsa); USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2813; and WASt.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2813.00001561.
2. BA-MA, RH 23/277–288.
3. USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2813.00001561.
4. GARF, files 7021-30-244, 248.
5. USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2813.00001561.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 18

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 18 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI on March 24, 1941. AGSSt 18 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 033 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. From April 1941 onward, AGSSt 18 fell under the jurisdiction of the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583). Between 1941 and 1943, AGSSt 18 was deployed in Liuban' (map 9a), among other places.[1]

AGSSt 18 featured the same overcrowding and catastrophic sanitary conditions that prevailed in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. AGSSt 18's prisoners endured malnutrition, exhaustion, and abuse and, in the absence of proper medical care, suffered extremely high sickness and mortality rates. However, a report by a German doctor, Oberstabsarzt Dr. Hartung, who visited the camp at Liuban' on June 17, 1942, reported that the barracks and bunkers in which the prisoners lived were "clean and dry" and that the prisoners and camp facilities had been properly deloused. He also noted that there was a hospital on the site with three wards, one for noncontagious diseases, one for typhus, and one for local civilians.[2] As in other camps, the camp administration conducted selections of Jews and Communists among the prisoners to be shot near the camp. After October 1941, the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) took over the selection and execution process.[3]

The Wehrmacht disbanded the camp on December 2, 1944. Its field post number was struck on December 18, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 18 is located in BA-MA (RH 22 and RH 23/277–288); GARF (file 7021-34-764:

Liuban'); and WASt.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23: 277–288.
2. BA-MA, RH 23/279: Korück 583 (18.Armee, HG N), Anlagen Bd II zum KTB, 1. Juli–30. September 1942, Bl. 39.
3. GARF, file 7021-34-764.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 19

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 19 on March 7, 1941. From June 1941 onward, the unit was subordinate to the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580). It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 706 between February 28 and July 29, 1941.[1] AGSSt 19 deployed to different sites in Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine. In Belorussia, it was stationed in Bobruisk (map 9b), Kalinkovichi (9e), Rechitsa (9c), Slutsk (9b), and Chaplin (9e). In Russia, AGSSt 19 was stationed in Klintsy and Unecha (both 9c). In Ukraine, the camp was located in Glukhov (today Hlukhiv) (9c), Mena (9e), Khutor Mikhailovskii (today part of Druzhba, Sumy oblast') (9c), Novgorod-Severskii (9c), Romny(9f), Sumy (9f), and Shchors (today Snovsk) (9e).[2]

The conditions in AGSSt 19 were much the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Overcrowding, forced labor, and the lack of adequate food, shelter, clothing, sanitation, or medical care all contributed to high death rates from exhaustion, starvation, and disease. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the conditions. To illustrate: during a visit to AGSSt 19 in Khutor Mikhailovskii in early December 1941, Kriegsgefangener-Bezirkskommandant Oberst Marschall ascertained that 144 people out of 10,400 prisoners (1.4 percent) had been killed the previous night. Only 5,000 prisoners were placed in "proper, heated dwellings." The prisoners slept on boards without straw. Those fit for work supposedly received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread, 1,000 grams (35 ounces) of potatoes, and 200 grams of cabbage (1,415 calories). Conversely, those who did not work received 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread, 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of potatoes, and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of vegetables (770 calories). However, an inspection of the food

allocation showed that, in the majority of cases, the prisoners received far less than those totals. At that time, an SS company managed the camp, and its members treated the prisoners with extraordinary cruelty.[3]

At Khutor Mikhailovskii, the camp was located on the grounds of a sugar refinery and in the plant's dormitory, clubhouse, and several nearby buildings. According to a witness, Valentina Riazantseva (a 13-year-old girl at the time), when the number of prisoners increased, the Germans enclosed the entire camp area with a barbed-wire fence. They set up towers with searchlights and began to patrol all the campgrounds with dogs.

> Behind the barbed wire, a terrible life began. Winter came. Although the temperatures reached minus 40 degrees [F or C] and lower, the buildings were not heated. The prisoners were fed some sort of watery soup, or *balanda*, and buckwheat still in the hull. From such food, soldiers died in torment. The Germans herded around 800 people into the plant's clubhouse. They stabbed many with bayonets, and then burned them. The village inhabitants saw the Germans, whose uniforms were splashed with blood. When they were burning the soldiers, it was impossible to be out on the streets of the town— screams were heard, and in the air was the acrid smell of burnt hair and human flesh.[4]

Riazantseva remembered the barbed-wire fence well. From time to time, the dead bodies of Red Army soldiers who had tried to escape appeared on the fence. As a warning, the bodies were not removed from the barbed wire for a long time. "The concentration camp [*sic*] was located not far from our house. At night we used to hear cries and shots coming from that direction. Nonetheless, many POWs managed to escape from the camp. The local inhabitants hid them in their homes and nursed them back to health. After this, they took them to Kovpak's partisan detachment. From a leaflet put out by the underground, we learned that during November– December 1941 the Germans killed several thousand POWs by means of starvation and cold. Many of them were burned."[5]

On the night of February 20–21, 1942, the partisans attacked the camp, killing 60 Germans and freeing 200 prisoners. The news about the partisans quickly spread through town. Children ran into the liberated camp.

> All over the grounds of the camp, naked corpses lay about. At the center stood large vats of unhulled buckwheat. It was terrible to look at the corpses, as you could see right through them. In the hope of finding someone alive, we walked around the entire camp area, checking all the barracks. The doors and windows of the buildings had been boarded up and nailed shut. And suddenly, we heard voices coming from the cellar of one of the buildings. This building had been doused with gasoline. Apparently the Germans were getting ready to set it on fire, along with the people, but they didn't have enough time—the POWs were liberated.[6]

According to another account,

> in the camp for captured Red Army soldiers at Khutor Mikhailovskii in Chernigov oblast', there were about 18,000 persons. They were subjected to cruel beatings for every offence, and the Germans could define anything and everything as an offence: sometimes a prisoner didn't stand up or sit down the right way, or didn't lie down or get up the right way, or didn't approach or walk away the right way. The fascists gave each prisoner half a mess tin of water per day, containing some potato peelings. People swelled up from hunger, cold, and various illnesses. The number of dead totaled 150–180 per day…. In February 1942, the Germans decided to liquidate the camp, because partisan detachments were intensifying their operations in this area. And so the Germans selected all those who had fallen ill with typhus and other diseases, as well as weak prisoners who could not walk, and ordered them to be moved to a separate barracks, a barn. As many as 2,000 such prisoners were gathered together. They burned them all to death. The remaining prisoners, one frosty day, were formed into columns and, without coats and in their bare feet, were forced to march westward. They had

> to walk 35 to 40 km [about 22 to 25 miles] per day, with no food or water. The Germans immediately shot anyone who bent over to pick up some snow and anyone who lagged behind. The whole route taken by the Red Army POWs was strewn with the corpses of men who had been shot.[7]

In total, from November 1941 to February 1942, 17,500 POWs perished in the camp, according to the camp memorial. As in other camps, the authorities carried out selections to separate out Jews and Communists among the new arrivals. According to the postwar testimony of some camp personnel, the camp's counterintelligence officer (*Abwehr*) took part in these selections, with assistance from informants within the prisoner population.[8] Those selected were handed over to a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commando to be shot. The Germans dissolved AGSSt 19 at the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 19 is located in BA-MA (RH 22/224, 225, 230, 247, 248; RH 23/171, 172, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, 183, 185, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 201); and BArch B 162/27752–27753: Überprüfung der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 19 in Gluchow (Hluchiw), Ukraine.

Additional information about AGSSt 19 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944. Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 36–39; and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 32.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen, p. 32.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, pp. 36–37.

3. Bericht Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J v. 11.12.1941 (BAMA, RH 22/220).

4. Valentina Riazantseva, testimonial, *Panorama* (Sumy) (September 25, 2008).

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Document dated June 15, 1943, published in the Red Army newspaper *V boi*, no. 48, June 18, 1943 (Feldpostnummer 05901-M).

8. Testimony of Jakob Groiss, BArch B 162/27752, Bl. 111–114.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 20

The Wehrmacht issued the order to form AGSSt 20 on March 7, 1941. Before June, the unit was assigned to the Rear Area Commander of the Second Armored Group (redesignated Second Armored Army from October 5, 1941, onward) (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 532). AGSSt 20 deployed to different sites in Belorussia and Russia, including the cities of Borisov (German: Borissow; today Barysaw, Belarus) (map 9b), Roslavl' (9c), and, from 1942 to 1943, Orël (9c).[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 355 between February 28 and July 29, 1941; the number was struck on February 17, 1944.

During deployment in Orël, AGSSt 20 was located in the city jail, on Krasnoarmeiskaia Street. The camp held both prisoners of war (POWs) and civilians. We know about the conditions of confinement from the Extraordinary State Commission's Report on the Crimes of German-Fascist Invaders in Orël and the Orlovskaia oblast'.[2] The report notes in particular that

> the nourishment of the prisoners of war did not even ensure a hungry existence. Per day, the prisoners were given 200 grams [7 ounces] of bread with an admixture of sawdust and a liter of soup made with decayed soy and rotten flour. Major Hoffman, the camp boss, beat the prisoners of war and forced those exhausted by hunger to carry out heavy physical labor in the stone quarry and in the unloading of machines. The prisoners' boots were taken away, and they were given wooden shoes. In wintertime, the shoes were very slippery to walk in, and, as they climbed to the second and third floors especially, the prisoners fell on the stairs and suffered serious

injuries.

Doctor Kh. I. Tsvetkov, who was in the POW camp, gave the following statement:

> From my own stay in the Orlovskii camp, I can characterize the attitude of the German command toward the prisoners of war as a deliberate destruction of living strength. Food containing a maximum of 700 calories, coupled with exhausting heavy labor, resulted in complete depletion of the body (cachexia) and led to death, occurrences of starvation edemas, and irreversible intestinal disorders. Despite our categorical protests and struggle against this massive murder of the Soviet people, the German camp doctors Kuper and Bekel' maintained that the nourishment was quite satisfactory. Moreover, they denied that hunger was the origin of the prisoners' edemas, and, with complete coolness, they classified [the edemas] as being due to cardiac or kidney phenomena. In their diagnosis, it was forbidden to note "hunger edema." There was massive mortality in the camp. From the total number of the dead, 3,000 prisoners died as a result of starvation and complications caused by malnutrition. The prisoners of war lived in horrid conditions which defied description: complete lack of fuel, water, tremendous lousiness, unbelievable crowding in the prison cells—an indoor area of 15–20 square meters [about 160 to 215 square feet] housed between 50 and 80 people. There were 5–6 prisoners dead in the cell, and the living slept on the dead.

The assistant to Hauptmann Matern, the camp boss, placed some of the POWs and activists from the civilian population into the first building. They were housed together regardless of their sex or age. The prisoners called it the "Death Block." Academician N. N. Burdenko, a member of the ChGK, determined that POWs were deliberately killed in the "infirmary." Burdenko reported that

> "Pictures, which I had to see, surpass any imagination. The joy at the sight of the liberated people was darkened by the fact that their faces were in stupor…. Obviously, the suffering

of their past experience put them in a state between life and death. I observed these people for three days, bandaging them, evacuating—the psychological stupor did not change. In the first days, something similar also lay in the faces of the doctors. The patients died in the camp from disease, from hunger, from beatings, they died in the 'infirmary'—prison from infected wounds, from sepsis, from hunger. Civilians died from shootings carried out in the prison courtyard with German punctuality, on schedule—on Tuesdays and Fridays, with groups of 5–6 people. The Germans also took the condemned out to a distant place, where there was a trench the Russian troops had made before leaving the city, and shot them there. Those shot in the city were taken away and thrown into the trench, primarily in a wooded area. Executions in the jail were carried out as follows: men stood facing the wall and a gendarme shot them in the occipital region with a pistol. With this shot, the vital centers were damaged, and death occurred instantaneously. In most cases, women lay face down on the ground, and the gendarme shot them in the occipital region. The second method: a group of people were driven to a trench and, turning to face one side, they were shot with automatic weapons. The weapons were also aimed at the occipital region. Children's corpses were discovered in the trenches. According to witness testimony, these children were buried alive." According to witnesses and eyewitnesses, "no less than 5,000 prisoners of war and peaceful Soviet citizens were buried in the cemetery near the city prison during the German occupation of Orël."

The books of registered dead prisoners contain the names of 1,828 prisoners who died between December 3, 1941, and July 19, 1943. The date of death is known for 1,747 prisoners, while it is unknown for 81 others. Of the prisoners for whom the date of death is recorded, 254 died in December 1941, 1,365 in 1942, and 128 in 1943.[3] In addition to the prisoners who died from hunger and disease, a number of prisoners were shot as "undesirables" (Jews and Communists).

The Germans disbanded the camp on December 23, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 20 is located in BA-MA, RH 22, RH 23/22 (54), 23 (16), 29 (40, 172), 124 (10, 36), 261 (114); and GAOO, file r-349: "Orlovskii Concentration Camp for Soviet Prisoners of War," 1941–1943.

Additional information about AGSSt 20 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 38–39; and the Report of the Extraordinary State Commission on the Crimes of the German-Fascist Invaders in the Cities of Orel and Orlovskaia oblast', *Orlovskaia Pravda* (September 10, 1943). Internet resources include: Orlovskii Prisoner of War Camps (1941–1943) at www.gosarchiv-orel.ru/index.php?id=28&option=com_content&Itemid=12.

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NOTES

1. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 38–39; Bericht Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J v. 25.1.1942 (BA-MA, RH 22/220).

2. The following quotes all come from the "Report of the Extraordinary State Commission on the Crimes of the German-Fascist Invaders." Casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be understood accordingly.

3. GAOO, file r-349: "Orlovskii Concentration Camp."

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 21

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 21 on April 17, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII, and incorporated Kriegsgefangenen-Auffanglager (Auflag) 6 into it. From June 1941 onward, AGSSt 21 fell under the jurisdiction of the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580). AGSSt 21 deployed to different sites in Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine. In Belorussia, it was stationed in the settlement of Vorontsevichi (map 9b). In Russia, AGSSt 21 deployed to the cities of Zhizdra and Klintsy (both 9c). In Ukraine, the unit was located in the city of Konotop (9f).[1] Later, the camp deployed to the Balkans, possibly Croatia, although information on this phase of its existence is lacking. AGSSt 21 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 095 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck on April 4, 1945.

The conditions in AGSSt 21 while it was on the eastern front were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Tremendous overcrowding in a small area, continual malnutrition and the inevitable exhaustion that resulted from it, lack of sanitation, and lack of proper medical care led to massive starvation and illness and, in turn, to great mortality. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the conditions. Kriegsgefangener-Bezirkskommandant J Oberst Marschall visited the camp in December 1941, while it was stationed in the city of Konotop, and determined that the prisoners' nourishment was "on the whole, good," rations were observed and "death kept within bounds."[2] The new camp commandant, however, reported in his January 19, 1942, account that "prisoner housing is deplorable and beneath human dignity; for instance, 120 prisoners are still huddled in dugouts." He further reported that "the state of health is catastrophic. In the sick bay, there are currently 600 prisoners who

are likely to die, and it should be noted that there are still more sick people in the camp who will likely meet the same fate." In the commandant's opinion, the primary reason for such a state was the widely held view that it would be best if all the prisoners disappeared—either were shot or died from other causes.[3]

As in other camps, an officer of the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) office separated Jews and Communists from the rest of the newly arrived prisoners. The officer was aided by informants from the prisoner population. The selected prisoners were then shot. On December 1, 1941, a detachment of the 1st SS Motorized Infantry Brigade shot 95 Jewish prisoners from the camp.[4] There was at least one incident in which the camp commandant, Major von Knigge, tried to prevent the SS from taking a Jewish prisoner out of the camp on the grounds that the man was "indispensable"—although, in the end, his efforts were unsuccessful. On December 5, 1941, there were 5,250 prisoners in the camp; on November 28, 1941, there were 5,919 prisoners; and on November 14, 1941, there were 8,375 prisoners in the camp.[5]

In March 1942, AGSSt 21 redeployed to the city of Klintsy. In Klintsy, it was subordinated to the 203rd Sicherungsbrigade and initially was not used as a prisoner of war camp.[6] On October 24, 1944, the Germans ordered the camp disbanded. Dulag 161 took control of its prisoners.[7] On February 15, 1945, the Wehrmacht placed the camp back in operation. The field post number 34 670 had already been issued on February 10. There is no record of the camp's second disbandment.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 21 is located in BA-MA (RH 22/231, 248; RH 23/24, 29, 124, 172) and BArch B 162/9278–9280: Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle (AGSSt) 21 wg. NS-Verbrechen an Kriegsgefangenen zwischen 1941 und 1944.

Additional information about AGSSt 21 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamushko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 38–39; Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg: Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2009); Viktor

Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002); and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 32.

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NOTES

1. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 38–39.

2. Bericht Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J v. 11.12.1941 (BAMA, RH 22/220).

3. BA-MA, AOK 2/19902/67.

4. 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 28.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–5.12.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMM RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200064.

5. 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 21.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–28.11.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMMA RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200042; 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 7.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–14. 11.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMMA, RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200018.

6. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, in BArch B 162/7188, p. 64. In Konotop, AGSSt 21 replaced Stalag 314.

7. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 32.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 22

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 22 on May 1, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, on the basis of Mobile Reception Camp (*bewegliches Auffanglager für Kriegsgefangene*, Auflag) 2.[1] From the end of May 1941 until the end of July 1941, the camp was deployed in Poland, in the Zakopane area (map 5). Beginning at the end of July 1941, the camp moved to the town of Berezino (today in Belarus) (9b). In the fall of 1941, the camp was located in Bobruisk (9b); November 1941 to March 1942, in Novgorod-Severskii (9c); March 1942 to June 1942, once again in Bobruisk; beginning in the summer of 1942, in various localities in the rear area of the Fourth Armored Army, in particular in the village of Isakovo (9d), the village of Remontnoe (9i), and the town of Millerovo (9d). In December 1942, the camp returned to Bobruisk and from there, after a short period, transferred via Romania, Sarajevo, and Hungary to Czechoslovakia, where it was disbanded on November 24, 1944.[2] Its field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 10 466, which it received between February 1 and July 11, 1941 (struck on November 26, 1944).

The camp was subordinate to, in chronological order, Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 403, Security Division 221, the 339th Infantry Division, Security Brigade (*Sicherungsbrigade*) 203, Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd)*, the Fourth Armored Army, and the Rear Area Commander, Army Group Don (*Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Don*).

The first camp commandant was Major Hugo Winckel (1875–1951). In October–November 1941, the commandant was Hauptmann Eugen Diekel (1892–1950), who was replaced by Major Helmuth Schulz (1894–?). The camp adjutants were, in turn, Hauptmann Ernst Blum (1891–1963) and Hauptmann

Baumann (beginning in January 1942).[3] According to one of the camp's personnel, there were 22 men on the staff.

The conditions in the camp during its deployment to the various localities in Belorussia, Ukraine, and Russia were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Enormous overcrowding in a small area, food that was inadequate in both quantity and quality, lack of shelter or proper medical care, and overwork that led to mass starvation and illness, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards only added to the untenable conditions. For example, although Oberst Marschall, Prisoner of War District Commandant (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) J, during his visit to AGSSt 22 in Novgorod-Severskii (Chernigov oblast', Ukraine) in early December 1941, ascertained that the prisoners' food was "satisfactory," this assessment seems highly questionable, since the daily mortality rate in the camp was 2 percent, and 40 percent of the prisoners who were not assigned to work were "candidates for death."[4] At that time (on December 5, 1941) the camp contained 3,795 prisoners,[5] while on November 28, 1941, there were 4,685,[6] and on November 14, 1941, 7,044.[7] Thus, over the course of only three weeks, 3,250 prisoners "vanished." According to ChGK data, during the deployment of the camp in Novgorod-Severskii, allegedly 50,000 prisoners passed through it, of whom around 20,000 are said to have perished.[8]

As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened by the counterintelligence officer (*Abwehr*), with the help of informers, to separate out the Jews and Communists, who then were shot.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 22 is located in BA-MA (RH 22/166, 218, 224, 225, 230, 231, 247, 248; RH 23/177, 352), BA-L B162/27754–27755: Überprüfung der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 22 in Babrujsk (Bobruisk) (Weissrussland); and BArch B.

Additional information about AGSSt 22 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 40–41; Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na*

okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny (1941–1944) (Kiev: Akademiia, 2000), p. 258; and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 32.

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162/27755, Bl. 33.
2. BArch B 162/27754, Bl. 58.
3. BArch B 162/27754, Bl. 59–60.
4. Bericht Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J v. 11.12.1941 (BAMA, RH 22/220).
5. 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 28.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–5.12.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMMA RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200064.
6. 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 21.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–28.11.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMMA RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200042.
7. 1. SS-Brigade (mot.) Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit vom 7.11.41, 12,00 Uhr–14.11.41, 12,00 Uhr, in USHMMA RG-48.004M, Reel 2, fr. 200018.
8. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, p. 258.
9. See Überprüfung der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 22 in Babrujsk (Bobruisk) (Weissrussland), BArch B 162/27754–27755.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 23

The Germans established AGSSt 23 on November 13, 1943. On November 30, 1943, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 56 561. The camp was in existence for a year; it was disbanded in the fall of 1944. The field post number was struck from the list on December 1, 1944.[1] The camp was subordinated to the Armed Forces Commander Nether-lands (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Niederlande*).

From February to May 1944, AGSSt 23 was deployed in Amersfoort (map 2).[2] At that time, there were only a small number of British and American prisoners in the Nether-lands, whom the Germans probably held in AGSSt 23. The table below shows the number of prisoners in the camp from the end of 1943 until mid-1944:[3]

Date	Americans	British
December 1, 1943	16	5
January 1, 1944	2	1
February 1, 1944	3	—
April 1, 1944	13	1
May 1, 1944	13	1
June 1, 1944	13	1

The confinement conditions of the prisoners were satisfactory on the whole, and largely in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The camp was disbanded by an order on November 8, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 23 is located in

BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28895: Ermittlungen gg. ehemalige Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 23 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sogenannter untragbarer Kriegsgefangener and 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 23 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

2. OKW, Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens (Org. Ic), Verzeichnis der Kriegsgefangenenlager einschl. der Zweiglager im Bereich des OKW nach dem Stand von Mitte Februar 1944, BArch B 162/790, Bl. 144; Verzeichnis der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Generalgouvernement und in den besetzten Gebieten, Stand: 15. Mai 1944, BArch B 162/790, Bl. 160.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. (Org. Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, in BA-B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 25

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 25 on February 2, 1943. On May 5, 1943, it was converted into Dulag 226. AGSSt 25 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 950 between February 15 and August 23, 1943; the number was struck sometime before February 12, 1945.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

Dallas Michelbacher

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 31

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 31 on August 27, 1944, from former personnel of Dulag 101 and Dulag 110, together with their guard companies.[1] On October 27, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 37 042. The camp was in existence until the end of 1944 or early 1945, when it was disbanded.[2] AGSSt 31 was deployed in various locations in the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war. Information about the camp is sparse, but it can be safely assumed that conditions were inhumane, as they were in other camps for Soviet prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about the AGSSt 31 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28897–28898: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 31 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 31 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 31 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28898, Bl. 19.

2. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 32

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 32 on August 27, 1944, in Danzig (today Gdańsk, Poland) (map 4c) from 23 former staff of Dulag 375 and 7 members of its guard company, as well as 54 members of the 894th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[1] On October 27, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 693. On February 8, 1945, the camp was given a new number: 40 527.[2] The camp existed until the spring of 1945, when it was disbanded.

AGSSt 32 deployed to various locations in the rear area of Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) G, which was then defending Lorraine, Alsace, and the West Wall against the Americans.[3]

The camp held American and British prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 32 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28899–28900: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 32 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 32 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 32 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28900, Bl. 25–26, 28–29.

2. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

3. See the testimonies of the witnesses Franz Luthardt, November 20, 1969, and Heinrich Stamm, January 9, 1970, BArch B 162/28900, Bl. 10, 21.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 33

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 33 on August 27, 1944, in Danzig (now Gdańsk), Poland (map 4c), from 73 former personnel of the 894th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[1] On October 27, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 456.[2]

In the fall of 1944, AGSSt 33 deployed to Poland. At some point after February 1945, it may have been deployed to Germany in the rear area of Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) G, which was defending the upper Rhine Valley from the Americans; however, the existing sources are not entirely clear. While deployed in Poland, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war. During the deployment in Germany, it held American and British prisoners.

The camp disbanded in the spring of 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 33 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28902: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 33 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 33 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 33 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28902, Bl. 48–50.

2. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 34

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 34 on August 27, 1944, in Pomlau (today: Pomlewo, Poland) (map 4c) from 70 former personnel of Dulag 154 and its associated guard company as well as 23 men from the 3rd Company of the 894th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[1] On October 27, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 513.[2] AGSSt 34 was deployed in Pomlau until November 15, 1944. From November 17, 1944, onward, it was in Tarnów (5). At the end of December 1944, the camp was transferred to Landstuhl (4d), and, until March 18, 1945, it was located between the towns of Landstuhl and Ramstein. Later, the camp was located in Munich (4f).[3] While deployed in Landstuhl, the camp operated under the authority of the First Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 535).

The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Ralph Folkert from Berlin; the deputy commandant was Hauptmann Eugen Krägeloh from Schalksmühle; the camp doctor was Dr. Hans-Dietrich Hoppe; the commander of the guard company was Hauptmann Heinrich Kramer; and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Wilhelm Kreck.[4]

During the deployment in Tarnów, the camp was used to hold Soviet prisoners of war. While located near Landstuhl, it held American prisoners. There is no documentation on the conditions in the camp. After the war, the German federal prosecutor investigated allegations that the camp staff had murdered Soviet prisoners, but former members of the staff denied ever having heard of or participated in such actions. One witness testified that some prisoners volunteered to be trained as helpers (*Hiwis*) for the Wehrmacht.

The camp was disbanded in the spring of 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 34 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B162/28904: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 34 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 34 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 34 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 36, 90.

2. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

3. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 34 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 50, 67–68, 86.

4. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 34 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 8, 16, 91.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 35

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 35 on August 27, 1944. The unit was assigned to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) and was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 36

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 36 on August 27, 1944. The unit was assigned to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord)* and was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 37

The Germans formed AGSSt 37 on September 15, 1944, probably from the personnel of Dulag 131.[1] On September 22, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 444.[2] The unit existed until the end of 1944, when it was disbanded. AGSSt 37 was deployed in various locations in Poland, in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).

AGSSt held Soviet prisoners of war. There is no documentation available on the conditions in the camp. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved compared to 1941 and 1942, but Soviet prisoners were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the same quality as those afforded to Western Allied prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 37 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/6367–6370: Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener des Dulag 131 bzw. der AGSSt 37 in Slonim, Bobruisk und Baranowicze; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 37 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 33.

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NOTES

1. See the testimony of Augustin Proksch, BArch B 162/6367 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2206.00000544-00000545).

2. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel stelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 38

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 38 on September 15, 1944, from Dulag 142. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 999 on September 22, 1944.[1] Advancing Soviet forces overran the camp in January 1945, enabling the prisoners to escape on foot and resulting in the capture of many of the German personnel.[2] The unit was under the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 532). AGSSt 38 was assigned to various locations in Poland, mainly in the Warsaw area (map 5).

Postwar investigations indicated that the camp held several hundred Soviet prisoners, though the precise numbers are unknown. Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available, except to establish that the camp was crowded.[3] In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet prisoners were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the same quality as was afforded to Western Allied prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 38 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28909: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 38 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 38 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self- published, 1987), p. 34.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

2. See in detail: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 38 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, in BArch B 162/28909.

3. Ibid.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 39

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 39 on September 1, 1944, based on an order from Army Group Center dated August 27. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 603 on September 22, 1944.[1] AGSSt 39 was under the Representative for Prisoner of War Affairs with the High Command of Army Group Center (*Beauftragter für Kriegsgefangenenwesen beim Oberkommando Heeresgruppe Mitte*) and operated in the rear area of Army Group Center.[2]

The camp held Italian military prisoners.[3] Details on conditions in the camp are lacking, but, in general, the Germans tended to treat Italian prisoners harshly.

There is no record of the date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded this camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 39 is located in BA-MA and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about AGSSt 39 can be found in the following publications: Carlo Gentile, *Elenco delle truppe e dei comandi delle FFAA tedesche in Italia 1943–1945* (Rome: German Historical Institute, 2004); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 34; and Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich, 1943 bis 1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

3. Ibid.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 40

The Germans established AGSSt 40 on September 20, 1944, from the staff of Dulag 314. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 454 on September 22.[1] The unit was under the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580). AGSSt 40 was deployed in various locations in central Poland and western Prussia.

AGSSt 40 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp are not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over the terrible conditions that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied prisoners received.

The date on which the Germans disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still operating as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 40 is located in BA-MA; WASt Berlin; and BArch B 162/28912: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 40 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 40 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz, self-published, 1987), p. 34.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 41

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 41 on September 15, 1944, from personnel of Dulag 126. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 413 on September 22.[1] Initially, the unit was under the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559). However, after only three months, on December 15, it was reassigned to the Fifteenth Army (Korück 517), then fighting in western Germany.

Documentation on the prisoner population and conditions in the camp are lacking. German legal authorities did investigate allegations that Soviet prisoners of war were selected and killed, but they could find no firm evidence. It is not even certain if the Germans kept Soviet prisoners in the camp during its brief subordination to Korück 559, since, by that point in the war, the Wehrmacht was in retreat and no longer capturing large numbers of prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 41 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28913: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 41 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 41 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 34.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 42

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 42 on September 20, 1944. It was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 439 on September 22.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559). AGSSt 42 was deployed in various locations in East Prussia.

AGSSt 42 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). No documentation regarding camp conditions is available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Germans disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation at the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 42 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28914: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 42 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 42 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 34.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 43

The Germans established AGSSt 43 on September 19, 1944, using staff from Dulag 130 as a basis. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 959 on September 22.[1] For a short time, AGSSt 43 was under the Third Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 590), but, from October 23, 1944, it was under the Fourth Army Rear Area Command (Korück 559).[2] AGSSt 43 was deployed to various locations in East Prussia.

AGSSt 43 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Specific information about the conditions in this camp is unavailable. By this point in the war, conditions in camps for Soviet POWs were generally better than they had been in 1941 and 1942, but they still received worse food, housing, and medical care than Western Allied POWs.

Records indicate that the unit was in operation until the end of the war.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 43 is located in BA-MA and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 43 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 34.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 44

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 44 on September 20, 1944, from personnel of Dulag 230. It received field postal number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 054 on September 22.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Representative for Prisoner of War Affairs with the High Command of Army Group Center (*Beauftragter für Kriegsgefangenenwesen beim Oberkommando Heeresgruppe Mitte*). AGSSt 44 was deployed to various locations in Poland.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that prevailed in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the same quality as Western Allied POWs received.

Soviet forces overran the camp at the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 44 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28916: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 44 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 44 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 45

The Germans formed AGSSt 45 on September 15, 1944, from the staff of Dulag 125. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 079 on September 22.[1] The camp was under the Third Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 590). AGSSt 45 was deployed to various locations in East Prussia.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the same quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The camp's field post number was struck on or after November 10, 1944, and given to AGSSt Samland; AGSSt 45 was probably redesignated as AGSSt Samland.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 45 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28917: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 45 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 45 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lager-geschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 46

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 46 on August 27, 1944. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 843 between April 23 and November 24, 1944.[1] AGSSt 46 was deployed to various locations in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).

The Wehrmacht held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in the camp. Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the same quality as Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation at the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 46 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28918: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 46 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 46 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 47

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 47 on August 27, 1944. On September 29, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 17 704.[1] AGSSt 47 was deployed to various locations in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 47 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28920: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 47 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 47 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 48

The Wehrmacht ordered the establishment of AGSSt 48 on August 27, 1944. On September 29, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 48 382.[1] AGSSt 48 was deployed in various locations in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 48 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28921: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 48 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 48 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 49

The Wehrmacht ordered the establishment of AGSSt 49 on August 27, 1944. On September 29, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 395.[1] AGSSt 49 was deployed in various locations in Poland and Germany.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of May 6, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 49 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28923: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 49 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 49 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 50

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 50 on August 27, 1944. On September 29, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 48 774.[1] AGSSt 50 deployed to various locations in Poland and Germany.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 50 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28924: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 50 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 50 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 35.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 51

The Wehrmacht ordered the establishment of AGSSt 51 on August 27, 1944, possibly from Dulag 102 (although the records are somewhat contradictory). On September 29, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 18 991.[1] The camp existed until late 1944, when it was disbanded. AGSSt 51 was subordinate to the Fourth Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585), part of Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) A. AGSSt 51 was deployed in various locations in Poland.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied prisoners received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 51 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28925: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 51 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 51 can be found in the

following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 35.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 52

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 52 on August 27, 1944. The unit was still in operation as of the end of 1944. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 58 507 on September 29, 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 53

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 53 with an order dated August 27, 1944. On November 17, 1944, the camp was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 66 819.[1] AGSSt 53 deployed to various locations in Poland and Germany.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 53 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28927: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 53 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 53 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 36.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 54

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 54 with an order dated August 27, 1944. On November 17, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 64 208.[1] AGSSt 54 deployed to various locations in Poland and Germany.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 54 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28928: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 54 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 54 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 36.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 55

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 55 with an order dated August 27, 1944. On November 17, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 67 093.[1] AGSSt 55 was deployed to various locations in Poland and Germany.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 55 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28929: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 55 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 55 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 36.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel-stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 56

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 56 with an order dated August 27, 1944, using staff from Dulag 191. On November 17, 1944, the camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 66 998.[1] AGSSt 56 deployed to various localities in Hungary, Slovakia, and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The camp was subordinate to the Eighth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 558).

The camp held Romanian and Slovak prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but these prisoners were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

On May 11, 1945, members of AGSSt 56 in Nesselbach (today Větrná, Czech Republic) were captured by American forces.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 56 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28930: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 56 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 56 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 36.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

2. Wilhelm Krull Interrogation, March 20, 1970, BArch B 162/17068, folder 4846.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 57

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 57 on October 11, 1944, using the personnel from Dulag 231. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 65 586 on November 17.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Eighth Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 558). AGSSt 57 was located in various locations in Hungary.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 57 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28931: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 57 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 57 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 36.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 58

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 58 on September 25, 1944. On October 10, 1944, it received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 379.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Eighth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 558). AGSSt 58 was deployed to various locations in Hungary.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 58 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28932: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 58 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 58 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 59

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 59 on September 25, 1944. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 703 on October 10.[1] The unit was under the Nineteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 536). AGSSt 59 was located in Strassburg (today: Strasbourg) (map 4f) in October and November 1944 and then in various locations in western Germany. While in Strassburg, it absorbed Dulag Strassburg.

The camp held French and American prisoners. Conditions were generally satisfactory.

The last order pertaining to the camp was dated January 7, 1945, with the remark "missing." The field post number was struck on March 20.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 59 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/3 and RH 49/93) and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 59 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle;

Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 60

The Wehrmacht formed AGSSt 60 on September 25, 1944, from part of the staff of Stalag 122, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, probably in the town of Honnef. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 65 076 on November 6.[1] The unit was under the Fifth Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, Panzer AOK 5) or possibly the Fifth SS Armored Army Rear Area Commander; the records are not clear.

AGSSt 60 was located at as many as 12 different sites in Germany (and possibly in the Netherlands as well) and was responsible for more than one camp simultaneously. Former members of the staff named several locations in Nordrhein-Westfalen, including Flamersheim (today: part of the town of Euskirchen), Nettersheim, Firmenich, Düren, and Emmerich am Rhein (map 4a).[2]

According to one former member of the camp staff, the commandant was Oberstleutnant Viehoff; another named Oberstleutnant Posseckel. The unit controlled, at one time or another, up to 2,000 Soviet prisoners as well as American and British prisoners.[3]

Information on conditions in the camp is not available. From the testimony of former camp staff, prisoners rotated through the camps quickly and were marched to larger camps farther east.

The camp apparently remained in operation until the end of the war.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 60 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28933: Ermittlungen gg. ehem.

Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 60 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen.

Additional information about AGSSt 60 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

2. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 60 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28933, Bl. 53.

3. Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 60 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen, BArch B 162/28933, Bl. 28–29, 32, 52.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 61

The Wehrmacht created AGSSt 61 on September 25, 1944. On November 2, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 67 824.[1] AGSSt 61 deployed to various locations in Hungary.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

The date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded the camp is unknown; existing records indicate that it was still in operation as of the end of 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 61 is located in BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28934: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 61 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819–28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 61 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 62

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 62 on October 9, 1944. On November 28, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 66 138.[1] The camp was disbanded in the spring of 1945; the exact date is unknown. The unit was subordinate to the Nineteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 536). AGSSt 62 was deployed in various locations in France and western Germany, including Strassburg (map 4f). The camp held French and American prisoners of war.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 62 is located in the BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/19323: Aussonderung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle (AGSSt) 62 in Strassburg and 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 62 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle, RH 49/1: Stammtafeln der Kriegsgefangenenlager im Operationsgebiet; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 63

The Wehrmacht created AGSSt 63 on November 28, 1944. On December 20, 1944, it was given field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 66 775.[1] AGSSt 63 was subordinate to the Tenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 594).[2] AGSSt 63 was deployed at various locations in Italy until its disbandment, which occurred no later than May 2, 1945, with the surrender of the Tenth Army. As for the prisoner population and conditions of confinement, the camp held Allied prisoners of war, and their conditions of confinement, by and large, were satisfactory and basically in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 63 is located in the BA-MA and WASt.

Additional information about AGSSt 63 can be found in the following publications: Carlo Gentile, *Elenco delle truppe e dei comandi delle FFAA tedesche in Italia 1943–1945* (Rome: Deutsches Historisches Institut, 2004), and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3: Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle;

Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

2. Gentile, *Elenco delle truppe*.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 64

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 64 on November 28, 1944. On December 27, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 100.[1] AGSSt 64 was deployed in various localities in Hungary and Austria. The last record of it is dated February 25, 1945.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Documentation regarding the conditions in the camp is not available. In general, by this late point in the war, conditions had improved over those that were prevalent in 1941 and 1942, but Soviet POWs were still not given housing, food, clothing, or medical care of sufficient quality or quantity, and certainly not of the quality that Western Allied POWs received.

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 64 is located in the BA-MA; WASt; and BArch B 162/28936: Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige der Armeegefangenensammelstelle 64 wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an NS-Verbrechen; files 28819– 28820: Anforderung von Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen und Urlisten bei der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) zur Überprüfung von Armeegefangenensammelstellen.

Additional information about AGSSt 64 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 37.

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NOTE

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3, Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammelstelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 65

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt 65 on November 28, 1944. On December 20, 1944, it was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 67 858.[1] AGSSt 65 was subordinate to the commander of the rear area of Army Ligurien (AOK Ligurien).[2] It had a small staff of about 35 men, many of whom had been previously employed at Dulag 226 in Pissignano.

AGSSt 65 was deployed near Turin, Italy (map 6), and held prisoners of war from Western Allied countries, such as France, who were subsequently transferred to permanent prisoner of war camps. Their conditions of imprisonment were, by and large, satisfactory and basically in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. According to former staff member Josef Schätzmüller, by 1945, the prisoners could no longer be transferred out of the camp because transportation routes had been cut off by Allied advances, so the prisoners remained in the camp until they were liberated in early May 1945. (German records indicate that the camp was still in operation as late as March 23.) The same witness claims that several of the German camp staff were executed by French and Italian partisans after the camp was liberated.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about AGSSt 65 is located in BArch B 162/28937 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M. 2674. 00000261-00000316); BA-MA; and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about AGSSt 65 can be found in Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p.

38; and Carlo Gentile, *Elenco delle truppe e dei comandi delle FFAA tedesche in Italia 1943–1945* (Rome: Deutsches Historisches Institut, 2004).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/3, Armee-Kriegsgefangenensammel stelle; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 38.

2. Gentile, *Elenco delle truppe*.

3. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Armee-Gefangenen-Sammelstelle 65, BArch B 162/28937, Bl. 28 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2674.00000295).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 102

Very little information is available about AGSSt 102. The Wehrmacht apparently established it sometime before August 1942. Its date of disbandment, locations, prisoner population, and conditions are all unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about AGSSt 102 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Geoffrey Megargee

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 103

Very little information is available about AGSSt 103. The Wehrmacht apparently established it sometime before August 1942. Its date of disbandment, locations, prisoner population, and conditions are all unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about AGSSt 103 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Geoffrey Megargee

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 105

Very little information is available about AGSSt 105. The Wehrmacht apparently established it sometime before August 1942. Its date of disbandment, locations, prisoner population, and conditions are all unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about AGSSt 105 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

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ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 107

Very little information is available about AGSSt 107. The Wehrmacht apparently established it sometime before January 1943. Its date of disbandment, locations, prisoner population, and conditions are all unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about AGSSt 107 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

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ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) 185

Very little information is available about AGSSt 185. The Wehrmacht apparently established it in November 1944, and it was in operation until at least the beginning of 1945. Its exact date of disbandment, locations, prisoner population, and conditions are all unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about AGSSt 185 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Geoffrey Megargee

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) BRESLAU

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt Breslau in 1945 in Breslau (today: Wrocław, Poland) (map 4e). It was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 390 on February 17, 1945. The unit was disbanded on or before May 6, 1945.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

ARMEE-GEFANGENENSAMMELSTELLE (AGSSt) SAMLAND

The Wehrmacht established AGSSt Samland on the Samland Peninsula (today the Kaliningrad Peninsula in Russia) (map 4c) in late 1944. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 079 on or after November 10, 1944, taking over this designation from the former AGSSt 43. The Germans disbanded the unit on or before May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 1

The Wehrmacht formed Auflag 1 on May 31, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 083 between April 28 and September 14. From June to September 1940, the unit was deployed in various locations in France. Information on further deployments is lacking. In France, the unit was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*).

The camp was used for reception and short-term confinement of French prisoners of war. The prisoners' conditions of confinement were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

On June 11, 1941, the Wehrmacht issued the order to disband the unit and convert it into AGSSt 1. Its field post number was struck between February 16 and July 18, 1941.

SOURCES Primary source material about Auflag 1 is located in the BA-MA, RH 49/4: Auffanglager.

Additional information about Kriegsgefangenen-Auffanglager 1 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 38.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 2

The Wehrmacht established Auflag 2 on May 31, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. On May 1, 1941, the unit was reorganized as AGSSt 22. The unit's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 30 959. The unit deployed to various localities in France. While there, Auflag 2 was first subordinate to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583) and then, as of October 21, 1940, to the First Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 588).

The camp was probably used for the reception and short-term imprisonment of French prisoners of war. Few details about the camp during its deployment are available.

SOURCES Primary source material about Auflag 2 is located in the BA-MA, RH 49/4: Auffanglager.

Additional information about Auflag 2 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 39.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 3

The Germans formed Auflag 3 on May 31, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 183. On May 6, 1941, the unit was reorganized as AGSSt 3. From June 1940 to June 1941, the unit deployed to various locations in France and Belgium. Initially, Auflag 3 was subordinate to the Sixth Army. Starting on July 11, 1940, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*) and, as of September 17, 1940, to the Commander of Prisoner of War District (*Kommandant des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks*) F Brussels.

The Germans used the camp for the reception and short-term confinement of French and Belgian prisoners of war. The conditions of imprisonment were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Auflag 3 is located in the BA-MA, RH 49/4: Auffanglager.

Additional information about Auflag 3 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 39.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 4

The Wehrmacht formed Auflag 4 on May 29, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 013. On May 6, 1941, the unit was reorganized as AGSSt 4. From June 1940 to May 1941, the unit was deployed in various locations in France and Belgium. Initially, the unit was subordinate to the Ninth Army. Starting on July 3, 1940, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France/ Commander of the Prisoner of War District (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich/Kommandant des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks*) VIII, and, as of September 24, 1940, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France/ Commander of the Prisoner of War District F Brussels.

The camp was used for the reception and short-term confinement of French and Belgian prisoners of war. The conditions were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Auflag 4 is located in the BA-MA, RH 49/4: Auffanglager.

Additional information about Auflag 4 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 39.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 5

The Wehrmacht established Auflag 5 on June 1, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 895. On May 6, 1941, the unit was converted into AGSSt 5. From June 1940 to June 1941, the unit was deployed to various locations in France and Belgium. Starting on June 16, 1940, Auflag 5 was subordinate to the Second Army. As of July 7, 1940, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France/Commander of Prisoner of War District (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich/Kommandant des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks*) II, as of August 21, 1940, to the Armed Forces Commander France/Commander of Prisoner of War District VIII, and from September 17, 1940, to the Armed Forces Commander France/Commander of Prisoner of War District F Brussels.

The Germans used the camp for the reception and short-term confinement of French and Belgian prisoners of war. The conditions were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Auflag 5 is located in the BA-MA, RH 49/4: Auffanglager.

Additional information about Auflag 5 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 39–40.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-AUFFANGLAGER (AUFLAG) 6

The Wehrmacht established Auflag 6 on June 1, 1940. It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 095 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. Its area of deployment is unknown. On April 17, 1941, it was renamed Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle (AGSSt) 21. Its field post number was struck between February 16 and July 18, 1941.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 100

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 100 on March 16, 1941, in Göritten, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I, from the personnel of Frontstalag 100. Dulag 100 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 36 090 between March 1 and September 9, 1942; it was struck on October 27, 1944. Initially, the unit deployed to the Generalgouvernement. In June 1941, the unit came under the jurisdiction of the 281st Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*).

From July to August 1941, Dulag 100 was located in the city of Kauen (Kaunas, Lithuania), in Fort IV (map 9b). The camp's capacity was 6,000 prisoners, but on July 3, 1941, there were already 8,050 prisoners in the camp. Of these, 5,000 prisoners were transferred to the camp in Ebenrode, East Prussia (today Nesterov, Russia) (4c). The prisoners were immediately used for forced labor.[1] The number of prisoners in the camp quickly grew again, as some of the prisoners who were captured in the Białystok-Minsk region were transferred to Lithuania. In the autumn of 1941, Dulag 100 redeployed to the city of Porkhov (9a), a tank manufacturing center. There was a subcamp in the town of Dno. As of April 1, 1943, the camp held 1,416 prisoners of war (POWs).

The camp at Porkhov was located on a site formerly used by the Red Army. There were several unfinished three- or four-story brick houses near the campgrounds; however, the prisoners were forced to sleep outdoors, so close together that one prisoner's head rested against another's feet, in an area enclosed by a fence and guard towers.[2] The conditions for the camp's POWs during the time Dulag 100 was deployed in Porkhov were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs. They received minimal rations, consisting of thin soup and one-twelfth of a loaf of bread per man per day.[3] The tremendous overcrowding, the malnutrition and inevitable exhaustion which resulted, and the lack of sanitation or proper medical care led to a high mortality rate.[4] Abuse by the

German guards only made matters worse. Witness Peter Davydov recounted:

> I worked as a stevedore in the prisoner of war camp located in the military town Porkhov and I saw what happened there. In the Soviet prisoner of war camp, complete tyranny reigned. Soviet people were deliberately annihilated on a massive scale. To this end, there were starvation rations in the camp, and the Soviet people were abused in every way and systematically beaten. The conditions were established to be inhumane, and a great number of deaths occurred among the prisoners as a result. The Germans gave the Soviets in the camp less than 200 grams [7 ounces] of bread and 0.5 liters [a little over 2 cups] of gruel instead of soup. The gruel had water and a small number of brown potatoes. Such rations could not support a person's life for one month. In addition, the Germans forced the prisoners to perform backbreaking work, namely loading and unloading heavy cargo. When one or another person became completely weakened from malnutrition and fatigue, the German guards beat him with sticks. In order to hasten the exhaustion of a person's body in the absence of work, the Germans forced people to drive wheelbarrows of snow from place to place so that they would not be able to rest. In free time from work, the prisoners were set on tree stumps and high stacks of firewood so that the wind would blow strongly upon them, and they were forced to stand there for a long time. I personally saw such abuse. I know of a case when, in 1942, a German officer broke a prisoner's arm at the elbow joint. The German officer explained that his brutal act was committed because the prisoner was trying to pass from the large camp. There was tremendous overcrowding of people in the camp: I saw prisoners forced to sleep on the roof of the barracks in autumn 1942. Also, prisoners lived in wooden sheds in summer and winter. As a result of the unbearable conditions and brutal abuse, there was a very high prisoner mortality rate throughout the entire time the camp existed. Over 110 people died every day in the camp.[5]

From the recollections of witness Pavel Mikhailov:

> “There were cases when the Germans buried living Soviets. In 1942, autumn, the Germans transported five prisoners’ corpses from the station in wagons. I stood in my house and watched as a man lying in one wagon waved his arm, sticking up from above the dead bodies, letting me know that he was still alive. This German saw, but did not pay attention. The prisoners of war were held in three-story buildings, the windows of which were bricked up and had openings of about 10 to 15 cm. [4 to 6 inches] In 1941, in spite of the strong frost, the Red Army men were forced to stay outside all day and night. They gathered in groups of 20 people and lay in the snow, nestled close to each other, and slept this way all night. Many of the prisoners did not have coats or boots, sat in the cold, and wrapped their feet with rags. One day,” continued Mikhailov, “the Germans led a group of prisoners around the city of Porkhov. There was one man in the rear who could not walk on his own, and he asked if he could lie down on the ground and have a rest. Seeing this, the convoy guard shot him. This I personally saw.”[6]

Witness Leonid Nikulin, who worked in the camp from October 1941 until August 1943 as a pipe fitter and plumber, reported that there was tremendous overcrowding of people in the camp. In addition, he stated the following:

> When the buildings were vacated by people, then the German guards came and collected bodies. The prisoners walked on them and lay on them, because there was nowhere to move around. I saw how the Germans collected no fewer than 20 corpses every day from one of the buildings, and there were five buildings total in the camp. In my presence, the Germans approached, took the Red Army man who was lying motionless, and carried him to the car. This man began to wiggle his arms and legs. Seeing this, I said, “He’s still alive.” They answered me, “Nothing living comes as far as there.” They threw the living man on the corpses they had brought to the cemetery. Such instances, where they threw out living prisoners, I personally observed 5 or 6 times.[7]

The order to dissolve the camp was given on August 27, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 100 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens).

Additional information about Dulag 100 may be found in the following publications: *Book of Memory. Pskovskaia oblast'. Porkhovskii raion* (Pskov, 1994); Tamurbek Dawletschin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen: Erinnerungen eines sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005); I. Kurchavov, *City on the Shelon* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1989); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and I. L. Panchenko, *Porkhov* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1975).

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NOTES

1. 281. Sicherungsdivision, Kriegstagebuch, in NARA, RG 242, T 315, roll 1870, frames 319, 321.
2. Dawletschin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen*, pp. 61, 64.
3. Korück 584, Verpflegungsstärke am 1.4.1943, in NARA, T 501, roll 82, frame 183.
4. Dawletschin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen*, p. 65.
5. PRSM Collection 11-B, no. 2680.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 101

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 101 on June 13, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 101.[1] It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 37 042 between February 28 and July 27, 1941; the number was struck on October 27, 1944. Dulag 101 soon moved to Poland. Between 1941 and 1943, it operated in various populated localities in the rear area of the Eighteenth Army, specifically in the city of Narva, the town of Volosovo, in the village of Kotly, and in the town of Kingisepp (all map 9a). Dulag 101 was disbanded on August 27, 1944.[2]

The unit was first subordinate to the 207th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and, on August 1, 1942, it was placed under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet*) IV.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war. The conditions, particularly during the time when the camp was located in Kotly, were inhumane. Extremely meager and unpalatable food, enormous congestion in a small area, and lack of proper hygiene or medical aid led to mass famine and disease, which in turn produced a high death rate. Abuse by the guards only worsened matters. As in the other camps, the newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out the Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 101 is located in the BA-MA RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens and in BArch B 162/8626– 8630: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 101 in Kotly.

Information about Dulag 101 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Sechster Band: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 174.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 174.
2. Ibid.
3. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 101 in Kotly, BArch B 162/8626–8630.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 102

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 102 on March 17, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 102.[1] Its first provisional deployment was to Poland. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 38 028 between February 28 and July 27, 1941; the number was struck on November 8, 1944.

The first camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Georg Böhm. Two others followed, but their names are unknown. The unit came under the jurisdiction of the Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 207 in May 1941 and deployed to different locations in the Army Group North Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Nord*). In July and August 1941, Dulag 102 deployed to the city of Šiauliai (map 9b), where the camp personnel also participated in the massacres of Jews.[2] They guarded the small synagogue in which the Jews were imprisoned and then transported them in trucks to the execution site. An execution squad from the unit shot a Soviet commissar and other prisoners in Šiauliai.[3] In the autumn of 1941, Dulag 102 deployed to the town of Rakvere and then to the village of Volosovo (9a).[4]

In July 1942, the unit was transferred to the Army Group A Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet A*) and fell under the jurisdiction of the 454th Security Division. In August 1942, the unit deployed to the city of Makeevka (today Makiïvka) (9f).[5] It was then stationed in the northern Caucasus; first in Petrovskoe (today Makhachkala) (9i) with a branch in Stavropol'[6] and then in Kavkazskaia (9h).[7]

In 1943, Dulag 102 deployed to different locations in Russia and Ukraine under the Fourth Panzer Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 593, later 585). For example, in the autumn of 1943, the unit was stationed in the village of Kustovoe (9d).[8] In late 1943 and early 1944 the camp was located in various places in Ukraine. In August 1943, Dulag 102 was stationed in the village of Nikolaevka (today Mykolaivka, Sums'ka oblast') (9f) with subcamps in the cities of

Vorozhba, Buryn', and Konotop. In September 1943, the unit deployed to the village of Dmitrievka (today Dmytrivka, Chernihivs'ka oblast') (9f) with branches in the villages of Khmelev (today Khmeliv, Sums'ka oblast') and Velikii Sambor (today Velykyi Sambir, Sums'ka oblast'). At the end of 1943, Dulag 102 deployed to the city of Novograd-Volynskii (today Novohrad Volyns'kyi) (9e).[9]

The conditions in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners, and they were particularly bad while the camp was located in Volosovo. The prisoners had to endure scarce food, overcrowding, lack of proper medical care, and harassment by the guards, which led to massive hunger and illness and a high mortality rate. As in other camps, the Germans separated out from among the newly arrived prisoners the Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment.

The order for the camp's disbandment was issued on November 14, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about the Dulag 102 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BArch B (162/9216– 9219: Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener [Juden, politische Kommissare] durch Angehörige des Dulag 102 1941 bis Herbst 1944 in Polen und der Sowjetunion and 28925: Fotografien von Angehörigen des Dulag 102 [o.D.]).

Additional information about Dulag 102 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 183.

Alexander Kruglov

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 183.

2. Hildegard Wenzel, interrogation, BArch 162/4362, Bl. 370.

3. Bernhard Austermann, testimony, BArch B 162/9216, Bl. 96-99; Hans Schütt, testimony, BArch B 162/9216, Bl. 102–104.

4. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61

5. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162, Verschiedenes, Ordner 245b

6. NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 20, frame 29.

7. NARA, RG 242, T 454, roll 104, frame 269.

8. Monatsbericht Dulag 102 Kustowoje an Kgf. Bez. Kdt. W Achtyrka vom 3.8.1943, in BA-MA RH 21-4/419.

9. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 585, Abt. Qu, O.U., den 1.1. 1944, Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenwesen, BArch B 162/19276, Bl. 469.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 110

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 110 on March 16, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 110 and deployed it to the Generalgouvernement. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 601 between January 27 and July 14, 1942; the number was struck on October 27, 1944.

From June 1941 onward, Dulag 110 was under the jurisdiction of the Sixteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 584), part of Army Group North. The unit deployed to different localities in the Novgorodskaia oblast', such as the town of Staraia Russa (map 9a), with a subcamp in the village of Volot, from 1941 to 1943. As of April 1, 1943, the camp held 1,194 prisoners and German camp personnel consisted of 129 men.[1] As of May 1, 1943, the camp held 1,088 prisoners and the German personnel numbered 185 people.[2]

In the second half of 1943, Dulag 110 deployed to the town of Tapa (9a) and a branch existed in the city of Tallinn. In the first half of 1944, the unit was located in the city of Walk (today: Valga, Estonia) (9a), and, in the latter part of 1944, it was stationed in the city of Kulm (today Chełm, Poland) (5).

Dulag 110 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners did not receive adequate food rations or medical care. Abuse by the guards only exacerbated the situation. As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the camp guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel near the camp.[3]

The order to disband the camp was issued on August 27, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 110 is located

in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); in BArch B (162/9281–9284: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige des Dulag 110 in Staraja-Russa in den Jahren 1941 bis 1943); and in GARF (file 7021-34-361, 765: The city of Staraya Russa).

Additional information about Dulag 110 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

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Trans. Claire Davis

NOTES

1. Korück 584, Verpflegungsstärke am 1.4.1943, in NARA, T 501, roll 82, frame 183.

2. Korück 584, Verpflegungsstärke am 1.5.1943, in NARA, T 501, roll 82, frame 251.

3. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige des Dulag 110 in Staraja-Russa in den Jahren 1941 bis 1943, BArch B 162/9281–9284.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 111

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 111 on August 13, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 111. As of that date, the unit was temporarily located in Poland. Dulag 111 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 492 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on November 9, 1944. Dulag 111 was deployed to various locations in Ukraine, specifically Kremenchug, Lozovaia (today Lozova), Sinel'nikovo,[1] Pavlograd,[2] and Gorlovka (today Horlivka) (all map 9f). The unit was disbanded on November 14, 1944.[3]

During the period of the camp's deployment to Poland, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander in the General Government Poland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*). As of September 22, 1941, the unit was subordinate to the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550), part of Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*).[4] As of July 1942, the unit was subordinate to the Army Group B Rear Area Command (*Heeresgebiet B*).[5]

Dulag 111 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions of confinement, especially when the camp was in the towns of Sinel'nikovo and Pavlograd, were the very same as in the other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food, overcrowding, forced labor, and lack of proper medical aid led to malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion, which produced a high death rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the already terrible conditions. As in other such camps, the staff screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 111 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BA-L B 162/8766–8771:

"Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 111 in Krementschug, Losowaja, Pawlograd, Gorlowka und anderen Orten, 1941 bis 1944.

Additional information about Dulag 111 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 237.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, in NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.

2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942; BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 237.

4. Ibid.; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942; BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

5. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11. 8. 1942, in NARA, T 501, roll 18, frame 643.

6. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 111 in Krementschug, Losowaja, Pawlograd, Gorlowka und anderen Orten, 1941 bis 1944, BArch B 162/8766–8771.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 112

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 112 on March 14, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 112 and deployed it to the Generalgouvernement. Its field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 14 588 (assigned between January 27 and July 14, 1942, and struck on May 22, 1944). The 663rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the prisoners.

In July 1941, the unit was deployed to the city of Varėna and then to Molodechno and Vitebsk (all map 9b). During this time, the unit operated under the 403rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). As of July 3, 1941, the camp held 2,900 prisoners, and, on July 27, 1941, it held 7,000 prisoners.[1] In October 1941, the camp deployed to the cities of Maloiaroslavets and Iukhnov (both map 9c). On November 30, 1941, the camp was assigned to the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559).[2] On April 1, 1942, the unit was deployed to the village of Shui (9c).[3] In June 1942, it was relocated to the city of Romny (9f), where it was deactivated as a prisoner of war camp on June 10. The center of the formation of the Georgian Eastern Legion (*Ost-Legion*) was formed on its base.[4] The unit was formally disbanded on December 17, 1942.

Dulag 112 held Soviet prisoners of war. Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Overcrowding, minimal food rations and medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high death rate. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel near the camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 112 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 112), NARB (file

4683-3-917), and NARA (Microcopy T 501).

Additional information about Dulag 112 can be found in the following publication: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), p. 42.

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NOTES

1. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, p. 42.
2. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 43, fr. 3; and roll 73, fr. 77.
3. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 72, fr. 874.
4. BA-MA, RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 112.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 113

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 113 on November 20, 1943, and issued an order on June 28, 1944, for it to be disbanded. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 885 on June 27, 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 120

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 120 on May 23, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 120. In June 1941, the unit was located in the city of Iaşi (map 9g). After the invasion of the Soviet Union, it was deployed in various locations in Ukraine, such as Kherson (9g) in the fall of 1941 and Zaporozh'e (9f) as of May 1942.[1] On July 4, 1942, Dulag 120, then located in the city of Mirgorod (9f), became the headquarters of the 2nd Turkestan Eastern Legion (*Ost-Legion*).[2] Dulag 120 was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 203 between July 31, 1942, and July 9, 1943; the number was struck on October 4, 1943.

As of the fall of 1941, the unit was subordinate to the Senior Quartermaster Black Sea (*Oberquartiermeister Schwarzes Meer*) Major Ernst Merk. In the spring of 1942, Dulag 120 was transferred to the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd*, Berück Süd). The command staff included Hauptmann Kleme, Hauptmann W. Holz, and Hauptmann Worbs. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Kanenberg, the interpreter was Sonderführer Popov, and the deputy commandant (*Lageroffizier*) was Leutnant Wolfgang Orlich.

Dulag 120 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were the same as those in the other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and the absence of proper medical aid led to malnutrition and disease, which led to a high mortality rate. The prisoners' suffering was exacerbated by deliberate abuse from the guards. As in other such camps, the Abwehr personnel screened the newly arrived prisoners for Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the camp guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3] When the Soviets interrogated him on February 22, 1946, Lageroffizier Orlich said:

The camp was located in a former prison, which was 1.5 km

[less than a mile] north of Kherson, near a brewery; there were two big buildings there, in which Red Army POWs were housed. The number of POWs varied from 1,000 to 13,000, and in the buildings there was great overcrowding, filth, lice, a lack of space, and as a result typhus and other diseases were rampant…. In mid-February 1942, over the course of 10 to 15 days, we sent 10 to 15 POWs to the sick quarters every day, and on other days we also sent people there who had caught cold or fallen ill as a result of the cold weather, but a somewhat smaller number, such as 3 to 5 persons. In addition, at Lager 120 we had no bath and disinfection chamber for the POWs, there was no medical and disinfection treatment of any kind, we never washed the POWs in the bath-house, never changed their underwear, never disinfected their outer clothing and premises, and as a result of this a typhus epidemic flared up several times in the camp. That caused a quarantine to be declared in the camp in February and March 1942. No medical work at all was done in the camp during the quarantine. The POWs were left to their own devices; anyone who fell ill was taken to sick quarters, while the others waited their turn, as no disinfection was carried out. The POWs were not taken out to work, and we administrative personnel were not allowed access to the camp, and this was called quarantine … according to the accounts given by other camp personnel, I expect that no fewer than 300 persons came down with typhus in Camp 120 in Kherson during February and March 1942. As for the mortality rate, I myself saw more than once, several times in February and in early March 1942, 70 to 80 dead POWs being buried in the mornings in pits at the former fortress. They were buried in a common pit, which was prepared beforehand by the appropriate work party. Transports carrying POWs came to the camp, but these trains were left standing in the station for several days. I know that the POWs in them were starving, and some had already frozen or starved to death. For example, in early February 1942, a train came to the station. For some reason, our camp could not accept the POWs into the camp. Three or four days later, when we did admit these POWs, approximately 2,000 in number, we immediately sent about 200 of them to sick

quarters, as they were exhausted from malnutrition, and some were frostbitten and wounded. In addition, three to five corpses of POWs who had died on the train were brought into the camp by truck. Among the POWs in our camp, there was also exhaustion from malnutrition, because we issued each prisoner, per day, 1 liter [4.2 cups] of soup made from vetch plants and some bread, but I don't remember how much. During the time of my service at Camp 120 as the assistant of the camp commandant, approximately 2,000 POWs, Red Army soldiers and officers, were wiped out by the spread of diseases and by failure to take steps to eradicate these diseases.[4]

On March 30, 1946, Orlich was convicted of war crimes and sentenced to death; he was executed shortly thereafter.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 120 is located in the BA-MA RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens and in BA-L B 162/9195– 9198: Ermittlungen gg. W. Holz u.A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener [Juden, Politkommissare] im Dulag 120 in Jassy, Cherson u.a. Orten 1941 bis 1943.

Additional information about Dulag 120 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 284.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom

30.4.1942, in NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942; BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 284.

3. Ermittlungen gg. W. Holz u.A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener (Juden, Politkommissare) im Dulag 120 in Jassy, Cherson u.a. Orten 1941 bis 1943, BArch B 162/9195–9198.

4. BArch B 162/7163, Bl. 965–967.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 121

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 121 on November 10, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 121. It was subordinate to the 203rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 933 between February 15 and July 30, 1942. Dulag 112 deployed to different locations in Belorussia and Russia, including Unecha and Klintsy (map 9c). In January 1942, Dulag 121 deployed to the city of Gomel' (9c) to replace Dulag 220.[1] In the second half of 1944, the unit deployed to Pruszków, in Poland (5). The camp commandant, at least for part of 1941–1942, was Major Verhülsdonk, and the adjutant was Oberleutnant Sieroks. In 1944, the camp commandant was Oberst Kurt Sieber.

Dulag 112 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, forced labor, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which resulted in a high mortality rate. On arrival in the camp, the prisoners were divided into groups: Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Caucasians, Asians, Muslims, and Jews. All of the commanding officers, regardless of national origin, were murdered right away.[2] As in other camps, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) personnel conducted selections of new arrivals to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then executed by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

In the second half of 1944, the camp was deployed to Pruszków, where it was located in the city's train repair shops (*Zakłady naprawcze taboru kolejowego*). During the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, the Germans deported approximately 550,000 of the city's residents and approximately 100,000 more civilians from its outskirts to Dulag 121. The Sicherheitspolizei and the SS segregated the deportees and decided their fate. Approximately 650,000 people passed through the Pruszków camp between

August and October 1944, of whom about 55,000 were sent to concentration camps, including 13,000 who were sent to Auschwitz. They included people from a variety of social classes, occupations, physical conditions, and ages. Evacuees ranged from infants only a few weeks old to elderly people; the oldest known evacuee was at least 86 years old. The deportees also included a small number of people of non-Polish ethnicity, such as Jews with forged "Aryan" papers.[4]

The date of the camp's disbandment is unknown, and it may have continued operating right up to the German capitulation on May 8, 1945. After the war, former commandant Kurt Sieber was sentenced to death in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and executed on December 20, 1946.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 121 is located in BA-MA RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens; NARB files 861-1-6, 4683-3-917; BNF/CNIP; BArch B 162/9178–9182: Ermittlungen gg. W. Henne u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" russischer Kriegsgefangener [Juden, politische Kommissare] durch Angehörige des Dulag 121 in Gomel und Mosyr 1941 bis 1944; and G. Buterman, "How Soviet Prisoners of War Were Murdered in the Gomel' Prison Camp" (EAK 8114-1-94, Reel 41, p. 315).

Additional information about Dulag 121 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 42–45; Emilii Boreckiej, *Exodus Warszawy—ludzie i miasto po Powstaniu 1944* (Warsaw: PIW, 1992); Marian Marek Drozdowski, Maria Maniakówna, and Tomasz Strzembosz, *Ludność cywilna w powstaniu warszawskim. T. 1 cz. 1-2, Pamiętniki, relacje, zeznania, wybrali i oprac* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Państwowy Instut Wydawniczy, 1974); Edward Kołodziejczyk, *Tryptyk Warszawski— wypędzenie, Dulag 121, tułaczka* (Warsaw: Wyd. MON, 1984); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939– 1945. Handbuch und*

Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Kazimierz Paszkowski, *Pruszków 1944* (Łódź: Czytelnik, 1946); Edward Serwański, *Dulag 121—Pruszków: sierpień— październik 1944 roku* (Poznań: Wydaw, Zachodnie, 1946); and Zdisław Zaborski, *Tędy przeszła Warszawa. Epilog Powstania Warszawskiego. Pruszków-Durchgangslager 121, 6 VIII–10 X 1944* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Askon, 2004).

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NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BA-L B 162/7188, Bl. 63

2. G. Buterman, Entry for November 17, 1943, in "How Soviet Prisoners of War Were Murdered in the Gomel' Prison Camp," EAK 8114-1-94, Reel 41, p. 315.

3. Ermittlungen gg. W. Henne u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" russischer Kriegsgefangener (Juden, politische Kommissare) durch Angehörige des Dulag 121 in Gomel und Mosyr 1941 bis 1944, BArch B 162/9178–9180.

4. See Boreckiej, *Exodus Warszawy*; Drozdowski, Maniakówna, and Strzembosz, *Ludność cywilna w powstaniu warszawskim*; Kołodziejczyk, *Tryptyk Warszawski*; Paszkowski, *Pruszków 1944*; Serwański. *Dulag 121*; and Zaborski, *Tędy przeszła Warszawa*.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 123

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 123 on March 1, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 123, which was located in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII at the time. Dulag 123 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 914 between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The unit was disbanded on October 5, 1943.[1] Its field post number was struck on October 30.

From April to July 1941, Dulag 123 was deployed in Romania, and, in August 1941, it was deployed in Ukraine. On August 1, 1941, the unit was located in Soroki (today Soroca, Moldova) (map 9g), where it replaced AGSSt 12.[2] On September 9, 1941, the camp was deployed in Varvarovka (today Varvarivka, Ukraine) (9g), and, as of September 27, 1941, it was located in Berislav (today Beryslav) (9g), where it replaced AGSSt 11. While located in Berislav, the camp had a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in the village of Tiaginka (today Tyahynka),[3] and, as of October 21, 1941, a subcamp in the city of Kherson.[4] As of November 12, 1941, the unit was located in the town of Dzhankoi (9h).[5] While it was located in Dzhankoi, Dulag 123 had subcamps in Voinka and Armians'k. The unit remained in Dzhankoi until September 1942, when it was replaced by Stalag 370.

From September 1942 until October 1943, the unit was deployed in various localities in Russia and Ukraine, initially in the rear area of the Sixth Army. In the fall of 1942, the unit was located in the village of Novomaksimovskii (9d).[6] In the spring of 1943, having escaped the destruction of the Sixth Army, the camp deployed to Makeevka (today Makiïvka) (9f), with a reception camp (*Auffanglager*) at Malo Chistiakovo (today Chystiakove).[7]

Beginning on April 6, 1941, Dulag 123 was under the Twelfth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 560) in Romania; from June 18, 1941, it was under the Senior Quartermaster Romania/Commander of Prisoner of War District A (*Oberquartiermeister Rumänien/*

Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirk A). From July 28, 1941, it was subordinate to the Commander of the Eighth Army Rear Area (Korück 553), and from September 21, 1942, it was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II) and the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 593).[8]

The camp commandant was Major Springen. On July 27, 1941, the headquarters included 11 officers, 10 government officials, 27 noncommissioned officers, and 70 enlisted men, for a total of 118 personnel.[9] On June 12, 1942, the headquarters included 20 officers and government officials and 98 non-commissioned officers and enlisted men (including Tatars).[10] The camp was guarded by 2nd Company of the 836th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*), with a strength of 2 officers and 180 men, including 27 Tatars.[11]

Dulag 123 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of shelter or proper medical aid led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high death rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the terrible conditions. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, 1,146 people in Dulag 123 perished in Dzhankoi,[12] more than 1,000 in Armiansk,[13] and 120 in Voinka;[14] however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be treated accordingly.

A report from a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) special section on the Southern Front to the Administration of Special Sections of the NKVD of the USSR from January 24, 1943, provides information about the conditions in the camp at Novomaksimovskii. The report states specifically:

> During the liberation of temporarily occupied Soviet territory by the spec[ial] organs, a number of facts were documented with respect to atrocities committed by the German fascist occupiers against the civilian population of the large Cossack villages on the Don and against prisoners of war. Having liberated the small village of Novomaksimovskii in Stalingrad oblast', our soldiers detected, in two brick

buildings with walled-up windows and doors nailed shut, 76 Soviet POWs, 60 of whom had starved to death, and some of the corpses were decomposed. The remaining POWs were half-alive, most of them unable to stand up because of great exhaustion. As it turned out, the prisoners were in the walled-up building for about two months—the Germans gradually starved them to death, only very occasionally tossing in pieces of rotten horseflesh and giving them salted water to drink.

As in other such camps for Soviet POWs, the authorities screened new arrivals to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were shot nearby by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel.[16]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 123 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); the GARF (files 7021-9-45 [Dzhankoi], 40 [Voinka and Armiansk]); the GAARKS (files r1289-1-10, 12); and BArch B (162/29007: Ermittlungen StA Hamburg 147 Js 22/72 gg. Unbekannt wegen des Verdachts der Tötung russischer Kriegsgefangener im Dulag 123 in Dzhankoj/Krim).

Additional information about Dulag 123 can be found in these publications: Gert C. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2006): 109; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 45; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 301.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 45.
2. AOK 11, Qu. 2, Tätigkeitsbericht (abgeschlossen am 1.8.41), BArch B 162/7187, Bl. 11.
3. BArch B 162/19279, p. 437.
4. Kdt. rückw. A. Geb. 553, Qu./Tgb. No. 4927/41, Befehl v. 19.10.1941, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 459.
5. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 55.
6. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," 109.
7. Kdt. rückw. A. Geb. 593, No. 322/43 geh., Betr. Neugliederung des rückw. A. Geb. 3.4.1943, BA-L B 162/7188.
8. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 45; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 301.
9. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 56, fr. 25.
10. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 63, fr. 630.
11. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 63, frame 625.
12. GARF, 7021-9-193.
13. GARF, 7021-9-40, p. 52.
14. GARF, 7021-9-40, p. 50.
15. Ermittlungen StA Hamburg 147 Js 22/72 gg. Unbekannt wegen des Verdachts der Tötung russischer Kriegsgefangener im Dulag 123 in Dzhankoj/Krim, BArch B 162/29007.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 124

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 124 from Frontstalag 124 at the end of August 1941. It was deployed to the eastern front, where it was subordinate to the Army Group Center Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Mitte*, Berück Mitte) and then to the Fourth Panzer Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 593, later 585). It was relocated several times as the Fourth Panzer Army moved through Russia and Ukraine. It carried the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 402, which was assigned between February 15 and July 30, 1942, and struck on December 12, 1944, and assigned again on April 13, 1945.

The commandant of the camp was Oberst Oscar Lohse, co-owner of the Lohse perfume factory, and his deputy was Hauptmann Dr. Johannes Schmalfuss. Former members of the camp staff claimed that Lohse was largely uninterested in the prisoners and concerned himself instead with music and his horses. He was succeeded as commandant in September 1942 by Oberstleutnant Hermann Pösche.[1] As of July 11, 1943, the camp staff consisted of 116 members, along with 94 guard personnel and 202 Soviet prisoner of war (POW) volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis).[2]

Dulag 124 deployed to Rudnia (map 9b) in November and December 1941, and then to Gzhatsk (today Gagarin) (9c) in January 1942. While it was in Gzhatsk, the camp was located on the southern edge of the town. It occupied the grounds of a church, a pedigree livestock center, and a receiving point for hay, where several dilapidated structures remained, fenced off by rows of barbed wire. The prisoners were awakened at 5:00 a.m. and forced to stand outside for up to two hours in the cold while roll was called; this procedure was repeated in the evening. They were assigned to exhausting labor in the work commandos (*Arbeitskommandos*), unloading freight cars of munitions at a large, secret depot in the area of the present-day Sel'khozkhimiia

agricultural chemical factory, and loading munitions onto trucks. The enfeebled prisoners were often at the brink of death from exhaustion and beatings, and some never made it back to the camp. Scores of prisoners froze to death in the camp, where they slept side by side on the ground. Every morning, special teams using wooden sledges took away the frozen corpses and then threw them into pits outside the camp or into holes cut in the ice in the Gzhat' River. Frequently, prisoners who were still alive were thrown into the pits along with the dead. In total, at least 5,000 prisoners are believed to have perished in the camp.[3] In addition to the deaths from the horrible conditions in the camp, "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, were taken out of the camp to be executed by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel.

Dulag 124 remained at Gzhatsk until April 1942, when it was relocated several times as it followed the Fourth Panzer Army during its advance through southern Soviet Union. In late 1942, it was located near the village of Remontnoe (9i). During this time, at least 25 Jews were shot by Ukrainian Hiwis near the camp.[4] In the spring and summer of 1943, the camp was located in Pavlograd (today Pavlohrad, Ukraine) (9f). Witness testimony recounts brutal treatment of the prisoners during this time, including constant beatings by the guards and Hiwis and shootings of Jewish prisoners.[5] In August and September 1943, the unit was located in the town of Gadiach (today Hadiach, Ukraine) (9f) and had a subcamp in the town of Romny. The camp in Gadiach had a maximum population of 842 (including 11 officers), while the maximum population of the subcamp in Romny was 2,125 (including 30 officers).[6]

In the fall of 1943, the camp was relocated several more times to locations including Millerovo (9d) and Poltava (9f). In December 1943 and early January 1944, the unit was located in Slavuta (9e).[7] The unit withdrew westward through Poland with the German army in 1944, eventually relocating to Hoyerswerda (4e).[8]

The exact date of the camp's disbandment is unknown; records indicate that it was still in service as of March 5, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 124 is located in BArch B 162/8494–8497; (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2753.00000005-00000634); BA-MA RW 6; GARF file 7021-44-43; NARA; and TsDNISmO files r8-3-52, r8-8-364, r6-1-1777.

Additional information about Dulag 124 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 44–45; A. V. Chernobaev, "Gorod Gzhatsk i Gzhatskii raion v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny Sovetskogo Soiuza," *Gzhatsk*, ed. V. S. Orlov and A. V. Chernobaev (Smolensk, 1957); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71– 130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 305.

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NOTES

1. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige Durchgangslager 124, BArch B 162/8496, Bl. 225 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2753.00000473).

2. Korück 580/Qu. v. 17.7.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 87, fr. 610.

3. Chernobaev, "Gorod Gzhatsk i Gzhatskii raion."

4. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige Durchgangslager 124, BArch B 162/8495, Bl. 88 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2753.00000308).

5. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige Durchgangslager 124, BArch B 162/8495, Bl. 134 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2753.00000360).

6. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 585, Abt. Qu: Kgf. Bestand am 24.8., 25.8., 29.8., 30.8., 2.9., 3.9., 5.9.1943, BArch B 162/19276, Bl. 461–467.

7. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 585, Abt. Qu, O.U., den 1.1.1944, Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenwesen, BArch B 162/19276, Bl. 469).

8. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige Durchgangslager 124, BArch B 162/8495, Bl. 165R (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2753.00000398).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 125

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 125 on March 16, 1941. In July 1941, the camp was located in the village of Lososno (map 4c). From August 1941 to mid-1942, it was in Polotsk (9b); from July to December 1942, it was in Millerovo (9d); and, in the first half of 1943, it was in the village of Sinezërki (9c). It carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 079, which was assigned between February 15 and July 30, 1942, and struck on September 22, 1944. While it was in Polotsk, the camp was subordinate to the 201st Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). While it was in Millerovo, it was under the 403rd Security Division.

The staff of Dulag 125 consisted of 25 officers and non-commissioned officers and around 40 enlisted men. The camp commandant in 1943 was Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Hensel, and his deputy was Oberleutnant von Saher; the names of previous and subsequent commandants are unknown. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Neiss.[1] The camp doctors were Dr. Reinert, Dr. Gaedke, and Dr. Klopsch. The camp's other officers included Major Hans Blank, Hauptmann Starke, and Oberleutnant Feldheim.[2]

In Polotsk, the camp was located on the grounds of the former Eisenbahn-Regiment 5 (today: Titov Street). It consisted of several dilapidated barracks no longer suitable for habitation, which were located on either side of a gully and surrounded by barbed wire. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Overcrowding, inadequate food, absence of proper medical care, and abuse from the guards led to widespread malnutrition and disease, resulting in a high mortality rate. During the period from September 1941 to April 1942, as many as 12,000 prisoners (of a population of 15,000) died in the camp. In April 1942, nine railroad cars with prisoners supposedly were sent to Frankfurt am Main.[3]

In Millerovo, the camp was located on the southern outskirts of

the town, in a natural hollow, on the Glubokaia River. The camp was in the open, and around 40,000–50,000 people occupied it at one point. The camp population turned over continually; as new prisoners arrived, those already in the camp were sent west by rail. The camp was so overcrowded that the prisoners drank nearly all the water in the Glubokaia River and ate all the vegetation in the region, including the large blackthorn shrubs and their roots. Once every six or seven days, the camp inmates were given mess tins of burnt wheat, each tin to be shared by three prisoners. Prisoners who were malnourished or too exhausted to work were shot. For example, according to a statement on December 29, 1945, by former Generalleutnant Kurt von Oesterreich, who in 1942 was Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group B Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet* B), "During a visit in summer 1942 to Dulag 125 in Millerovo, the camp commandant, in reply to my question about how he treated the Russian POWs who were not fit for work, reported that over the course of the past eight days they had shot around 400 Russian POWs for the above-mentioned reasons."[4]

A Russian auxiliary police force was formed in the camp to maintain order, and it was notable for special cruelty toward the other prisoners. Shoes and boots of good quality were taken away from the prisoners by the police. If a prisoner resisted, he was dragged off to the "police station" and dealt with there: two policemen undressed him and tied him to a plank, and each policeman gave him 10 lashes. They beat him almost to the point of death and then took his shoes. The prisoners would deliberately damage their footwear (make holes, tears, and cuts on the outside), but if the police noticed that this had been done, they beat the prisoner. The policemen in the camps meted out punishments for the slightest offenses, such as getting too close to the barbed wire, failing to salute a policeman, cutting in line when the *balanda* (watery soup) was being distributed, or wasting time getting into formation for roll call. Former prisoner S. Fisher recalled:

> At Millerovo, no fewer than 50 people were punished in a day. The guilty man had to strip naked and lie down on a bench. When the man on duty gave the order, 10 or 15

> whiplashes were administered. If the person resisted, they added on 10 more. But if he "snapped and cursed," then 4 policemen beat him and he got 40 lashes. After such corporal punishment, the person no longer moved; he was carried to one side and doused with water. For the police, this was entertainment. A senior policeman had 3 whips. Each one had its own name. The first was the "magic whip," up to 50 blows could be given with it, and it "magically" cured, so reasoned the senior policeman. The second was the "officer's whip," and with it one could strike the face for no reason, just for amusement. The third was the "royal whip," a special whip. It consisted of multiple metal switches, and at the tip of each was intertwined a little tin ball. If you were slashed with it once, you wouldn't ask for a repeat …[5]

Female prisoners were also held in the camp. The commandant of the women's barracks was a Volga German woman. The conditions in the women's camp were also dreadful: S. Fisher recalled that "the police often dropped in there. Every day, in return for half a liter, the commandant would give a policeman any girl of his choosing for two hours. The policeman could take her to his room in the barracks. They lived two to a room. For these two hours he could use her like an object, commit outrages, humiliate her, do everything he could think of."[6] Women who resisted faced torture at the hands of the commandant.

The Germans disbanded the camp on September 15, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 125 is located in the BA-MA, RH 22: 224 (5ff., 58, 137ff., 175, 192ff.), 225 (132f., 146, 183), 227 (6f.), 230 (4), 231 (2), 237 (K 1, K 6), 244 (38), 247 (52f., 69ff., 85f., 113), 248 (71f., 118ff.) and RH 23: 261 (110), 262 (31), 263 (100), 270 (104); Org. Kartei AHA; the GARF (7021-92-221); the NARB (4p-33a-163; 391-1-56; 510-1-137; 4683-3-917); GAVO (1p-1- 821; 2823-1-2; 10060p-1-67); the GAGO (1-1-120,123; 1029-1-48,75); and BArch B 162/2402: Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Georg Starke und andere Angehörige des ehemaligen Dulag 125 wegen Mordes.

Additional information about Dulag 125 can be found in the

following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); *Niurnbergskii protsess. Sbornik materialov v dvukh tomakh*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1952), p. 441; and Aron Shneer, *Plen. Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii, 1941–1945* (Moscow: Mosty kul'tury; Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2005).

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NOTES

1. Testimony of former Obergefreiter Heinrich Tiemann, August 31, 1970, BA-L B 162/2402, Bl. 254.

2. Testimony of Gerhard Feist, a former medical orderly in the camp, on August 29, 1970, BArch B 162/2402, Bl. 257–261.

3. NARB, 4p-33a-163, pp. 147-49 reverse; 391-1-56, p. 43; 510-1-137, p. 53; 4683-3-917, pp. 1, 8, 10, 13, 18, 24, 47, 85, 93, 128, 130, 132-33, 136, 211; also GAVO, 1p-1-821, pp. 93 reverse and 95; 2823-1-2, p.168; 10060p-1-67, p. 33.

4. *Niurnbergskii protsess*, p. 441.

5. Shneer, "Lagernaia politsiia," *Plen. Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii*.

6. Shneer, "Zhenshchiny-voennoplennye," *Plen. Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii*.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 126

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 126 on March 13, 1941, from Frontstalag 126 and deployed it to the Generalgouvernement. It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 413 between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

From June 1941 on, the camp was subordinate to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) and deployed to various localities in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, in the summer and fall of 1941, the camp operated in the towns of Minsk, Borisov (German: Borissow; today Barysaw, Belarus), and Orsha (all map 9b). In Russia, the camp operated in the town of Maloiaroslavets, then, as of November 1941, in the town of Smolensk (both 9c). The camp commandant was Major Ritscher.

As many as 100,000 prisoners—military and civilian—were held in the camp while it was in Minsk and Smolensk. The conditions were horrendous, especially in the winter of 1941–1942. Extremely meager and substandard food, enormous overcrowding in a small area, epidemic disease, and the lack of proper medical aid led to an extremely high death rate, which the actions of the guards only exacerbated.[1] For example, in mid-December 1941, 200 to 250 prisoners were dying each day in the camp.[2] As many as 10,000 prisoners died that winter.[3] As in the other camps, the prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and political commissars, as well as other members of the Communist Party, whom detachments of the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or camp guards then shot.

The Germans disbanded the camp on September 15, 1944, but assigned its administrators to create an army prisoner collecting point, Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle (AGSSt) 41, in German territory.[4] Dulag 126's field post number was struck on September 22.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 126 is located

in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), GARF (7021-44-1089, -1090 [Camp No. 126 in Smolensk], -1093 [hospital for POWs in Smolensk]), GASmO (r1630-2-19, 29); and USHMMA RG-14.101 (Reel 2672).

Additional information about Dulag 126 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 48–49; Christian Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung? Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im 'Unternehmen Barbarossa.' Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Lagerkommandanten," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 49 (2001), 156; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944: Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 227.

Heinrich Himmler looks through a barbed wired fence at a Soviet POW. Probably Minsk. USHMM WS #73457, COURTESY OF NARA.

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-1089, 7021-44-1090 (Camp No. 126 in Smolensk), and 7021-44-1093 (POW hospital in Smolensk); GASmO, r1630-2-29, pp. 104, 111–114, 146, 176; file 19, pp. 5, 8, 10, 20 rev., 32 rev., 35, 42.

2. Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung," 156.

3. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*, p. 227.

4. Adamuschko et al. *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, pp. 48–49.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 127

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 127 on March 22, 1941, from Frontstalag 127, then located in Sagan (today Żagań, Poland) (map 4e). After the invasion of the Soviet Union, it was deployed to various locations in Belorussia (including Minsk, Orsha, and Mogilev) (all 9b) and Russia (including Kaluga) (9c). In June 1942, the headquarters of Dulag 127 was transferred to Lokhvitsa (9f) and used to form the Armenian Eastern Legion (*Ost-Legion*) of the Wehrmacht.[1] It carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 34 545, which was assigned between February 28 and July 29, 1941, and struck on December 29, 1943.

From February 13, 1941, initially as Frontstalag 127, the headquarters was subordinated for some time to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII. The camp was initially subordinate to 286th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), from November 1941 to the Fourth Army, and from January 1942 once again to Security Division 286. The camp commandant in 1941 was Major Engholm. The adjutant was Hauptmann Schrader.

Dulag 127 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). On July 6, 1941, the headquarters of Dulag 127 took charge of a camp in Drozdy (today part of Minsk) that held around 100,000 prisoners. In the period from July 7–11, 40,000 of these prisoners were moved to the west, and on July 14, 54,000 prisoners remained in the camp. In the next four days, the population dropped further, to 28,000.

The prisoners' diet consisted of a liter (1 quart) of watery soup and 160 grams (5.6 ounces) of bread per day, when food was available at all. The quality of the food was extremely poor. These starvation rations, combined with extreme overcrowding, inadequate shelter, and exhaustion from forced labor, produced epidemics of disease, for which there was no significant medical care. Abuse by the guards heightened the misery and further

increased the mortality rate.[2] As in other such camps, Jews and Communists were separated out and executed.

From August to October 1941, the camp was located in Orsha. According to the report on camp activities dated September 25, 1941, in the period from August 25 to September 24, 1941, 200 prisoners died; a total of 100,000 prisoners had passed through the camp by this time.[3] From November to December 1941, the camp was deployed in Kaluga. A commandant's report from that time indicates that the Germans made minimal effort to provide medical care to the prisoners. An old school was repurposed as a camp hospital, though German reports described the facility as "primitive." Given the poor health of many upon arrival in the camp, these conditions certainly contributed to the high mortality rate among prisoners.[4]

After a breakthrough by Soviet forces on December 21, 1941, during the Red Army's winter counteroffensive, the camp, with 3,500 prisoners, left Kaluga and reached Roslavl' with great difficulty on December 30–31, 1941.[5] The camp only remained in Roslavl' for a brief time and was then relocated to Mogilev until June 1942. The camp was disbanded in July 1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 127 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 127; also RH 49/76 and / 77); in BArch B (162/8542-8544: Ermittlungen gg. Dr. H. Schrader u.a. wg. der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im Dulag 127); and in NARB (4683-3-917).

Additional information about Dulag 127 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 49–51; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts-und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000), pp. 789–791; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 46–47, 75; and Georg Tessin,

Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 321.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 46–47, 75.

2. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 789–791.

3. Dulag 127, Tätigkeitsbericht für 25.8.-24.9. v. 25.9.1941, BA-MA, RH 49/76.

4. Kommandant report, Dulag 127 (November 23, 1941), BA-MA, RH 49/77.

5. See reports of members of the camp headquarters staff dated January 1 and January 7, 1942, BA-MA, RH 49/76.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 130

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 130 on April 8, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 130, and deployed it to the Generalgouvernement. After the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the camp was assigned to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) and deployed to various locations in Belorussia and Russia. In Belorussia, the camp was located in the village of Linevo (today Linova) (map 9e); and in the city of Zhlobin (9b). In Russia, the camp was located in the village of Ostër (9c), where it replaced AGSSt 6, and in the town of Roslavl' (9c). The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 959, which was assigned between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943, and struck on September 22, 1944. The Germans disbanded Dulag 130 on September 19, 1944. The camp was subordinate to the 221st and 286th Security Divisions (*Sicherungsdivisionen*) and to the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559).

In Roslavl', the camp was situated on the southwestern outskirts of the town in two large two-story buildings, which had been a school for junior-grade commanders of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) border troops before the war. In addition to these buildings, the associated outbuildings around them, as well as several apartment buildings near the Warsaw highway, were used for the camp. Two rows of barbed wire surrounded the grounds of the camp, which were about 800–900 meters long (874–984 yards) and 600–700 meters (656–766 yards) wide. The camp commandant may have been Major Martinson; the records are not entirely clear. Internal control was in the hands of the camp police force, which had 150–250 members. The kitchen police numbered 20–30 and the sick bay police included 15– 20 people. Each camp building housed 1,800–2,000 prisoners.

Dulag 130 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In September 1941, there were approximately 15,000 POWs in the camp. During the Red Army's counteroffensive in December 1941, the Germans

closed the forward-area camps and forced the prisoners to walk to Roslavl', Smolensk, and Prudki (Smolenskaia oblast'). As a result of this large-scale withdrawal, prisoners from Orël, Kaluga, Viaz'ma, Iukhnov, and other places arrived in the camp in Roslavl'. By the end of December 1941, the camp population reached 100,000.

The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Twice a day in the camp, the prisoners were given half a liter (1 pint) of *balanda* (a spoonful of rye flour with bran, floating in a liter of water), and once every four or five days each person got 150–200 grams (5.3–7 ounces) of bread. To get food, the prisoners had to line up for an hour to an hour and a half before distribution began. The food distribution itself lasted an average of four hours. Consequently, a prisoner had to spend 10 to 11 hours per day to obtain a spoonful of flour and, on average, 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of poor-quality bread. The prisoners had to stand outdoors for the entire 11-hour period (sitting was forbidden), regardless of the weather, calf-deep in mud in fall and in snow in winter.

Although the prisoners lived in the warehouses and barracks of the former school for NKVD troops, the conditions were still very poor. As former prisoner S. Golubkov recalled:

> In the camp itself at Roslavl', there were several barracks. The majority of them were of the semi-dugout type, with earth floors below ground level. Water from above and below the ground flooded these barracks, and in October 1941 their floors were a filthy mire, in which the prisoners were ankle-deep. There were no plank beds, boards, or straw, and the prisoners were compelled to lie right in the dirt. In winter, the floor was an icy surface, covered with snow that was wafted in and carried in by people's feet. The wind moved freely through these barracks, because the roofs rested on posts and did not reach all the way to the ground. There was fighting for the two barracks with stone floors. Every day several men were killed there. People were crammed in there, packed in like sardines. A living wall of prisoners swayed from side to side. The weakened hearts of many comrades could not withstand it. The crushed and lifeless corpses swayed, like

> live men, in the mass of the living, and in the morning they fell to the ground, no longer held upright by the bodies of their comrades who were still alive. Not one of the barracks was heated. It was forbidden to make fires, and besides, there was nothing to make them with.

In October, all the prisoners, without exception, were dripping wet. There was nowhere to get dry. The wind penetrated to the bone. In winter, people froze by the dozen every day. This was an agonizing way of executing the prisoners. Making the barracks winter-proof and heating them presented no difficulties. Hundreds and thousands of peasants were willing to bring wood. The fascist monsters deliberately did not have that done.[1]

In two of the camp buildings, a sick bay for the prisoners was set up. The conditions in which the patients were kept in this infirmary were described by the newspaper *Pravda* as follows:

> In the Roslavl' camp, the wounded occupy two stone buildings. The windowpanes in them are broken, and the window openings are boarded up with plywood and boards. The buildings were not heated in fall or in winter. The wounded experience hunger just as severe as that of the "healthy." Until December, they sometimes were given horseflesh, and then even that was deemed an excessive luxury. The physician S.N. Afrikanova stated that the wounded suffered cruelly from thirst. They managed to supply—and that with great difficulty—one or two tablespoons of water every 24 hours, only for the seriously wounded. Their parched lips cracked, their tongues were swollen from thirst. There is no medical service; there are no medications and bandaging materials. For a ward with 60 wounded, they hand out two bandages per day. Wounds are not dressed for a month. When they remove the dressing, the wounds are seen to be full of maggots, which are picked out by the handful. Frostbitten limbs are black stumps, the flesh and bones have fallen off in black chunks. The limbs of many POWs became frostbitten right there in the wards. There is no iodine for those who are to be operated on; it is replaced with a type of cleaning fluid. They operated on Lieutenant

> Bondarenko's foot, and later, because no dressing was applied for weeks, they cut off his leg up to his knee, and then the entire leg up to his torso, and finally he died. The wounded rotted while still alive and died in terrible agony. Many begged to be shot and thus delivered from their sufferings. The odor of rotting flesh and the putrid smell of the dead bodies that have not been removed fill the wards. They do not bathe the wounded, do not launder and change the bed linen, and do not use disinfectants. As a result, the wounded are lice-ridden. When the splints and bandages are removed, the wounds are teeming with lice … The death rate in the camp from starvation, cold, disease, and shooting reached 3 to 4 percent per day. This means that in a month, the entire prisoner population died. Over two and one-half fall months—October, November, and part of December—along with the civilian prisoners, who made up the majority, 8,500 people died in the camp: that is, more than 100 people per day, on average. In the winter months, 400 to 600 people died each day. On a daily basis, 30 to 40 long dray carts were loaded with the corpses of those who had died and froze. In the piles of corpses, stacked up like wood beside the barracks, there were live men as well. Frequently arms and legs in these piles would move, eyes would open, lips would whisper, "I'm still alive." They buried the dying along with the dead.[2]

The death rate in the camp was enormous. Especially in the winter of 1941 to 1942, 500–600 corpses were taken away each day. From December 26, 1941, to January 2, 1942, 16,564 corpses were removed from the camp, including 1,850 on December 28, 1941, alone.[3] In April 1943, the Germans set up a transit point for sending workers to Germany. They divided the camp into two parts with barbed wire. They took old men, women, and children to the transit point, fenced off from the prisoners by barbed wire and guarded by police. The camp was evacuated in early September 1943, on the eve of the town's liberation by Soviet troops.[4] Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels himself knew what awaited the Red Army after the liberation of the town, stating that "at Roslavl', the Soviets will discover large mass graves."[5]

There was a resistance movement in the camp. An underground

group, which formed in mid-1942, planned to attack the guardroom, seize the weapons and equipment located there, free other prisoners, and, along with them, join the partisans. However, the German Sicherheitspolizei, with the help of their informers among the prisoners, managed to get wind of this group and arrested nine of its members.[6] The prisoners would nonetheless attempt individual escapes at the first opportunity, often aided by local civilians.

According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents from April 12, 1944, in the southern part of the Voznesensk cemetery, 47 mass burial sites were discovered, measuring 5–6 meters (5.5–6.6 yards) by 9–38 meters (9.8–41.6 yards) in length and 3–4 meters (3.2–4.4 yards) in depth. Each of the graves was filled over the course of a few days, and the corpses were arranged in 3–6 rows.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 130 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); in GARF (7021-44-631); and in GASmO (r1630-1-332, 369).

Additional information about Dulag 130 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belorussia 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 50–51; S. Golubkov, *V fashistskom lagere smerti: Vospominaniia byvshego voennoplennogo* (Smolensk: Smolenskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1958); "Lager' smerti," *Pravda* (October 16, 1942); and Pavel Polian, "O Roslavl'skom lagere dlia voennoplennykh i o kategoriiakh ego uznikov," *Bor'ba antifashistskikh organizatsii protiv natsizma v period Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 152–170.

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NOTES

1. Golubkov, *V fashistskom lagere smerti*, p. 103.

2. “Lager’ smerti,” *Pravda* (October 16, 1942).

3. Golubkov, *V fashistskom lagere smerti*, pp. 31–33; Polian, “O Roslavl’skom lagere,” pp. 152–170.

4. GASmO, r1630-1-332, pp. 1–6; file 3b9, pp. 138–146.

5. Elke Fröhlich, ed., *Die Tagebücher von Josef Goebbels: Band II 10* (Munich, 1996), p. 77 (entry for October 9, 1943).

6. See *Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten*, no. 22, September 25, 1942.

7. GASmO, r1630-1-332, pp. 1–6; file 3b9, pp. 138–146.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 131

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 131 on March 25, 1941, from Frontstalag 131. Following the invasion of the Soviet Union, the camp was deployed to Slonim and Baranovichi (both on map 9b). From September 1941 to August 1942, it was in Bobruisk (9b). In the following months it was deployed in various locations in Russia, including Komarichi and Unecha, and possibly also Klintsy (all 9c), before returning to Bobruisk at the end of September 1943. At the end of June 1944, Dulag 131 was caught up in the Soviet offensive against Army Group Center but managed to withdraw to East Prussia and then to Modlin (today Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, in Poland) (4c). On September 15, 1944, the Germans disbanded the camp and probably reorganized it as AGSSt 37.[1] The camp held field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 444 (assigned between February 15 and July 30, 1942, and struck on September 22, 1944).

From 1941 to 1943, the camp operated under the authority of the 203rd and 231st Security Divisions (*Sicherungsdivisionen*) as well as the 252nd and 339th Infantry Divisions. The camp commandant for part of 1941 was Major Dr. August Egenolf Freiherr Roeder von Diersburg (1891–1968), the deputy commandant was Hauptmann Carl Languth, the adjutant was Hauptmann Pfenzig, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Heinrich.

Dulag 131 held Soviet prisoners of war. On July 7, 1941, there were 6,700 prisoners in the camp; on July 24, 1941, there were 4,000; on August 6, 1941, 6,298; on August 26, 1941, 29,000; on September 16, 1941, 18,136; and on September 29, 1941, 15,050.[2] By November 1941, as many as 60,000 prisoners were crammed into the camp, exceeding its capacity several times over.[3] Conditions in the camp were very poor, particularly in 1941. The prisoners were transported to the camp in open wagons, exposed to the elements, without food or water and as much as 20 percent of the prisoners in some transports died before they reached the

camp. The prisoners slept in overcrowded, poorly ventilated barracks, which facilitated the spread of infectious disease. They were also severely malnourished. A November 20, 1941, report estimated that the prisoners received around 1,039 calories per day, well below the basic caloric needs of an adult man and below even the starvation rations prescribed by the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH). The same report indicated that the food situation in the camp was so dire that some prisoners had resorted to eating their dead comrades.[4] Abuse by the German guards only exacerbated these problems. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), camp counterintelligence personnel and a local Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) unit identified Jews and political commissars among the prisoners and executed them.[5] By November 20, 1941, a total of 158,000 prisoners had passed through the camp and 14,777 prisoners had died of hunger or disease or had been killed. In one section of the camp, 430 prisoners died on the night of November 20, 1941, alone.[6]

On November 9, 1941, the Germans carried out a massacre of prisoners in Dulag 131. On that evening, a fire broke out in the barracks in the Bobruisk Fortress, in which there were 17,000 prisoners (in the camp as a whole, there were 60,000 prisoners). According to a statement by the camp's counterintelligence officer, Hauptmann Heinrich, fires had been started at two different places, ostensibly by "terrorists," so that a mass escape could take place. To block this escape, subunits of the 692nd Infantry Regiment of the 339th Infantry Division used machine-gun barrage fire on the prisoners, and as a result 1,700 prisoners were found dead in the square on the next morning. According to written statements by the former deputy camp commandant, Hauptmann Carl Languth, dated December 21, 1945, the fire in the attic of the barracks was set by the Germans themselves, at the order of Prisoner of War District Commandant K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant K*), Oberst Sturm, to simulate a rebellion and escape attempt. Ostensibly, only Languth and the camp commandant, Oberstleutnant Dr. August Egenolf Freiherr Roeder von Diersburg, knew that the fire had been set deliberately.[7] In total, around 20,000 prisoners died of starvation or disease or were murdered while the camp was in Bobruisk.[8]

In 1968 and 1969, the Stuttgart public prosecutor's office conducted an inquiry regarding former camp commandant von Diersburg and the former counterintelligence officer in the camp, Heinrich, but this investigation was inconclusive. Languth was tried in Minsk in January 1946 and sentenced to death; he was executed on January 30, 1946.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 131 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 131), in GARF (7021-82-2), in NARB (845-1-133, 4683-3-917), and in BArch B (162/6367-6369: Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener des Dulag 131 bzw. der AGSSt 37 in Slonim, Bobruisk und Baranowicze [copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M. 2206. 00000205-00001092]).

Additional information about Dulag 131 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk,* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), p. 53; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts-und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000), pp. 653–655; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 47; Klaus-Dieter Müller, ed., *Das Tagebuch des Levan Atanasjan: Erinnerungen eines ehemaligen sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2009); Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1997), pp. 156–157; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945: Siebter Band, Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 5; and Manfred Zeidler, "Der Minsker Kriegsverbrecherprozess vom Januar 1946," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 5, no. 2 (April 2004): 240–243.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of Augustin Proksch, BArch B 162/6367 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2206.00000544-00000545).
2. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, p. 53.
3. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 157.
4. Ibid., 156.
5. Testimony of Karl Schwalbe, BArch B 162/6367 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2206.00000217).
6. Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant J, Besichtigungsbericht v. 22.11.1941, in BA-MA WF-03/7353, Bl. 751.
7. Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant J, Besichtigungsbericht v. 22.11.1941, in BA-MA WF-03/7353, Bl. 751; Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 653–655.
8. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, 53.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 132

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 132 on May 15, 1942, from Frontstalag 132. From May to July 1942, the camp was located in Lubny (map 9f), where it replaced Dulag 171. In July 1942, the camp in Lubny was replaced by a camp for officers, Oflag 65.[1] From late August 1942 to February 1943, Dulag 132 was located in Krasnodar (9h). After leaving Krasnodar, the headquarters of the camp was in Kerch (9h), in the spring of 1943, and then in Kherson (9g). On June 10 and July 10, 1943, the camp was located in Lozovaia (today Lozova, Ukraine) (9f); on August 10 and September 10, 1943, it was in Khorol and then in Shpola (both 9f). From Shpola, the headquarters of Dulag 132 was transferred to Italy in November 1943, and on December 4, 1943, it arrived in Arezzo (6). It was then relocated to Mirandola (6), where it took over a former Italian prisoner of war (POW) camp. The camp was disbanded on December 15, 1944, and converted into Armee-Gefangenensammelstellen (AGSSts) 63, 64, and 65 (the disbandment process lasted until January 8, 1945).[2] Dulag 132 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 979 between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The number was struck on January 23, 1945.

While located in Lubny, the camp was subordinate to the commander of POWs in the Army Group South Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Süd*). Beginning in August 1942, the camp was under the authority of the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550), still in Army Group South. In the spring and summer of 1943, the camp once again came under the authority of the head of *Heeresgebiet Süd*. While deployed in Italy, the camp was subordinated to the Prisoner of War District Command K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandantur* K).

The first commandant of the camp was Major Gustav Eckert (from August 1940 to the end of October 1941). He was succeeded by Major Josef Weber (November 4, 1941, to February 2, 1942).

The camp commandant from February 23, 1942, to December 15, 1944, was Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Heinrich Linhardt. The deputy commandants were Hauptmann Alexis Schumann and Major Max Meyer (from August 1943 to December 1944). The adjutant was Hauptmann Paul Kaden. The *Lageroffizier* was Hauptmann Adolf Hartung, and the officer for special assignments was Hauptmann Berthold Bamberg (until December 1, 1942). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Dr. Hahn, and his deputies were Hauptmann Dr. Johannes Kluge (who died on May 5, 1944) and Oberleutnant Karl Gauss (who perished on February 22, 1944). The camp doctors were Dr. Artur Axt (until April 18, 1942), Dr. Wilhelm Rasche (from November 26, 1941, until December 26, 1942), and Dr. Julius Schütz (from October 16, 1942, to September 10, 1944).[3] On January 1, 1943, the camp headquarters staff (commandant's office) included 8 officers, 8 government officials, 19 noncommissioned officers, and 56 enlisted men: 91 persons in all. As the security force, the camp used 247 Soviet auxiliary guards (Hiwis).[4] The commander of this guard company until October 1942 and then from early December 1942 was Hauptmann Johannes Götz.

The conditions in Dulag 132, especially in the first year, were horrific. Food supplies were insufficient in quality and quantity, housing was inadequate, the camp was overcrowded, there was little medical care provided, and the guards were abusive. As a result, the mortality rate was very high. For example, during the deployment in Lubny, about 600 prisoners died of starvation and illness. A separate section of the camp in Lubny held around 500 Jewish civilians, later massacred by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[5]

In Krasnodar, the camp was located on the southeastern edge of town. According to the daily reports of Korück 550's Quartermaster Branch (*Abteilung Quartiermeister*), the camp population dropped from 5,876 POWs and 316 civilians on November 9, 1942 to 4,229 POWs and 226 civilians on November 30. The population of the subcamp (*Zweiglager*) at Krymskoe grew from 1,242 to 1,535 POWs in the same period.[6] The prisoners who remained alive—about 2,000, according to the testimony of the commander of the guard company, Hauptmann Johannes Götz—were evacuated shortly before the city was

liberated by the Red Army on February 12, 1943. They were taken across the Taman Peninsula in the direction of Kerch.[7] Prisoners who were unable to take part in the march were shot and buried in a mass grave. After the town was liberated, the prisoners' remains were reinterred, and a small tombstone was placed on the grave.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 132 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-16-5, 9, 13); GAKK; and BArch B 162/9016–9019 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 132 in Lubny und Krasnodar).

Additional information about Dulag 132 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 47; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 11.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11. 8. 1942, NARA, T 501, roll 18, frame 643.

2. Testimony of former camp medical orderly Georg Weber, May 23, 1969, BArch B 162/1236, Bl. 5050–5051; BArch B 162/9019.

3. BArch B 162/9019.

4. NARA, T-501, roll 77, frame 1568.

5. Testimony of former camp medical orderly Georg Weber, May 23, 1969, BArch B 162/1236, Bl. 5050–5051.

6. BArch B 162/9018, Bl. 251–267.

7. Testimony of Johannes Götz, December 16, 1969, BArch B 162/1236, Bl. 5060.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 134

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 134 on March 15, 1941, from Frontstalag 134.[1] The camp deployed to Poland initially. Dulag 134 was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 911 between March 1 and September 7, 1942; the number was struck on December 4, 1944.

As of June 1941, the camp commandant was Major Laasch. His adjutant was Oberleutnant der Reserve Richter, the officers on assignment were Hauptmann der Reserve Fugmann and Leutnant der Reserve Etzold, the physicians were Oberarzt Dr. Orland and Unterarzt Dr. Haderer, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Oberleutnant der Reserve Hopperdietzel, and his deputy was Leutnant der Landwehr Knöfel.[2]

Dulag 134 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). From May 1941, Dulag 134 was under the control of the 285th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the camp deployed to various towns in the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*). In August 1941, the camp was located in the city of Pleskau (map 9a).[3] It then relocated to Sablino (today Ul'ianovka, Leningradskaia oblast') (9a).[4] As of June 1942, the camp was located in L'gov (9d).

In July 1942, Dulag 134 was transferred to the rear area of Army Group A and placed under the control of the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550). From September 1942 to January 1943, the camp was deployed in the town of Armavir (9h), with a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in Cherkessk (today Starocherkasskaia, Rostovskaia oblast'). Dulag 134 was a relatively small camp, with a maximum population of 3,443 in the main camp in Armavir and a maximum population of 848 in the subcamp in Cherkessk.[5]

On January 14, 1943, the Cherkessk camp was closed, and the prisoners were sent to Armavir. Between January 18 and January 20, 1943, the prisoners were transferred out of the main camp in

Armavir. On January 18, 1,500 prisoners were sent to Dulag 132 in Krasnodar, followed by the remaining prisoners on January 20. In 1943, the camp was deployed to various towns in occupied Ukraine.

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding and improper medical care facilitated the spread of disease, while insufficient food rations led to malnutrition, resulting in a high mortality rate. As in other camps, the newly arrived prisoners were screened to weed out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

The exact date of the camp's disbanding is unknown; it was still in operation as of February 10, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 134 is located in BA-MA (RW 6), BNF, NARA, and BA-L B 162/8934– 8937, Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 134 in Armavir (Sowjetunion).

Additional information about Dulag 134 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 48, 76; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 18.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 18.

2. NARA, T 501, roll 21, fr. 669.

3. Div. Befehl der 6. Pz. Div./Ic, vom 18.8.1941 (Nürnberg Dok.

NOKW 2512).

4. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/630/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.4.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 1.4.1942, BArch B 162/9094; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, fol. 61.

5. Korück 550/Qu, Tagesmeldungen für Oktober– Dezember 1942, Januar–Februar 1943, NARA, T 501, roll 69 (Oktober–Dezember 1942) and roll 77 (Januar 1943).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 135

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 135 on June 12, 1942, from Frontstalag 135, which was deployed in the rear area of Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) in Ukraine.[1] In July, it moved to the rear area of Army Group A, where it came under the authority of the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). As of August 30, 1942, the camp was located in the village of Peschanokopskoe (map 9i).[2] In 1943, the camp deployed to various locations in Ukraine. In the fall of 1943, the camp deployed to the Balkans, first in Nea-Kokkinia (today Nikaia) (8) and later in Zagreb (7); a branch of the camp, Dulag 135/I, was located in Athens, where it served as an internment camp for Allied civilians. During this period, it was subordinate to Army Group E. The Germans ordered the camp disbanded on November 9, 1944. The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 34 670, which was assigned between March 1 and September 7, 1942, and struck on November 28, 1944.

Dulag 135 first held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Detailed statements on the conditions there are not available. In general, conditions for Soviet POWs had improved over the murderous circumstances that existed from the summer of 1941 through the winter of 1942. Still, the prisoners received rations and treatment that was far below the standards for Western Allied POWs, and the mortality rate was generally high.

While deployed in Greece and Croatia, the camp held Italian military prisoners. Information on conditions for these prisoners is also not available, but the Germans generally treated Italian prisoners harshly.

While Dulag 135 was in operation in Athens, it also held 14 American civilian internees prior to their relocation to an official civilian internment camp. International observers noted that these civilians were “extremely poor” and had by and large been forced out of their homes without being able to bring any personal effects

with them to the camp as was customary for civilians. To meet their basic needs, these American internees relied on food and clothing from the International Red Cross.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 135 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BArch B 162/9413–9417: Ermittlungen gg. den Kommandanten Dr. H. Freiherrn von Harsdorf und weitere Angehörige des Dulag 135 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Tötung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener).

Additional information about Dulag 135 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 21.

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NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, in BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, in: BArch B 162, Verschiedenes, Ordner 245b.

3. Report, Special War Problems Division, US Department of State (May 26, 1944), NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 137

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 137 on March 22, 1941, from Frontstalag 137. It deployed to Romania and from there to various locations in Ukraine, including Nikolaev (today: Mykolaïv) (map 9g) in the fall of 1941 and Zaporozh'e (9f) as of May 1942.[1] On July 4, 1942, while the camp was in the town of Romny (9f), it was converted into the headquarters of the 1st Turkestan Eastern Legion (*Ost-Legion*).[2] The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 717, which was assigned between April 19, 1941, and February 14, 1942, and struck between February 10 and August 23, 1943.

In the fall of 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Senior Quartermaster Black Sea (*Oberquartiermeister Schwarzes Meer*), Major Ernst Merk. From the spring of 1942 on, the camp was subordinate to the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd*, Berück Süd).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions, especially while the camp was located in Nikolaev, were the same as those in the other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care resulted in widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' plight. As in other such camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot nearby by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 137 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BArch B (162/9601–9604: Ermittlungen gg. P. Schneider u.a. Angehörige des Dulag 137 wg. Verdachts auf Mord durch "Aussonderung" sog. untragbarer

Kriegsgefangener in Nikolajew).

Additional information about Dulag 137 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 30.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, in: NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 30.

3. Ermittlungen gg. P. Schneider u.a. Angehörige des Dulag 137 wg. Verdachts auf Mord durch "Aussonderung" sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener in Nikolajew, BArch B 162/9601–9604.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 140

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 140 on March 19, 1941, from Frontstalag 140. After a temporary initial deployment in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X, in July 1941, the camp deployed to various locations in Russia in the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), specifically in the village of Maloe Verevo (map 9a).[1] The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 274, which was assigned between February 1 and July 11, 1941, and struck on October 29, 1943. The Germans disbanded the camp on October 5, 1943.

As of May 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 285th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) and, starting on August 1, 1942, to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* IV).[2]

While deployed in Russia, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war. The conditions in the camp were inhumane and the mortality rate was high. However, an official from Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583) who visited the camp stated in a report dated May 18, 1942, that conditions had been improved in the camp as much as the material situation allowed. He reported that large heating stoves had been built in the camp's barracks and that the delousing facilities in the camp were good. The camp commandant was allegedly making efforts to ensure that the prisoners remained healthy so that they would be able to work.[3] As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 140 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6); the AN (619/MI/23, 619/MI/24); and BArch B (162/8660–8661: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen

im Dulag 140).

Additional information about Dulag 140 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 41.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 41.

3. BA-MA, RG 23/279: Korück 583 (18.Armee, HG N), Anlagen Bd II zum KTB, 1. Juli–30. Sept 1942, Bl. 23.

4. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 140, BArch B 162/8660–8661.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 142

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 142 on August 13, 1941, from Frontstalag 142. Dulag 142 deployed to various locations in the occupied Soviet Union. It initially deployed to Chernigov (today Chernihiv, Ukraine) (map 9e), and then to Briansk (9c) in October 1941. Because of heavy rainfall, the conditions at the camp in Briansk deteriorated to such an extent that, on November 3, its 11,000 prisoners were transferred to a former railway depot near Uritskii (9c).[1] Beginning on August 26, it was subordinate to the Army Group Center Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Mitte*, Berück, Mitte).[2] While the camp was located in Briansk, it was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commander J (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* J). As of June 9, 1942, it was under the authority of the Second Panzer Army, and from July 2, 1942, it was subordinate to the Second Panzer Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 532).[3] As of August 13, 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 582).[4] It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 999 between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

The camp commandants, in chronological order, were Oberstleutnant z. V. Friedrich Holtz (until December 11, 1941), Major der Reserve Dr. Kurt Hettler (until March 20, 1942), Major der Reserve Dr. Martin Weise, and Oberstleutnant Gerhard Idel (starting on January 15, 1944). The deputy commandants, in chronological order, were Major der Reserve Dr. Martin Weise (starting in 1942, the commandant), Major der Reserve Emil Kaiser (from April 1942 to February 1943), and Hauptmann der Reserve z. V. Adolf Prell (1943–1944). The camp adjutants in 1941–1944 were Hauptmann Zinnecker, Hauptmann Wilhelm Eicheler, and Hauptmann der Reserve zur Verfügung Friedrich Schmidberger. The camp doctors were Dr. Valentin Maier (February 1943 to April 1944) and Dr. Alfred Düllmann.

Conditions in Dulag 142 were terrible, particularly in the first year of the war. The camp was located on the grounds of a former repair shop. Six buildings were turned into barracks, but the vast majority of the prisoners of war (POWs) were out in the open. On November 3, 1941, Dulag 142 held 24,600 prisoners.[5] The prisoners received very little food, leading some prisoners to resort to cannibalism, although the camp administration insisted that enough food was being issued.[6] The camp was overcrowded, and there was little or no shelter at most locations. The prisoners received very little medical care. As a result, the mortality rate in the camp was very high. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, ChGK, 40,000 prisoners died in Dulag 142; however, this figure is substantially exaggerated, and the actual death toll was probably closer to 15,000.[7] As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to weed out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

In addition to the POWs, about 5,000 civilians passed through the camp.[8] On May 13, 1942, the camp held 5,288 prisoners, a majority of whom were civilians captured in sweeps of "partisans." A total of 156 inmates had died during the previous two months, a mortality rate of around 1.5 percent.[9] In the first half of October 1942, men of military age captured in antipartisan operations by the Hungarian Army were held in the camp.[10] In 1943, Dulag 142 was located in Belorussia, first in Bobruisk and later in Mar'ina Gorka (both 9b). In the fall of 1943, Italian military internees were brought to the camp. In 1944, the camp was located in Skierniewice, Poland (5), where it held prisoners captured during the Warsaw Uprising. About 3,000 people, including several hundred who were ill, passed through the camp during this period.[11]

On September 15, 1944, Dulag 142 was disbanded and converted into Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle (AGSSt) 38.[12]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 142 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 142); GARF (7021-19-1, 2, 93); NARB (4683-3-917); ABrOUFSB; and BArch B 162/9012–9015, "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag

142 in Brjansk.

Additional information about Dulag 142 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 54–55; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 49; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 49.

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NOTES

1. Order of the Commander of the Second Army Rear Area (Korück 580) 01.11.1941, BA-MA, RH 26–56/22a, attachment 218.

2. Stammtafel des Dulag 142 nach dem Stand vom 1.8.1942, 15.9.1944, BArch B 162/29696.

3. Stammtafel des Dulag 142 nach dem Stand vom 1.8.1942, 15.9.1944, BArch B 162/29696.

4. Stammtafel des Dulag 142 nach dem Stand vom 1.8.1942, 15.9.1944, BArch B 162/29696.

5. Von Rittmeister Kratochwil aufgenommene fernmündliche Mitteilung des Oberst Ratcliffe, BA-MA, RH 26–56/22a, Anlage 215. Oberst Alexander Ratcliffe was at that time the commander of the 192nd Infantry Regiment, 56th Infantry Division.

6. Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant J, Besichtigungsbericht v. 14.11.1941, BA-MA WF-03/7353, p. 756; entry of the 04.11.1941 in the war diary of the head quartermaster of the 56th Infantry Division, BA-MA, RH 26–

56/94.

7. Report of October 22, 1945, regarding crimes perpetrated by the German Fascist occupiers in the territory of the Briansk oblast' during the period of temporary occupation in 1941–1943, GARF, 7021-19-1, 93.

8. Criminal Case No. 130, charging German Army Generalleutnant Bernhard (commander, Rear Area, 2nd Panzer Army) and Generalmajor Hamann, ABrOUFSB.

9. Attachment 2 to Korück 532, Ic, Br.B.Nr. 85/42 secret, 13.05.1942, Mortality rates of the city of Bryansk, BA-MA, RH 21–2/718, Bl. 427.

10. Bericht Gruppe Jollasse (Pz. Gren. Brig. 18), 19.10.1942, BA-MA RH 23/25, Bl. 3–52.

11. *Kombatant. Biuletyn Urzędu do spraw kombatantów i osób represjonowanych* 11, (2006): 11; *Nazajutrz. Losy mieszkańców Warszawy po 1 sierpnia 1944* (Warsaw, 2009), 20.

12. Stammtafel des Dulag 142 nach dem Stand vom 1.8.1942, 15.9.1944, BArch B 162/29696.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 150

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 150 on April 1, 1941, in Poland, from Frontstalag 150. As of June 1941, the camp deployed to various localities in the Army Group North Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Nord*). Specifically, in July 1941, the camp deployed to Dünaburg (today: Daugavpils, Latvia) (map 9b); as of September 6, 1941, it was in Staraia Russa, Russia (9a); and then it moved to Idritsa, Russia (9b). The camp was disbanded on September 20, 1943.[3] Dulag 150 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 628 between February 15 and July 30, 1942. The number was struck on October 15, 1943.

Starting in May 1941, the camp was subordinate to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 281, and, as of August 1, 1942, to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* IV) and the Sixteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 584).[4] On April 1, 1943, there were 96 German personnel at the camp, and, on May 1, 1943, there were 69 German personnel.[5]

While deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). There were several thousand prisoners in the camp in Staraia Russa, while the camp in Idritsa held only a small number. On April 1, 1943, there were only 44 prisoners in the camp, and, on May 1, 1943, there were 91.[6] The conditions, especially while the camp was in Staraia Russa, were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, inadequate food and medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to widespread malnutrition and disease and a high mortality rate. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to identify Jews and Communists who were then shot by Sicherheitsdienst personnel or the camp guards.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 150 is located

in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), CNIP, BNF, NARA (T 501, roll 82), and BArch B 162/8942–8947, Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 150 in Staraja Russa u.a.O.

Additional information about Dulag 150 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 75.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 75.
2. CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 11 Octobre 1940, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 85 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 24 Mars 1941, p. 64) (BNF).
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 75
4. Ibid., 75.
5. Korück 584, Verpflegungsstärke am 1.4.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 82, fr. 183; Korück 584, Verpflegungsstärke am 1.5.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 82, fr. 251.
6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 75.
7. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 150 in Staraja Russa u.a.O., BArch B 162/8942–8947.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 151

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 151 on April 24, 1942, from Frontstalag 151. It deployed to the Army Group South Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Süd*) in various locations in Ukraine. From late April 1942, the camp was deployed in Poltava (map 9f).[1] In August 1942, the camp deployed to Stalino (today Donets'k) (9f) and Shakhty (9i). In the fall of 1942, the camp was deployed near Kalatsch (today Kalach-na-Donu) (9d) and near Tschir (Russian: Chir) (9d). Soviet troops destroyed the camp during the retreat in late 1942 and early 1943, and in the spring of 1943 it was disbanded and its personnel were transferred to AGSSt 11. Dulag 151 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 26 047 between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The number was struck between February 10 and August 23, 1943.

Starting in April 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiet Süd*, Berück Süd), and as of July 1942 to the Army Group B Rear Area Commander (Berück B). The commandant of the camp was Major von Donop.

Dulag 151 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper housing or medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to identify Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the camp guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 151 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BArch B 162/9433–9437: Ermittlungen gg. H. Stuff und weitere Angehörige des Dulag 151

wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Tötung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener.

Additional information about Dulag 151 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 50; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 79.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61; Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11. 8. 1942, NARA, T 501, roll 18, fr. 643.

2. Ermittlungen gg. H. Stuff und weitere Angehörige des Dulag 151 wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Tötung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener, BArch B 162/9433–9437.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 152

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 152 on March 21, 1941, from Frontstalag 152. The camp carried the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 26 714, which was assigned between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943, and struck on March 20, 1945. The Germans ordered the camp disbanded on November 19, 1944.

As of May 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 444th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and after Germany's attack on the USSR on June 22, it deployed to various towns in the Ukraine. In particular, from November 1941 to mid-1942, the camp was located in the town of Mariupol' (Ukraine) (map 9h).[1] As of the second half of 1942, the camp was subordinate to the First Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 531), and in the fall of 1942 it deployed to the town of Georgievsk (North Caucasus) (9i). At that time, the German personnel in the camp numbered 117, and, in addition, there were 276 so-called *Hilfswillige* (Soviet soldiers working as noncombatants for the Germans), who were used to guard the camp.[2] In early 1943, the camp was located for a short time in the town of Voroshilovsk (Ukraine) (9i), and then in the town of Zaporozh'e (Ukraine) (9f).

Conditions for Soviet prisoners were horrible, especially while the camp was located in Mariupol' and in the North Caucasus. There, conditions were identical to those in other such camps. Food was in extremely short supply and of the very worst quality. The prisoners were crowded together and exposed to the elements. Medical care was all but nonexistent. The guards were abusive. Starvation, exposure, exhaustion, and disease, as well as outright murder, all contributed to an extremely high death rate.

In Mariupol', the camp was located in the building of a former training complex for the Il'ich Metallurgical Plant, near a slag heap, and in a sanatorium for tuberculosis patients (at Poselok imeni Voroshilov). Recollections of former prisoner Aleksandr

Telegin, describe the conditions as follows:

> They sent me to the "sanchast" [medical unit]. The "sanchast" was located at the other end of the camp, and it occupied approximately 1/4–1/3 of the overall camp territory. It comprised about ten barracks, each of which housed as many as 500 people, and several small one-story houses where the sick were placed. In the same area were located the food distribution center and the baths with disinfection chambers. There were around 30,000 people in the camp. People lay on the floor and on plank beds, in two tiers, with no straw or mattresses. In addition to the commandant's office, there was a camp police force, made up of criminals. The camp guards and leadership changed frequently. The first conspicuous thing was that in the mornings, thousands of ragged and hungry people were driven out of the barracks by the shouts of policemen and the whistling sound of whips, and they formed a column to be sent off to various types of hard labor. We were fed *balanda*, which was black in color and in which there swam little pieces of all kinds of "meat" scraps (boiled heads of horses that had been killed). To boost its "caloric value," the *balanda* sometimes was supplemented with broken pieces of moldy Dutch cheese with maggots…. That's the kind of food they gave us twice a day…. To get it, people stood in long lines…. After such food, one was always hungry. No treatment of the wounded and sick was undertaken. In place of bandages, they used rags, and in place of cotton wool, they used packing material: loose hemp or jute fiber. As a result, the death rate was high.
>
> The POWs were divided into various categories: officers were kept separately from the rank and file soldiers. In accordance with this division, the occupiers planned the order of priority for eliminating the prisoners. The concentration camps were enclosed by a fence 3 meters [almost 10 feet] high, the top of which was woven with barbed wire. At the corners, machine guns were set up. Besides the guard force, which consisted of Germans and Italians, a camp police force was created in the camps. It was made up of POWs who had expressed a wish to collaborate with the invaders. Among the

people they were called "volunteers." The camp police were armed with clubs. In December 1941, the POWs were fed rotten fish; gastric problems broke out on a large scale and the number of dead increased continuously. When the frosts began—and the winter of 1941–1942 was severe—the death rate grew even more. Every morning at 10:00 on the dot, a string of sledges left the gates of the camp with a dreadful load. Visible on many of the corpses were traces of torture and bullet wounds. Not infrequently they carried out and buried in common graves people who were emaciated, dying, but still alive.[3]

In the area of these camps, after the war, were discovered three cemeteries with 120 graves each, in which around 36,000 people appear to have been buried.[4]

As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to find Jews and Communists, whom an SD detachment or camp guards then shot near the camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 152 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (r7021-72-2, 6); GADO (r1838-1-52); and BArch B 162/8675–8677: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 152 in Mariupol).

Information about Dulag 152 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); V. Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii teritorii Ukraïny v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der

Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.

2. NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 77, frame 127.

3. http://forum.vgd.ru/181/18680/[accessed on February 12, 2018].

4. GARF, r7021-72-6.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 154

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 154 on March 21, 1941, from Frontstalag 154. From June 1941 to September 1944, the camp was deployed to various locations in the occupied Soviet Union. In the summer of 1941, the camp was deployed in Mitau (today Jelgava, Latvia) and Riga (both map 9b). From September 1941 to November 1941, it was deployed to Fellin (today Viljandi, Estonia) (9a), with subcamps in Pärnu and Tartu. From November 1941 to early 1944, the camp was deployed in Lindemannstadt (earlier Krasnogvardeisk, today Gatchina) (9a). From the end of January 1944 until September 16, 1944, the camp was deployed in Tapa, Estonia (9a). On October 18, 1944, the camp, along with the prisoners, was evacuated to Danzig (today Gdańsk, Poland) (4c) and converted into AGSSt 34 (the order to dissolve Dulag 154 had been given on August 27).[1] The camp was initially subordinated to the 207th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and then to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583). Dulag 154 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 513 between February 16 and July 17, 1941. The number was struck on October 27, 1944.

The camp commandants were: Oberst Ulbricht (1940– 1941), Major Mollinäus (1941–1943), and Oberstleutnant Ralph Folkert (1943–1944). The adjutant was Hauptmann Peter Alef; the deputy camp commandants were Major Pfister and Hauptmann Eugen Krägeloh; the counterintelligence (*Abwehr)* officer was Hauptmann Wilhelm Kreck; the deputy commandant (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Richard Hartwig; the commanders of the guard company were Hauptmann Orthmann and Hauptmann Heinrich Kramer; the doctor was Stabsarzt Dr. Hans-Dietrich Hoppe (from May 11, 1942, to September 16, 1944); and the translator/interpreter was a Soviet German (a native of Leningrad), Sonderführer (Z) Georg Weghorn.

Dulag 154 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs.[2] Overcrowding, constant malnutrition, unsanitary living quarters, and lack of proper medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards increased the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 154 is located in BA-MA (RH 23/277–288), and GARF (7021-30-241, 1274: Gatchina).

Additional information about Dulag 154 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 91.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of Johann Huppertz, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 44; Hubert Graff, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 47; Peter Michels, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 65–66; Leo Regnery, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 70–71; and Jakob Tautges, BArch B 162/28904, Bl. 83–84.

2. GARF, 7021-30-241; Tötungen von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 154 bei Gattschina im Gebiet Leningrad (Russland) im Winter 1941, BArch B 162/7593.

3. Ermittlungen gg. R. Folkert wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderungen sogenannter "untragbarer" russischer

Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Dulag 154 in Fellin und Krasnogwardejsk in den Jahren von 1941 bis 1943, BArch B 162/9254–9257.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 155

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 155 on April 4, 1941, from Frontstalag 155.[1] The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 986, which was assigned between February 15 and July 30, 1942, and struck on November 21, 1944. From the summer of 1941 to 1943, the camp deployed to various towns in the occupied Soviet Union. The camp first deployed to Wilna (today: Vilnius, Lithuania) (map 9b), where on July 5, 1941, it held 2,200 prisoners, 700 of whom were working as forced laborers.[2] In August and September 1941, the camp was located in Lida (9b). Beginning in October 1941, the camp was deployed in various locations in the Smolenskaia oblast', including Dorogobuzh, Viaz'ma, Gusino, and Roslavl' (all 9c). In 1943, the camp was deployed in the rear area of the Sixth Army at various places in Ukraine, mainly in the Donets'k oblast'. In the spring and summer of 1943, the camp was located in the town of Ordzhonikidze (today Ienakiieve) (9f).[3]

In the summer of 1941, the camp was under the command of the 403rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). In the fall of 1941, the camp transferred to the control of the Fourth Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585). In 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 593). The camp commandant in 1941 was Major von Treuenfels; the names of his successors are unknown. The camp was guarded by personnel from the 564th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). In July 1943, the camp staff consisted of 85 men.[4]

Dulag 155 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews

and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD). On August 21, 1941, the camp commandant reported to the Prisoner of War District Commandant J (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* J), Oberst Marschall, that on August 7, he had "exposed" 50 "commissars" and "acted accordingly" (i.e., had them executed), and by August 21, he had dealt similarly with 75 more.[5]

The Germans disbanded the camp on November 19, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 155 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); in NARB (4683-3-917); and in BArch B (162/9116–9119: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 155).

Additional information about Dulag 155 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 54–57; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7, Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 95.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 95.
2. Sicherungsdivision 403, Kriegstagebuch, in NARA, RG 242, T 315, roll 2206, frame 36.
3. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 593 (Qu/IIa) an AOK 6 (O. Qu.), 31.7.1943, BArch B 162/7188.

4. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 593 (Qu/IIa) an AOK 6 (O. Qu.), 31.7.1943, BArch B 162/7188.

5. Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant J, Besichtigungsbericht v. 13.8.1941 und Besprechung mit den Dulagkommandanten am 21.8.1941, in BA-MA WF-03/7353, Bl. 803, 806ff; "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 155, in BArch B 162/9116–9119.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 160

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 160 on March 15, 1941. After an initial deployment in the Balkans, from September 1941 to July 1942, Dulag 160 operated in the town of Khorol' (map 9f). In July 1942, the camp came under the authority of the First Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 531). As of late August 1942, the camp was located in a glassworks six kilometers (3.7 miles) from Mineral'nye Vody (9i). It was later relocated to Prokhladnyi (9i). From April 1943 to March 1944, the camp was located in Operations Area (*Operationsgebiet*) II, which was headquartered in Kherson, Ukraine. The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 322, which was assigned between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943, and struck on December 4, 1944. The Germans ordered the camp disbanded on August 27, 1944.

During the period of its deployment in Khorol, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebietes Süd*). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Dr. Lepple.

While it was deployed in occupied Soviet Union, Dulag 160 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). On December 20, 1941, the camp held 12,959 POWs,[1] and, in late January 1942, there were 12,702 prisoners. By the end of February, the number had dropped slightly to 12,357, and at the end of March it had decreased further, to 11,961. At the end of April, after 7,700 prisoners were sent to forced labor in Germany, the camp's prisoner population was 3,969.[2]

By October 1941, the camp was severely overcrowded and 20,000 prisoners were transferred to Kremenchug. Along the way, the guards shot any prisoners who were unable to walk.[3] Dulag 160 was located on the grounds of a former brickyard. The camp had subcamps on the premises of a grain elevator, in the building

of the raion executive committee, and in Secondary School No. 2. The prisoners quartered on the grounds of the brickyard lived in an open quarry with no permanent shelter. In the lower part of the quarry, people used their hands and mess tins to dig small dens in an attempt to protect themselves from the elements. Newly arrived prisoners were given no food for several days, after which they were almost always on the brink of death. The prisoners' rations consisted of salty *balanda*, a watery soup in which small bits of beet and a little grain floated. A 2-kilogram (4.4 pound) loaf of bread was intended to be shared by 100 to 150 people.[4]

These starvation rations, combined with overcrowding and lack of proper medical care, led to a high rate of death from malnutrition and disease. For example, according to the report of the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd*, Berück Süd) on December 21, 1941, 10 people died in the camp each day, mainly of typhus (in total, there were 300 deaths in December).[5] According to the report of the Berück Süd on January 31, 1942, 102 prisoners died of typhus alone in the camp in that month (out of approximately 750 total deaths), with a total of 576 people afflicted with typhus.[6] In February 1942, 707 prisoners died in the camp, and 339 died in March.[7] In total, in the period from December 1941 to the end of April 1942 alone, about 2,500 prisoners died in the camp, and during the entire period of the existence of the camp in Khorol, from the end of September 1941 to July 1942, up to 10,000 people died. According to a report on the crimes of the occupiers in Khorol at Dulag 160, German statistics indicated that 37,650 people died between September 22, 1941, and May 1, 1942.[8]

When a new transport of prisoners arrived the camp staff divided them according to nationality: Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and "Mongol peoples" (those of Asian ethnicity). The Jews were marked with a Star of David. The Jews were the main target of violence on the part of the camp personnel and guards, who beat them constantly, killing and maiming numerous prisoners. In early March 1942, a Sonderkommando took all of the Jews out of the camp and shot them. Gravely injured men who were unable to walk were moved out of the camp in trucks. The prisoners first had to undress and then, wearing only underpants, they went to their

executions.[9] According to the testimony of the former assistant camp doctor, Hans Fruechte, a mass shooting of Jewish prisoners took place on May 15, 1942. The Germans shot about 500 people at that time: around 450 Jewish prisoners and "suspicious characters" from the camp, and 50 Jewish craftsmen from Khorol.[10]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 160 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-70-1140); DAPO (r1876-8-104); and BArch B (162/8917–8922).

Additional information about Dulag 160 can be found in the following publications: E. Kobytev, *Khorol'skaia iama: Dokumental'naia povest'* (Krasnoyarsk, 1965); and Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, Akademiia, 2002).

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1. See report of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd, December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council law no. 10.*, vol. 11 (Washington, DC, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1950), p. 643.

2. See reports of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen) dated January 31, 1942, March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), and April 30, 1942, published in part in: *Ystoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'ko-fashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posobnykiv na tymchasovo okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukrainy, 1986), pp. 79–80, 88–89, 90–91.

3. See the testimony of the former assistant doctor in the POW camp in Khorol', Hans Fruechte, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, p. 18. According to the testimony of the former POW Blumenstick, 12,000–15,000 prisoners were sent from Khorol to Kremenchug, and 1,200–1,500 of them were killed en route; *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. 11 (Washing-ton, DC, 1950), pp. 641–642.

4. DAPO, r1876-8-104, pp. 17–20.

5. See report of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd, December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, p. 643.

6. See report of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd, January 31, 1942, published in part in *Ystoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'kofashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posobnykiv na tymchasovo okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukrainy, 1986), pp. 79–80.

7. See report of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), published in part in *Ystoriia zasterihae*, pp. 88–89.

8. *Poltavshchyna v Velykii Vitchyznianii viini Radian'skoho Soiuzu 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1977), pp. 82–83. Casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly overstated and should be carefully considered.

9. See the testimony under oath of former POW Henrik Schaechter on October 21, 1947 (Nürnb. Dok. NO-5510).

10. See the testimony of the former assistant doctor in the POW camp in Khorol, Hans Fruechte, in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, pp. 637–638.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 161

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 161 in September 1941 from Frontstalag 161. It was deployed to various localities in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), including Klintsy (map 9c).[1] In 1943, the camp was deployed to various locations in the rear area of Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*). At the end of the war, the camp was deployed in Zagreb (7). It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 462 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. From April 1942, the camp was subordinated to the 203rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*).[2] During the camp's deployment in the rear area of Army Group South, it was subordinated to the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiets Süd*, Berück Süd).

Dulag 161 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were inhumane. As in other such camps, newly arrived POWs were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 161 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6) and in BArch B (162/8663-8665: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 161).

Additional information about Dulag 161 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7, Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 128.

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NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.
2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.
3. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 161, BArch B 162/8663–8665.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 162

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 162 on March 26, 1941, from the staff of Frontstalag 162. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 536 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943; the number was struck on November 11, 1944. The camp was initially deployed to Poland, but after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the camp was moved to various locations in Ukraine. In the summer of 1941, the camp was deployed in Vinnitsa (map 9e), and from late 1941 to mid-1942, it was located in Stalino (now Donets'k) (9f).[1] From August 15, 1942, the camp was deployed in Shakhty (9i),[2] and then in various towns in the northern Caucasus, including the Stantsiia railway station near Apsheronsk (9i). From the spring of 1943, it was once again deployed in Ukraine. From November 1943 to the end of March 1944, it was located in Nikolaev (now Mykolaïv) (9g),[3] where it replaced Stalag 364. On August 27, 1944, the camp was disbanded.

From May 1941, the camp was subordinated to the 444th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and then to the First Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 531). In July 1942, the camp was transferred to the rear area of Army Group A (*Heeresgruppe* A) and subordinated to the 454th Security Division and then to the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 550). From October 1943, the camp was under the authority of the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd*, Berück Süd).

On January 1, 1943, the camp personnel included 12 officers, 6 civilian officials, 30 noncommissioned officers, and 95 men, 143 people in total. Their ranks were bolstered by 212 *Hilfswillige*, who were used as the camp's guard force.[4] The first camp commandant was Hauptmann der Reserve Schellhorn. From

November 1943, the commandant was Oberstleutnant Gustav Herold.[5]

Dulag 162 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). On October 14, 1942, while the camp was located in Apsheronsk, it held 1,342 prisoners; by the following day, the population had increased to 1,464. While it was deployed in Nikolaev, the camp held about 1,000 POWs as well as between 15,000 and 18,000 civilians who had been evacuated from the area near the front.[6]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, forced labor, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other camps, counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) personnel screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 162 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-72-33, 598, 815: Stalino); GADO (r1838-1-12: Stalino); and BArch B (162/8632–8636: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 162).

Additional information about Dulag 162 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 52, and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7, Die Landstreitkräfte 131–200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 134.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.

2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, fol. 9.

3. NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1568.

4. Testimony of Gustav Herold, BArch B 162/3539, fol. 834.

5. BArch B 162/3539, fol. 842.

6. Testimony of Gustav Herold, BArch B 162/3539, fol. 834.

7. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 162, BArch B 162/8632–8636.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 170

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 170 on April 21, 1941. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, it was deployed to various locations in Ukraine and Russia. From August 1, 1941, to September 11, 1941, the camp was deployed in Belaia Tserkov' (today Bila Tserkva) (map 9e).[1] From October 1941 to January 1942, it was in Poltava (9f).[2] Beginning in January 1942, it was deployed in Sumy (9f);[3] as of June 1942, it was in Belgorod (9d);[4] and in the second half of 1942, it was in Kantemirovka (9d).[5] In 1943 and 1944, the camp was once again deployed in various locations in Ukraine. In the spring of 1943, the camp was located in Shpola; however, by this time, it was no longer being used as a prisoner of war (POW) camp. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 443 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on May 25, 1944. On November 19, 1943, the Germans ordered the camp disbanded.

The camp was initially subordinate to the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). Beginning in October 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585). Beginning on December 29, 1942, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II).[6] As of February 1943, it was subordinate to the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*, Berück Süd). The first camp commandant was Oberstleutnant von Donop; he was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Fritz Reinkober. The camp doctors were Oberarzt Stocklesza and Oberarzt Dr. Willi Schöpper.[7] While it was deployed in Belaia Tserkov' in 1941, the camp was guarded by a company of the 415th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[8]

Dulag 170 primarily held Soviet POWs. The conditions in the

camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager and low-quality food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which created a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[9]

In early 1970, the public prosecutor's office in Hannover (Germany) conducted an investigation of the former commandant of Dulag 170, Fritz Reinkober for murder of socalled "undesirable" prisoners. The investigation was closed in 1975 because of insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 170 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B (162/8927–8933: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 170 in Biala Cierkiew, Kiew, Shitomir u.a.O.); and GARF (file 7021-22-494: Kantemirovka).

Additional information about Dulag 170 can also be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 52; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 168.

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162/5672, Bl. 160.

2. GAKhO p-3086-1-35.

3. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.

4. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.

5. GARF, 7021-22-494.

6. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 52.

7. Testimony of Erich Daumann, BArch B 162/5672, Bl. 161–162.

8. Testimony of Alois Zwad, BArch B 162/5672, Bl. 197.

9. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 170 in Biala Cierkiew, Kiew, Shitomir u.a.O., BArch B 162/8927–8933.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 171

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 171 on March 22, 1941, from Frontstalag 171. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 05 476 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on November 9, 1944. As of May 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 213th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). After Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the camp deployed to various locations in Ukraine. In early July 1941, the camp was located in Torczyn (map 9e). From late July to August 1941, it was in Kirovograd (9f), where it was subsequently replaced by Stalag 305. From late 1941 until May 1942, the camp was located in Lubny (9f), where it was later replaced by Dulag 132. In May and June 1942, the camp was located in Charkow (Russian: Khar'kov; today Kharkiv, Ukraine) (9f), where it was replaced by Stalag 362 on June 12, 1942. In June and July 1942, the camp was in the village of Bespalovka (today: Bezpalivka, Khar'kiv oblast') (9f). From late July 1942 to January 27, 1943, the camp was located near the Kastornaia-Novaia railroad station (9d). (There is some dispute about the camp's location in 1942; some sources put it in Smolensk (9c), Viaz'ma (9c), and Millerovo (9d).) In 1943 and 1944, the camp was again deployed in Ukraine. In October 1943, it was deployed in Kiev (9e); in November– December 1943, in Zhitomir (9e); in January and February 1944, in Vinnitsa (9e); and from April to July 1944, in Kovel' (9e). The camp was disbanded on August 27, 1944.[1]

The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Vilmar; the deputy camp commandants were Major Giese and Hauptmann Martin Hermersdorf (in 1942); the camp commandant's adjutant was Hauptmann Britzel; the chiefs of the motor vehicle section (*Kfz. Staffel*) were Hauptmann Weber and Oberleutnant Mether; the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Link; and the camp physicians were Dr. Marbach, Dr. Franz Lukas, Dr. Waldemar Schneider, and Dr. Franz Heymann. A company of about 150 Russian auxiliary police (*Hiwis*) was attached to the

camp. From March 1943, the camp was guarded by personnel from Company 4 of the 321st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[2]

Dulag 171 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp held 967 prisoners at the end of January 1942, while it was in Lubny. In late February, there were 2,582 prisoners in the camp. At the end of March, there were 4,196 prisoners, and, at the end of April 1942, there were 4,246.[3] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, inadequate food, forced labor, and the absence of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the situation. In February 1942, 50 prisoners died in the camp; the following month, 82 died.[4] In total, from the end of January to the end of April 1942, more than 200 prisoners died in the camp. In addition, in early April 1942, the Germans shot 350 "undesirable" prisoners (Jews and Communists) in the nearby area, and in May they shot another 150 "undesirables."[5] These executions were most likely carried out by SD-Sonderkommando Plath.

While it was located at Kastornaia-Novaia, the camp also held civilians who had been evacuated from the area near the front. The prisoners were kept outdoors. The women and children faced particularly difficult circumstances. Deaths from starvation, as well as random executions, were commonplace. The death toll in the camp at Kastornaia-Novaia is estimated to be around 7,000.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 171 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-70-981); GAPO; and BArch B (162/17060: Tötungsverbrechen durch Angehörige des Teilkommandos des Sonderkommandos 4a bzw. der SD-Aussenkommandos in Kshen [Ukraine] ab Herbst 1942: Ermittlungen gg. M. Hermersdorf wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Dulag 171 in Lubny 1941–1944).

Additional information about Dulag 171 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Korol', *Trahediia*

viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr. (Kiev: 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 52, 81; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 172.

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162/9183–9185.
2. BArch B 162/17060, Bl. 551, 556, 562, 566, 617, 673.
3. See reports of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), January 31, 1942, March 29, 1942, and April 30, 1942, published in part in Vasilii Nikolaevich Nemiatyi, *Istoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'ko-fashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posobnykiv na tymchasovo okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukraïny, 1986), pp. 79–80, 88–89, 90–91.
4. See report of the Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), March 29, 1942, published in part in Nemiatyi, *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 88–89.
5. GARF, 7021-70-981, pp. 22, 23.
6. *Kniga Pamiati Kurskoi oblasti*, vol. 3 (Kursk, 1994), 286; and vol. 12 (Kursk, 2000), 97.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 172

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 172 on March 15, 1941, from Frontstalag 172. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, it was deployed to various locations in Ukraine, including Zhitomir (map 9e), Novograd-Volynskii (today Novohrad-Volyns'kyi) (9e), Belaia Tserkov' (today Bila Tserkva) (9e), Krasnograd (9f), and Lozovaia (today Lozova) (9f). In late 1941, the camp deployed to Konstantinovka (today Kostiantynivka) (9f).[1] On August 15, 1942, the camp was relocated in Taganrog (9f), and then to Mariupol' (9h).[2] From November 1942 to February 1943, the camp deployed to Krymskaia (today Krymsk) (9h).[3] In the spring and summer of 1943, the camp was deployed in Anapa (9h). In late September 1943, it was relocated to Kherson (9g).[4] In 1944, the camp deployed to Smederevo in occupied Serbia (7). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 066 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

While it was deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, the camp was under the 213th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) from June to October 1941, and then under the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550). Beginning in October 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Army Group South Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*, Berück Süd). While deployed in Serbia, the camp was under the authority of the Military Commander Southeast (*Militärbefehlshaber Südost*).

The known camp commandants were, in chronological order, Major Salkowski (d. 1942), Major Theissen, Major der Reserve (until July 30, 1943), and Major Gustav Herold (August–October 1943). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers in the camp were Oberleutnant Hoffenreich and Hauptmann Dr. Polzer; the camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Leutnant Ziercz; the adjutants

were Leutnant Geisler and Leutnant Ramthun; and the camp doctor was Dr. Hans Hegemann.[5] On January 1, 1943, the camp personnel included 80 Germans (10 officers, 4 civil servants, 22 noncommissioned officers, and 44 enlisted men) and 191 local *Hilfswillige*.[6]

While it was deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, Dulag 172 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. In the camp at Krymskaia stanitsa, around 300 people were confined, but the population later rose to between 5,000 and 6,000 men. Many prisoners were barefoot and had no coats, and they were quartered in cold warehouses on a cement floor, in basements, or in the open air, even in winter. The prisoners were given one small tin can of bran with tiny pieces of plum or pear per day, when they were fed at all; these poor rations rapidly led to malnutrition. Often, the residents of the Krymskaia area brought foodstuffs to the camp and tried to give them to the prisoners, but the German soldiers and police banned this practice and beat those who attempted to pass food to the prisoners. They also beat prisoners who came close to the fence to get the food. Poor sanitary conditions and medical care led to frequent outbreaks of infectious diseases.

The combination of exposure, malnutrition, disease, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high mortality rate. For example, while the camp was deployed in Konstantinovka, around 5,000 prisoners are said to have passed through it, and approximately 4,000 of those prisoners died.[7] While the camp was in Krymskaia, between 10 and 15 prisoners died in the camp each day. There was no time to dig graves for the dead; the prisoners were instead forced to dig an enormous mass grave, 10 meters long, 8 meters wide, and 2.5 meters deep (about 33 by 26 by 8 feet). At least 907 prisoners are known to have died in the camp in Krymskaia.[8] As in other such camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out the Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[9]

While it was deployed in Serbia, Dulag 172 held Italian military prisoners. The conditions in the camp remained poor. The prisoners' rations were inadequate and poor sanitary conditions

and medical care led to a widespread typhus epidemic in which 380 prisoners were infected and 34 died.[10]

Specific information about the date of the camp's dissolution is unavailable, and it may have continued operating until the capitulation on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 172 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B (162/8715–8718: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 172); in GARF (file 7021-16-460: Krymskaia); and GADO (files r1838-1-5, 52, 64: Konstantinovka).

Additional information about Dulag 172 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 52; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 177.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.
2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 9.
3. NARA, RG 242, T 454, roll 104, fr. 268.
4. Testimony of Gustav Herold, BArch B 162/3539, Bl. 833–834.
5. BArch B 162/3539, Bl. 842; Testimony of Dr. Hans Hegemann, BArch B 162/5671, Bl. 223–224.

6. NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1568.

7. GADO, p-1838-1-5, p. 4; p-1838-1-52, p. 84; p-1838-1-64, pp. 95–97.

8. See ChGK file dated February 20, 1944, in GARF, 7021-16-460, p. 215 reverse.

9. “Aussonderung” von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 172, BArch B 162/8715–8718.

10. Leitender San.-Offizier beim Militärbefehlshaber Südost, Bericht vom 7.8.1944: Beurteilung der Versorgungslage für den Monat Juli 1944, BA-MA, RH 19: XI/79.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 180

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 180 on March 26, 1941, from Frontstalag 180. It deployed initially to the Generalgouvernement. It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 082 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on December 4, 1944. After Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, the camp deployed to various locations in Ukraine. In July 1941, Dulag 180 was located in Lutsk (map 9e). In the fall of 1941, it first deployed to Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro) (9f) and then Paniutino (today Paniutyne) (9f). In early 1942, the camp was deployed to Kramatorskaia (today Kramators'k) (9f), and then to Novoekonomicheskoe (today part of Myrnohrad) (9f), Gorlovka (today Horlivka) (9f), and Debal'tsevo (9d). In the fall of 1942, the camp deployed to the northern Caucasus. In October 1942, the camp was located in Lysogorskaia (9i),[1] and in December 1942, it was in Piatigorsk (9i).[2] In 1943 and 1944, the camp again deployed to Ukraine. The Germans disbanded the unit on August 27, 1944.[3]

Dulag 180 was initially under the 213th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). Beginning in the fall of 1941, it was subordinate to the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550). From August 11, 1942, the camp was under the authority of the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 531).[4] As of February 10, 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War District E (*Kommandeur des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks* E), and, as of April 4, 1943, it was placed under the Commander of Prisoners of War District W. Beginning on January 1, 1944, it was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II), and, as of February 1, 1944, it was subordinate to the Sixth Army High Command (*Armee Oberkommando,* AOK, 6). On February 12, 1944, it was reassigned to Korück 593 (then under the Sixth Army).[5]

The known camp commandants were Oberst Hans Gaul, Oberstleutnant Friedrich von Mutius (in the camp until June 9, 1942; died in Berlin on February 4, 1945), and Major Hans Vick (at the camp as of June 11, 1942). The deputy camp commanders were Major Fritz Mähnert and Major Alfred Schneider (at the camp until October 25, 1943). The adjutants of the camp commandant were, in chronological order, Hauptmann Hans Theuring (at the camp until June 15, 1941) and Hauptmann Paul Kowaczek (at the camp beginning on August 1, 1941). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers at the camp were Hauptmann Andreas Beierwaltes, Hauptmann Theodor Krüger, and Hauptmann Karl Machleit (at the camp beginning on March 26, 1941). The camp doctor was Dr. Hermann Siebold. The camp was guarded by personnel from Guard Battalion (*Wachbataillon)* 602; the commander of this battalion, as of February 3, 1942, was Hauptmann Österreich.[6] In October 1942, the camp staff included 102 men. A total of 215 *Hilfswillige* also served as camp guards.[7]

Dulag 180 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. The Germans regularly screened prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were shot by the guards. While it was located in Gorlovka, the camp also held accused partisans captured by the Military Police (*Feldgendarmerie*); they were also subsequently shot by the guards.[8]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, 12 former members of the staff of Dulag 180, including counterintelligence officer Krüger were investigated by the prosecutor's office in Frankfurt am Main. The investigation was dropped on January 27, 1975, due to lack of evidence.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 180 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and in BArch B (162/8459–8462: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 180 in Luck,

Dnjepropetrowsk und Gorlowka in den Jahren 1942/43).

Additional information about Dulag 180 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 53; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), pp. 205– 206; and S. P. Tsakun, ed., *Spravochnik o natsistskikh lageriakh voennoplennykh, deistvovavshikh na okkupirovannoi territorii Ukraïny v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, i formakh uvekovecheniia pamiati pogibshikh* (Kiev, 2002).

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NOTES

1. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 77, frame 127.
2. NARA, Microcopy T 454, roll 104, frame 266.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, pp. 205–206.
4. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 9.
5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 53.
6. Abschlussbericht ZSt Ludwigsburg vom 8.11.1968 betr.: Exekutionen von russischen Kriegsgefangenen jüdischer Abstammung, politischer Kommissare und von Zivilisten durch Angehörige des Dulag 180 in Luck, Gorlowka und Dnjepropetrowsk in den Jahren 1942/43, BArch B 162/8461.

7. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 77, frame 127.

8. “Aussonderung” von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 180 in Luck, Dnjepropetrowsk und Gorlowka in den Jahren 1942/43, BArch B 162/8459–8462.

9. Einstellungsverfügung StA Frankfurt/Main 4 Js 1222/68 gg. T. Krüger u. A. vom 27.1.1975, BArch B 162/8461.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 181

The Germans formed Dulag 181 in Germany on June 12, 1942, from Frontstalag 181. It deployed to various locations in Ukraine, including Zaporozh'e (map 9f), Stalino (today: Donets'k) (9f), where it replaced Dulag 162, and Zugres (today Zuhres) (9d). From September to December 1942, the camp was deployed in Maikop (9h). In the spring of 1943, the camp deployed to Kerch (9h), and, in the spring of 1944, it was in Sevastopol' (9h). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 894 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on July 8, 1944. The Germans disbanded the camp on June 16, 1944.[1] As of August 11, 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550).[2]

Dulag 181 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager and poor-quality food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which led to a high mortality rate. Deliberate abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 181 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and BArch B (162/9463–9466: Ermittlungen gg. den Kommandanten H. Dietz und weitere Angehörige des Dulag 181 wg. Aussonderung und Tötung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener).

Additional information about Dulag 181 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt,

Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 53 and 82; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 210.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 53. The date of the disbanding of the camp is erroneously given as June 16, 1943, rather than June 16, 1944.

2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 9.

3. Ermittlungen gg. den Kommandanten H. Dietz und weitere Angehörige des Dulag 181 wg. Aussonderung und Tötung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener, BArch B 162/9463–9466.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 182

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 182 on April 2, 1941, from Frontstalag 182. The unit was deployed to the occupied Soviet Union following the German invasion on June 22, 1941. From the end of October 1941 to August 1942, the camp was located in Zaporozh'e (map 9f), with a subcamp in the town of Orekhov (today Orikhiv). In the fall of 1942, the camp was located in Yasinovataya (today: Yasynuvata) (9f). In early 1943, it was in Stalino (today Donets'k) (9f). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 265 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on November 11, 1944.

In the summer of 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 444th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). During the deployment in Zaporozh'e, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Süd*).

Dulag 182 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). On December 20, 1941, the camp held 7,507 prisoners.[1] In late January 1942, there were 4,100, in late February, there were 4,143 prisoners, and in late March, there were 6,207. In late April 1942, 5,166 remained.[2] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, inadequate food supplies, forced labor, and a lack of proper shelter or medical care all contributed to a high mortality rate. For example, according to the report of the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd*) on December 21, 1941, an average of 18 people were dying each day of typhus; in total, there were about 540 deaths in December 1941 alone.[3] According to the report of the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area on January 31, 1942, 12 people were dying in the camp each day; the total was 360 for that month.[4] In February 1942, 125 prisoners died in the camp, and in March, 157 died.[5] Overall, from December 1941 to the end of April 1942, around

1,300 prisoners died in the camp; for the entire period of the camp's deployment in Zaporozh'e from late October 1941 until August 1942, the death toll may have been as high as 5,000.

The Germans disbanded the camp on August 5, 1944. During the postwar–West German investigation of crimes committed at the camp in Yasinovataya (which later became Stalag 397), one witness stated that the former commandant of Dulag 182 committed suicide after he learned that he was being investigated for murder, although he did not provide the commandant's name or the date of his supposed death.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 182 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B (162/6594; copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2225.00001983-00002302); GARF (7021-61-63); and DAZPO (r1662-1-4, 9; r1443-1-26, 45, 62, 66, 69).

Additional information about Dulag 182 can be found in the following publication: Viktor Korol', *Tragediia viys'kovopolonenykh na okupovaniy terytorii Ukraïny v 1941–1944* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002).

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NOTES

1. See report of the Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd, December 21, 1941 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 1605), *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. 11 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 643.

2. See reports of the Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), dated January 31, 1942, March 29, 1942, and April 30, 1942, published in part in Vasilii Nikolaevich Nemiatyi, *Istoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'ko-fashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posibnykiv na tymchasovo*

okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukraïny, 1986), pp. 79–80, 88–89, 90–91.

3. See report of Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd, December 21, 1941 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 1605), *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. 11, p. 643.

4. See report of Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd, January 31, 1942, Nemiatyi, *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 79–80.

5. See report of Befehlshaber rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd (Kommander der Kriegsgefangenen), March 29, 1942, Nemiatyi, *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 88–89.

6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 237 bzw. 397, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 307 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2225.00002268).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 183

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 183 on April 8, 1941, from Frontstalag 183.[1] From July to September 1941, the camp was located in Salonika (Thessaloniki) (map 8), and in late September 1941 to late March 1942, it was in Šabac, in occupied Serbia (7). From late March until July 1942, the camp deployed to Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V (4f). In September 1942, the camp deployed to the occupied Soviet Union, where it was initially located in Kanevskaia and then in Eisk (both 9h).[2] In November and December 1942, the camp deployed to Prokhladnyi (9i).[3] In early 1943, the camp deployed to the Taman Peninsula (9h). The order to disband the camp was issued on August 26, 1943.[4] Dulag 183 inherited Frontstalag 183's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*), 02 457.

During its deployment in Greece, Dulag 183 was subordinate to the Twelfth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 560), and then, as of July 1, 1941, it was under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander, Aegean/Salonika (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ägäis/Saloniki*). While deployed in Serbia, the camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander of Serbia (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Serbien*).[5] While deployed in Defense District V, beginning on March 31, 1942, the camp was under the authority of the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW).[6] From August 1942, the camp was under the Army Group A Rear Area Commander and the Prisoner of War District Commandant P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* P).[7] Beginning on November 17, 1942, the camp was subordinate to the First Panzer Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 531), and, as of January 8, 1943, it was under the authority of the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 550).[8]

In 1940 and 1941, the camp commandant was Major Georg Pohl, who was replaced by Major (later Oberstleutnant) Altmann.

The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Sahler. The camp adjutant was, initially, Oberleutnant Hugo Radke, whose replacement was Oberleutnant Thümmel. The camp officer (from August 1942) was Hauptmann Ernst Herlikofer, the head the administrative staff was Oberzahlmeister Ludwig Graf, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Dr. Bastian, the camp physician was Oberstabsarzt Dr. Ludwig Schott, his deputy was Unterarzt Dr. Gerhard Pfeiffer, and the commander of the guard company was Hauptmann Wilhelm Vömel. On March 1, 1943, there were 167 persons in headquarters, and the guards consisted of 172 Russian volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis).[9] On May 22, 1943, there were 159 headquarters personnel, and the camp guard force consisted of 119 Hiwis.[10]

While deployed in Serbia and Greece, the camp held British, Greek, and Serbian prisoners. While it was located at Salonika in mid-1941, the camp held British and Greek prisoners who had been captured on Crete. These prisoners were transported to Athens by air, then marched or driven in cattle trucks to Salonika. They were housed in old Turkish army barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. These barracks were in poor shape and lacked electric lights and plumbing. A report from May 27, 1941, indicated that the camp held 10,836 British soldiers (including 359 officers) and 1,530 Serbian prisoners (467 officers), for a total of 12,366 men.[11] Additional prisoners were transferred to the camp from other locations in Greece, such as Corinth and Crete, in early June 1941.

Upon their arrival at the camp, the prisoners were faced with inadequate shelter, poor sanitation, overcrowding, poor food supply, and, consequently, disease. The water supply at the camp was contaminated. The prisoners' rations consisted of ersatz tea in the morning, a thin soup (little more than "greasy hot water" according to some prisoners) at noon, and between a fifth and a tenth of a loaf of rye bread, along with three quarters of a biscuit in the evening. These rations amounted to less than 1,000 calories a day, which caused dramatic weight loss among the prisoners; some lost as much as 50 pounds in 3 months. Many also suffered from vitamin deficiency and resultant diseases, such as beriberi.

In an attempt to alleviate their hunger, some prisoners attempted to obtain food from the local Greek population, while others were reduced to selling their possessions in order to get something to

eat. The lack of food (as well as other goods, such as tobacco) led to theft, conflict, and distrust among the prisoners. There were additional tensions along ethnic lines; for example, between British and Palestinian or Cypriot prisoners.

The commandant of the camp was described by the British prisoners as "sadistic."[12] Prisoners who were seen outside of the barracks at night, for whatever reason, were frequently shot. Anyone who attempted to escape was shot, and their bodies were left out in plain view of other prisoners as "an object lesson."[13] In the summer and fall of 1941, the prisoners from Salonika were sent to camps in the Greater Reich by train, usually in cattle cars. British and Serbian prisoners were generally sent to camps such as Stalag XVIII D in Marburg (today Maribor, Slovenia) or Stalag XVII A in Kaisersteinbruch, Austria; many prisoners' final destinations were Stalag VIII B in Lamsdorf (today Łambinowice, Poland) or Stalag VII A in Moos-burg, two of the largest prisoner of war (POW) camps in Germany. By August 20, 1941, only 1,800 prisoners remained in the camp.[14]

After it deployed to the Soviet Union in August 1942, the camp held Soviet POWs. On October 20, 1942, there were 1,098 Soviet prisoners in the camp, all of whom were in permanent work parties (*Dauerkommandos*).[15] During its deployment in Prokhladnyi, the camp was guarded by subunits of the 836th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[16]

In January 1943, the camp sent about 1,000 prisoners from Terek to Krasnodar (792 of whom arrived there alive on January 27, 1943) and the headquarters was transferred via Prokhladnyi, Georgievsk, Mineral'nye Vody, and Armavir to Krasnodar. On January 14, 1943, the advance party of the headquarters reached Korück 550 in Krasnodar and was sent to the Cossack village of Varenikovskaia.[17] On January 19, 1943, the railroad station Krasnaia Strela (near Temriuk, Krasnodarskii krai) was assigned to the camp as the location of the main camp. In early February 1943, 6,904 prisoners from various camps were en route to this camp.[18] Several days later, the Krasnaia Strela site was disbanded, and the main camp was built in the village of Temriuk.

The camp headquarters was primarily occupied with the evacuation of the prisoners through the Kerch Strait to Crimea.

Also held in the camp, from March 2, 1943, were civilians who were subject to evacuation to Crimea, including women and children. For the evacuation to Crimea, the prisoners and civilians were sent from the camp to the village of Il'ich or the village of Primorskii, and from there they were transferred to Kerch', where a reception camp had been set up. The officer in charge of conveying the prisoners from Il'ich to Kerch' was Hauptmann Otto. Strong points for the transport of the prisoners were also created in the villages of Golubitskaia, Akhtanizovskaia, Fontalovskaia, and Zaporozhskaia. By April 15, 1943, 15,342 prisoners and 5,087 civilians had passed through the camp, of whom 10,977 prisoners and 4,255 civilians were transferred to Crimea.[19]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, lack of proper medical care, and mistreatment by the German guards led to malnutrition and disease, which resulted in a high mortality rate. As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who then were shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel.[20]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 183 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), BNF, NARA, and BArch B (162/27747–27748, Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 183).

Additional information about Dulag 183 can be found in the following publications: S. P. Mackenzie, *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 79–81; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 54; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio

Verlag, 1973), p. 223.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 223.
2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 36; Bef. H. Geb. A, Abt. Qu, 4.10.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 20, fr. 29.
3. Bef. H. Geb. A, Abt. Qu, 20.12.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 454, roll 104, fr. 266.
4. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 223.
5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 54.
6. Ibid., 54; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.
7. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 36.
8. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 54.
9. NARA, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1564.
10. NARA, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1583.
11. OKH Gen. Qu. Abt. Kr. Verw., Gefangenenmeldung Stand vom 27.5.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-12/143: 161.
12. Mackenzie, *The Colditz Myth*, p. 81.

13. Ibid.

14. OKH Gen. Qu. Abt. Kr. Verw., Gefangenenmeldung Stand vom 20.8.1941, BA-MA, RH: 20-12/348: 20.

15. Report of the district commander for prisoner of war affairs (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) under the commander of the rear area of Army Group A (*der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A*) dated November 1, 1942, for October 1942, NARA RG 242, T 501, roll 19, fr. 1527.

16. Bef. H. Geb. A, Abt. Qu, 20.12.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 454, roll 104, fr. 266.

17. Korück 550/Qu., 15.1.1943, an AOK/O. Qu., Tagesmeldung v. 14.1.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1075.

18. Korück 550/Qu., v. 20.1.1943, an AOK/O. Qu., Tagesmeldung v. 19.1.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1087.

19. Korück 550/Qu., v. 15.2.1943, an AOK/O. Qu., Tagesmeldung v. 15.2.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 77, fr. 1141.

20. See Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 183, BArch B 162/27747–27748.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 184

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 184 on November 23, 1941, from Frontstalag 184.[1] It deployed to various locations in Russia and Belorussia. In Russia, the camp deployed first in the town of Rudnia (map 9b), and, before the end of November 1941, it was transferred to the town of Volokolamsk (9c).[2] On January 27, 1942,[3] and on February 10, 1942,[4] the camp deployed to the village of Ledna (no location), on April 1, 1942, it was at the Dorogobuzh station (9c),[5] and on May 20, 1942, it was in Smolensk (9c) in support of Dulag 126.[6] From July 1942 to January 1943, it was located in Viaz'ma (9c). In Belorussia, the camp deployed to Borisov (German: Borissow; today Barysaw, Belarus) (9b) and Pinsk (9e). The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 603 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck on September 22, 1944.

The camp was under the control of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*). Until mid-1942, it was subordinate to the commandant of Smolensk, and, as of July 1, 1942, to the Third Armored Army, and, as of January 22, 1943, to the Fourth Army and Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III). The camp commandant was Major von Rüdiger.

Dulag 184 held Soviet prisoners of war and, at certain times, civilian internees. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Overcrowding, malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical care led to a high death rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the already terrible conditions. While the camp was located in Viaz'ma, 160 prisoners died in July 1942, 520 in August, 760 in September, and 227 in October.[7] In five weeks alone—from August 15 to September 22, 1942—1,248 prisoners died in the camp. At that time, there were 5,400 prisoners in the camp, of whom 3,500 were deemed "more or less fit for work." In accordance with the established dietary standards for the period September 21 to 30,

1942, the prisoners were supposed to receive, each week, an average of 1,742 calories, but owing to difficulties with provisions, the number of calories actually totaled 1,500 to 1,600.[8]

Analysis of prisoners' identification cards that have been preserved suggests that as of August 1943 at least 15,213 prisoners had passed through Dulag 184, and by March and April 1944 at least 4,491 civilians had been in the camp. Analysis of these cards also indicates that in 1943, there was a special camp (*Sonderlager*) in Osintorf (today Dubrouna raën, Vitebsk voblasts'), which was subordinate to Dulag 184.[9] As in other camps, the Germans screened prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

The exact date on which the Germans disbanded the camp is unknown; it was still in operation as of October 4, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 184 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); NARA; GARF (7021-44-620 (Viaz'ma), 623 (Dorogobuzh); and GASmO (r1630-1-304; r1630-2-26, 28, 29).

Additional information about Dulag 184 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 56–57; A. L. Kakuev and I. V. Dolgushev, *Dolg pamiati* (Smolensk: Madzhenta, 2005); E. V. Kazakova, "Elektronnaia baza dannykh 'Sovetskie voennoplennye': novye vozmozhnosti issledovaniia," *Sovetskie i nemetskie voennoplennye v gody Vtoroi Mirovoi voiny*, ed. V. Selemenev, Iu. Zverev, K.-D. Müller, and A. Kharitonov (Dresden; Minsk, 2004), pp. 145–150; D. E. Komarov, *Viaz'ma v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* (Smolensk, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 54, 83; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der*

deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–194, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200 (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 226.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 226.
2. Berück Mitte/Qu, Bericht v. 8.12.1941 für November, NARA, T 501, roll 2, fr. 437.
3. Kgf.-Bezirkskommandant J, Stand vom 27.1.1942, BArch B 162/9094, 9361.
4. Berück Mitte/Ltd. Kgf. Bez.Kdt., Stand vom 10.2.1942, BArch B 162/9094.
5. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/630/42 g. Kdos.v. 24.4.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 1.4.1942, BArch B 162/9094.
6. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 64.
7. Kakuev and Dolgushev, *Dolg pamiati*.
8. Armeearzt d. Panzer-A.O.K. 3, Bericht v. 25.9.1942, Betr.: Sterbefälle im Dulag 184 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 2353)
9. Kazakova, "Elektronnaia baza dannykh 'Sovetskie voennoplennye,'" p. 149.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 185

The Germans established Dulag 185 on March 23, 1941, from Frontstalag 185.[1] After Germany invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941, the unit was deployed to various locations in Belorussia and Russia. In the summer and fall of 1941, the camp deployed to Białystok (map 4c), Stolbtsy (9b), and Mogilev (9b). It was later stationed in Orël and Karachev (both 9c). Beginning in late 1943, the camp was deployed in various towns in Greece, and then in Zagreb (7). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 427 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on March 1, 1945. On November 15, 1944, the Germans ordered the camp to be disbanded.

Beginning in June 1941, the camp was under the 221st Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). As of February 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III), and as of November 20, 1943, to the Army Group F Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets*, Berück, F). Later it was under the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group E.[2] The camp commandant, at least in 1941 and 1942, was Major Wittmer. In 1941 and 1942, the camp was guarded by the 302nd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

While deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners were severely undernourished; according to one estimate in November 1941, the prisoners who were assigned to work received around 1,600 calories a day, while the prisoners who were not working received around 1,400. The food in the camp at that time consisted of potatoes, potato flour, millet, and salt. Medical care was also minimal. In November 1941, a delousing

station was installed in the camp hospital (*Lazarett*) in an attempt to prevent the spread of typhus among the prisoners; however, its capacity was only about 360 prisoners per day, and therefore only a small percentage of the prisoners could be deloused.[3] By the winter of that year, typhus was rampant. The prisoners' housing was also substandard, and shortages of wood meant that the prisoners had no fuel available for heating during the coldest months of the year. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated their problems. This was especially true in the fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941– 1942.[4] For example, between October 21 and November 18, 1941, alone, 1,500 of the 30,000 prisoners died, a death rate of 50 prisoners per day.[5]

As in other camps, the Germans screened prisoners to weed out Jews and political commissars, who they then shot near the camp.[6] For example, while the camp was deployed in Białystok, 3rd Company of the 322nd Police Battalion, which guarded the camp from July 9 to July 16, 1941, shot 64 Jewish prisoners who were "attempting to escape." In another incident in July 1941, members of Police Battalion 309 shot five prisoners who were also allegedly "trying to escape." On July 10, 1941, the head of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei*), Kurt Daluege, visited the camp, accompanied by Generalleutnant der Polizei Riege and SS-Gruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski. Daluege gave instructions to form a company of prisoners of Ukrainian nationality to assist in guarding the camp. At that time there were 14,000 prisoners in the camp; 11,000 more arrived on the night of July 12, 1941.[7]

While the camp was stationed in Mogilev in November 1941, "with the commandant's consent," the camp was inspected by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) Einsatzkommando 8 "for the purpose of bringing to light Jews and active members of political organizations; 196 persons were unmasked and shot."[8] However, a conflict arose between the camp commandant and the SD as a result of the commandant's reluctance to cooperate with the SD in the matter of handing over "undesirable" prisoners. After the SD lodged a complaint against the camp commandant, Heinrich Himmler ordered an investigation. This investigation, however, was unsuccessful, evidently because Wittmer was acquainted with Daluege and his wife. The investigation had no effect on Wittmer's career; in 1943 he was already an

Oberstleutnant and the deputy Prisoner of War District Commander P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant* P).

Little information came to light on the unit's time in Greece, but from December 12, 1943, to March 26, 1944, it had a branch camp (*Zweiglager*) on the island of Leros.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 185 is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), GARF (file 7021-88-44), BArch B (162/8906–8908: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 185), NARB (file 4683-3-917), and GAMO.

Additional information about Dulag 185 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 56–59; Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg: Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2009); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 54 and 84; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen, 1941–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz, 1997), p. 156; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945; Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 230.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 230; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 54 and 84.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 230.

3. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 156.

4. NARB, file 4683-3-917, pp. 4, 8, 10, 18, 21-24, 85, 93, and 116–119.

5. Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant J, Besichtigungsbericht v. 22.11.1941, BA-MA, WF-03/7353, pp. 749–752.

6. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 185, BArch B 162/8906–8908.

7. See the war diary of Company 3, 322nd Police Battalion (entries for July 9–16, 1941), BArch B 162/6462, Bl. 20–25.

8. *Ereignismeldung UdSSR*, no. 148, 19.12.1941.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 190

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 190 on June 27, 1942, from Frontstalag 190.[1] In June and July 1942, it was deployed to Sumy (map 9f). After it was replaced there by Stalag 308,[2] in late 1942 and early 1943, the camp deployed to Mariupol' (9h). In the spring and summer of 1943, the camp was stationed in Kuteinikovo (today Kuteinykove) (9f) with a reception camp (*Auffanglager*) in Amvrosievka (today Amvrosiivka).[3] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 32 147 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on February 7, 1944. The Germans disbanded the camp in February 1944. Beginning in the summer of 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 593), and the Prisoner of War District Commandant E (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* E).

Dulag 190 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager and low-quality food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 190 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and BArch B (162/8761–8765: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 190).

Additional information about Dulag 190 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and

Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 54, 84; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 256; and S. P. Tsakun, *Spravochnik o natsistskikh lageriakh voennoplennykh, deistvovavshikh na okkupirovannoi territorii Ukraïny v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, i formakh uvekovecheniia pamiati pogibshikh* (Kiev, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 256; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 54, 84.

2. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11.8.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 18, fr. 643.

3. Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 593, No. 322/43 geh., Betr. Neugliederung des Rückw. A. Geb. 3.4.1943, BArch B 162/7188; Kdt. Rückw. A. Geb. 593 (Qu/IIa) an AOK 6 (O. Qu.), 31.7.1943, BArch B 162/7188.

4. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 190, BArch B 162/8761–8765.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 191

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 191 on March 22, 1941, and deployed it to Romania.[1] In the spring of 1942, the unit was located in Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro) (map 9f).[2] Beginning in July 1942, the camp was located in Ostrogozhsk (9d). In the fall of 1943, the camp was located in Zhashkov (today Zhashkiv) (9e).[3] The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 32 768 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on December 6, 1944. Beginning in May 1941, the camp was under the authority of the German Military Mission in Romania (*Deutsche Heeresmission Rumänien*); as of May 1942, it was subordinate to the Seventeenth Army; as of June 1942, to the Second Army; and in 1943, to the Fourth Panzer Army.

While deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp, especially while it was located in Ostrogozhsk, were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Extremely meager and repulsive food, enormous overcrowding in a small area, lack of proper medical aid, and abuse by the German guards led to mass famine and disease, which in turn produced a high death rate. A former prisoner, Military Physician 3rd Rank Vasilii Mamchenko, said the following about conditions in the camp at Ostrogozhsk:

> The Germans designated a brickyard for the purpose of housing the Russian POWs, although there were no buildings fit for habitation there. Prisoners were simply herded into the brick-drying shed, which had no windows and no ceiling. The prisoners were not given even a bit of straw for covering the floor. They slept on the bare ground. The sick and wounded found themselves in exactly the same circumstances. The infirmary had no medication and bandaging materials, despite the large number of POWs who fell ill. There were at least 200 patients in the infirmary at all times. From time to time a

very small quantity of substitute bandages, made of paper, was handed out. The patients' wounds festered, they became infested with maggots, and gas gangrene developed; there were frequent instances of tetanus. The camp routine was very cruel. The prisoners worked 10 to 12 hours per day, doing excavation work. They were fed *balanda* in the morning and evening: warm water with millet or rye flour, and only a few spoonfuls for each prisoner. Occasionally, as a sop, they cooked the flesh of a dead horse, whose carcass gave off a stench. The German camp doctor, Oberarzt Steinbach, said: "For Russian dogs, the quality of this meat is completely fine." Without possessing qualifications as a surgeon, he practiced surgical operations on the prisoners and killed many. If wounded and sick POWs refused to work, they were beaten half to death…. When hungry soldiers stooped on the way to work in order to pick up from the road a beet or potato that had dropped from a cart, the Hungarian escorts shot them…. The mortality rate was 30 to 60 persons per day. They died of exhaustion, dysentery, typhus, and neglected wounds. The total number of dead from the end of August to mid-January was approximately 8,000. [4]

The camp was disbanded on August 27, 1944. [5]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 191 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-22-1, 3: Ostrogozhsk); and TsAMORF (203-2847-61).

Additional information about Dulag 191 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 55, 84; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 260.

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NOTES

1. Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 1.4.1942, BArch B 162/29592, Bl. 4 (939).

2. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

3. Kommandant rückw. Armeegebiet 585 an Pz. AOK 4 vom 10.12.1943: Monatsmeldung über die Kriegsgefangenenzahlen nach dem Stand vom 1.12.1943, BArch B 162/Order No. 245 Ac 1, Bl. 468.

4. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 260; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 55.

5. Document dated January 23, 1943, TsAMORF, 203-284 7-61, pp. 14–15.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 192

The Germans created Dulag 192 in March 1942, from Frontstalag 192. In April, the camp was transferred to Ukraine and deployed to Konotop (map 9f).[1] As of August 21, 1942, Dulag 192 deployed to Rostov (9i).[2] In 1943, the camp was stationed in eastern and southern Ukraine. The Germans disbanded the camp on September 15, 1943.[3] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 063 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on October 25, 1943.

From April to July 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580). After a transfer in July to the rear area of Army Group A, the camp was subordinate into 1943 to the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), Prisoner of War District Commander P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* P), Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* I), and Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II.

Dulag 192 was used to hold Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). As of October 20, 1942, there were 3,629 prisoners in the main camp and 4,570 prisoners in permanent labor detachments (*Dauerkommandos*).[4] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager and low-quality food rations, severe overcrowding, and lack of proper medical aid led to mass starvation and disease, which led in turn to a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 192 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des

Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (files 7021-40-1, 10, 14, 779, 844: Rostov/Don); and BArch B (162/8783–8788: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 192).

Additional information about Dulag 192 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 55, 85; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 264.

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639.

2. Der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A an Ober-Kdo. der Armeegr. A, 8.9.42, Monatsbericht August 1942, BArch B 162/7883, Bl. 36.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen*, p. 55; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 264.

4. Report of the deputy commandant for prisoner-of-war affairs (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) under the commander of the rear area of Army Group A (*der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A*), dated November 1, 1942, for October 1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 19, fr. 1527.

5. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 192, BArch B 162/8783–8788.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 200

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 200 on August 13, 1941, from Frontstalag 200, and transferred it to the Army Group North Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Nord*).[1] Until June 1942, it deployed to Narva (map 9a),[2] with a subcamp in Kingisepp. In June 1942, the camp moved to Priluki, in Ukraine (9f). Dulag 200 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 28 846 between February 15 and July 30, 1942. The number was struck on August 30, 1943. While it was located in Narva, the camp was subordinate to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583).

Dulag 200 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread starvation and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. However, a German official who visited the camp in Narva reported on May 20, 1942, that the prisoners' quarters, the kitchen, and the delousing facilities in the camp were in good shape. The camp was guarded by Estonian Selbstschutz personnel.[3]

On July 4, 1942, the camp was redesignated as the headquarters of the Azerbaijani Eastern Legion (*Ost-Legion*) and ceased to function as a POW camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 200 is located in BA-MA (RH 23 277–288) and GARF (7021-97-20).

Additional information about Dulag 200 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and

Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 295.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 295.
2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 64.
3. BA-MA, RG 23/279: Koruck 583 (18.Armee, HG N), Anlagen Bd II zum KTB, 1. Juli–30. September 1942, Bl. 24.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 201

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 201 in March 1941, and for the next two years it deployed to various locations in occupied Poland and the Soviet Union. On July 11, 1941, the camp deployed to Lubień Małopolska (map 5); as of July 15, 1941, it was in Przemyślany (today Peremyshliany, Ukraine) (5); from July 18 to September 19, in Zhitomir (9e); and on September 25, 1941, in Kiev (9e).[1] On October 11, 1941, the camp was replaced by Stalag 339, but the staff remained in Kiev until the end of the month. On October 30, 1941, the unit was en route to Romny (9f). On November 30, 1941, it redeployed to Charkow (Russian: Khar'kov; today Kharkiv, Ukraine) (9f), where it remained until the end of May 1942. Between June 1 and June 26, 1942, the camp was located in Taranovka (today Taranivka, Khar'kivs'ka oblast') (9f). On July 13, 1942, it was in Rossosh' (9d); on July 16, 1942, in Nikolaevka (9f); and on July 24, 1942, it was en route to Bokovskaia (9d). The camp operated in Bokovskaia from July 26 to August 7, 1942. On August 11, 1942, the unit was three kilometers (under two miles) northeast of Chistiakovo (9d); from August 15 to September 7, 1942, in Manoilin (9d); and from September 25 to October 9, 1942, in Ermokhin (no location), with a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in Manoilin. In February 1943, AGSSt 5, which had been disbanded, was merged with the camp. In the spring of 1943, the camp was deployed in Mariupol' (9h) and had a reception camp (*Auffanglager*) in Fedorovka (Rostovskaia oblast'). As of July 23, 1943, the camp was located in Pavlograd (9f).[2] From the fall of 1943 until the summer of 1944, the camp's deployment sites were Marganets (9h), Voznesens'k (9g), Vinnitsa (9e), Proskurov (today: Khmelnytskyi) (9e), Przemyśl (5), Galich (today Halych) (5), Drohobych (5), and Turka (5). From the summer of 1944 to the beginning of 1945, it was in Uzhhorod, Košice, and Krakau (today: Kraków, Poland) (all 5). In 1945, the camp was deployed first to Löhnberg (4d) and then in March to Elmenhorst (4a) and Gross Kummerfeld (4a), where it was disbanded, perhaps as late as May 8, 1945.[3] In any case, records

indicate that it was still in service on February 1, 1945. Dulag 201 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 176 between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The number was struck on March 22, 1945.

In June–October 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and then to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585).

As of June 3, 1941, the headquarters of the camp included 8 officers, 4 government officials, and 85 noncommissioned officers and enlisted men. The headquarters had 15 trucks, 5 motorcycles, 10 horse teams, and 20 horses.[4] The first commandant of the camp was Major der Landwehr Reiche; he was succeeded in September 1941 by Major zur Verfügung Pawliska. In 1942, the commandant was Major Dr. Eugen Witt. He was replaced at the end of February 1943 by Major zur besonderen Verfügung Ludwig Euler, who was succeeded in the summer of 1944 by Oberstleutnant Dr. Erwin Topf. As of September 20, 1941, the deputy commandant was Hauptmann zur Verfügung Renovanz; the adjutant was Oberleutnant der Reserve Behr; the camp doctor was Stabsarzt der Reserve Dr. Pechtold; the assistant camp doctor was Dr. Hesselmann; the head of the "Arbeit" group was Hauptmann zur Verfügung Leinemann; the head of the "Abwehr" group was Hauptmann der Reserve zur Verfügung Bernstorf; Bernstorf's assistant was Oberleutnant der Reserve zur Verfügung Kulow; the 1st aide-de-camp (*1. Ordonnanz Offizier*) was Hauptmann der Landwehr zur Verfügung Reinhold; the 2nd aide-de-camp (*2. Ordonnanz Offizier*) was Oberleutnant der Reserve zur Verfügung Kortlüke; the 3rd aide-de-camp (*3. Ordonnanz Offizier*) was Oberleutnant zur Verfügung Dr. Riesenberg; the head of the mail censorship (*Postkontrolle*) group was Oberleutnant zur Verfügung Dr. Fichtner, whose deputy was Oberleutnant zur Verfügung de Angelis.[5]

Dulag 201 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnourishment, unsanitary conditions, lack of proper medical care, and abuse by the guards led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. As in other

camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot near the camp by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment or the camp guards.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 201 is located in BA-MA (RH 23/318–324, 330) and BArch B (162/27701: Ermittlungen gegen Angehörige des Dulag 201 in Charkow [Ukraine]).

Additional information about Dulag 201 can be found in the following publications: Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 3; and S. P. Tsakun, *Spravochnik o natsistskikh lageriakh voennoplennykh, deistvovavshikh na okkupirovannoi territorii Ukrainy v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, i formakh uvekovecheniia pamiati pogibshikh* (Kiev, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Sich. Division 454, Abt. 1a, Stand vom 11.7.1941, 15.7.1941, 28.7.1941, 15.8.1941, 1.9.1941, 19.9.1941, 25.9.1941, NARA T 315 rolls 2215, 2216.

2. Staatsanwaltschaft beim LG Hannover, Verfügung v. 9.7.1976, BArch B 162/29811, Bl. 57–58.

3. See Robert Wellenreuther, Interrogation on June 20, 1969; Viktor Knopp, Interrogation on June 9, 1969; and Konrad

Kerbel, Interrogation on December 1, 1970, BArch B 162/27743.

4. Sich. Division 454, Qu.-Abtlg., Kriegstagebuch No. 1, Eintr. v. 5.6.1941, NARA, T 315, roll 2217.

5. NARA, T 315, roll 2217.

6. Ermittlungen gegen Angehörige des Dulag 201 in Charkow (Ukraine), BArch B 162/27701.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 202

The Germans established Dulag 202 on March 28, 1941, from Frontstalag 202, in Deutsch-Neuwelt, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI. The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 731 between February 15 and July 30, 1942; that number was struck on April 11, 1944. On April 19, 1941, the camp deployed to occupied Serbia, where by May it was located in Nisch (Serbian: Niš) (map 7). (Some confusion arises from internal correspondence that refers to the camp as Stalag 202 or Frontstalag 202 at this time. Those designations are not accurate.) On September 21, 1941, the camp deployed to Budeşti, Romania (9g).

In April 1942, the unit moved to Ukraine and initially deployed to Dniprodzerzhinsk (today Kamians'ke) (9f). In May 1942, it was in Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro) (9f), and from June 6 to July 15, 1942, in Nikitovka-Slaviansk (today Mykytivka, Donets'ka oblast') (9f), where it may have also operated a camp for civilian internees (records on this matter are unclear). Next, it was deployed in Lisichansk (9d), with a branch camp in Artëmovsk (today Artemivs'k, Luhans'ka oblast'). On September 18, 1942, the camp was located in Pavlovskaia (9i); on October 4, 1942, it was in Tikhoretsk (9i); on October 7, 1942, it was in Atamanskaia (9h); on October 21, 1942, it was once again in Pavlovskaia, and then in Voroshilovsk (today Stavropol') (9i).[2] In 1943, the camp was deployed in the rear area of the Ninth Army.[3] As of May 29, 1943, the camp was deployed in Briansk (9c), and, in the summer of 1943, it was in the village of Uleml' (9c). The camp was disbanded on November 19, 1943.

The first Dulag 202 camp commandant was Major Walter von Nerè. From January 22 to March 10, 1942, the commandant was Major Ernst Morre. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Wilhelm Kniebe, Oberst Max Capesius, and Oberstleutnant Gerhard Idel. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Carl Baumann, Hauptmann Dr. Walter Besemüller, Hauptmann Dr.

Hermann Bode, Hauptmann Albert Fahlbusch, and Hauptmann Hermann Knörr. The head of the labor deployment group was Hauptmann Adolf Springer. The camp doctor was Oberstabsarzt Dr. Paul Dehnicke.[4]

During the unit's deployment in Serbia, it was under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander Serbia (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Serbien*). While stationed in Romania, the camp was subordinate to the German Military Mission in Romania (*Deutsche Heeresmission Rumänien*) and Prisoner of War District Commander A (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* A). From May 15, 1942, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of the Rear Area of the Seventeenth Army (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550). While stationed in the northern Caucasus, the camp was subordinated to the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) and the Prisoner of War District Commandant P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* P). In 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 582).

From April to June 1941, the camp held Serbian prisoners of war (POWs). Beginning in July 1941, the camp held Soviet prisoners. As of October 20, 1942, in the camp at Voroshilovsk, 988 prisoners were in the main camp and 380 were in permanent work detachments (*Dauerkommandos*).[5] At that time, the camp was guarded by Company 1 of the 876th Reserve Battalion (*Landesshützenbataillon*).[6] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Meager and low-quality food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[7] For example, on August 20, 1942, an SD detachment shot 122 Jewish prisoners in Lisichansk.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 202 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des

Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-87-165); and BArch B (162/8772–8778: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 202 in Lissitschansk).

Additional information about Dulag 202 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973), p. 7.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 56.

2. Staatsanwaltschaft Hannover, Verfügung v. 20.3.1979 im Verfahren gegen ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 202, BArch B 162/8774, fol. 6580.

3. Erfassungsstab "G" der Gruppe Weiss (AOK 9), Benennung von Truppenteilen und ihrer Unterkünfte, 25.5.1943, BArch B 162/Verschiedenes, Ordner 245 Ac 1.

4. Staatsanwaltschaft Hannover, Verfügung v. 20.3.1979 im Verfahren gegen ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 202, BArch B 162/8774, fol. 6582–6584.

5. Report of the *Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* under the commander of the rear area of Army Group A (*der Kommandierende General der Sicherungstruppen und Befh. i. H. Geb. A*), dated November 1, 1942, for October 1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 19, frame 1527.

6. Bef. H. Geb. A, Abt. Qu, 11.12.1942, BArch B 162/7188.

7. “Aussonderung” von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 202 in Lissitschansk, BArch B 162/7188.

8. Staatsanwaltschaft Hannover, Verfügung v. 20.3.1979 im Verfahren gegen ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 202, BArch B 162/8774, fol. 6586.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 203

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 203 on March 14, 1941, from Frontstalag 203. The camp deployed to Grünhagen (today Kowalewo, Poland) (map 4c), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI. In late May 1941, the camp headquarters was moved to Otwock, in the Generalgouvernement (5). In early 1941, the camp headquarters was located in Góra Puławska (5), and in late June and early July 1941, it was in Bielsk Podlaski (4c), where it began to operate as a prisoner of war (POW) camp. At that time, the camp was guarded by personnel from Company 2 of the 974th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). On July 9, 1941, the camp headquarters was transferred to Slutsk (9b), where it stayed for several days. From July 20 to mid-September 1941, the camp deployed to Kokhanovo (today Kokhanava, Vitebsk voblasts') (no location) and then in Zhuravichi (9c). Finally, beginning in October 1941, it was in Krichev (9c).[1] In early 1943, the camp was transferred to Mogilev (9b), where the Germans disbanded it on September 20, 1944. Dulag 203 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 439 between February 15 and September 21, 1942. The number was struck on September 22, 1944.

In the second half of March 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII. Beginning on March 28, 1941, the camp was under the Commander of POWs in Defense District XXI. From July 3 to September 17, 1941, and from December 10, 1941 to February 5, 1943, the camp was under the authority of the 286th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*); between September 18 and December 9, 1941, it was subordinate to the 221st Security Division. From February 6, 1943, to June 9, 1944, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III). From June 10 to September 20, 1944, the camp was under the authority of the Representative for Prisoner of

War Affairs with the High Command of Army Group Center (*Beauftragter für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen beim Oberkommando der Heeresgruppe Mitte*).[2]

The camp commandant from December 1940 to the end of November 1941 was 65-year-old Major Johannes Gutschmidt (d. 1961). His successor, from December 1941 to September 1943, was 57-year-old Major Hartwig von Stietencron (d. 1952). From September 18, 1943, to September 20, 1944, the camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Johannes Burkhardt (d. 1950). The camp adjutant from July 1941 to December 1942 was Hauptmann Dr. Floess (d. 1945). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer from late July 1940 to April 1943 was Hauptmann Adolf Thias (d. 1960). The camp doctors were Dr. Adolf Frese, Dr. Werner Gerhardus, Dr. Gernot Grieben, Dr. Johannes Kiske, Dr. Peesker, and Dr. Johannes Roeder.[3]

Dulag 203 held Soviet POWs. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager and low-quality food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering.

While the camp was deployed at Krichev, the prisoners lived in wooden barracks. Wood and straw were in short supply, so the prisoners had to sleep on the floor of the barracks. As of November 1941, the Germans planned to decrease the number of prisoners in the camp to around 6,000, so that enough beds would be available for all prisoners; however, it is unclear whether enough prisoners were deported from the camp during the last weeks of 1941 to reach this target. The prisoners were on the brink of starvation by mid-November, as the prison bakery was unable to obtain enough grain to make bread to feed all of the prisoners.[4]

In the camp in Krichev in late 1941, 60 to 70 prisoners died every day; around 18,000 prisoners are estimated to have died in Dulag 203 at Krichev.[5] As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[6] One witness testified that Commandant Gutschmidt became very agitated about these selections but his

misgivings had no effect on policy.

In 1970, the public prosecutor's office in Hannover initiated an investigation of former members of the camp staff suspected of participating in the selections of "undesirable" prisoners. In 1980, the investigation was discontinued for lack of evidence.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 203 is located in the BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 203); BArch B (162/9089–9094: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 203 in Sluzk, Kochanowo, Orscha, Kricev, Mogilev u.a. Orten); GARF (file 7021-88-41); NARB (file 4683-3-917); and GAMO.

Additional information about Dulag 203 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 58–59; Christian Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung? Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im 'Unternehmen Barbarossa.' Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Lagerkommandanten," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 49, no. 1 (2001): 97–158; Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg. Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2009); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 56; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen, 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1997), p. 156; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 13.

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NOTES

1. Hartmann, “Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung?” p. 769.

2. Ibid. Adamuschko et al. *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, p. 59.

3. BArch B 162/9091, Bl. 770–773.

4. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 156.

5. See the document of the Krichev raion extraordinary state commission dated November 20, 1944, GARF, file 7021-88-41. The camp commandant Major Gutschmidt, in his diary entry for November 14, 1941, recorded the death of as many as 78 prisoners; see Hartmann, “Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung?” p. 153.

6. “Aussonderung” von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 203 in Sluzk, Kochanowo, Orscha, Kricev, Mogilev u.a. Orten, BArch B 162/9089–9094; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944: Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 234, 237.

7. Ermittlungsverfahren der Staatsanwaltschaft Hannover, Az. 11/2 Js 608/70, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover, Nds. 721 Hannover Acc. 90/99, N 124/1–124/21.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 205

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 205 from Frontstalag 205 on March 18, 1941.[1] From 1941 to 1943, the camp deployed to the occupied eastern territories. On July 11, 1941, the camp was located in Lubień Wielkopolska (map 4c); on July 15, 1941, it was in Przemyślany (today Peremyshliany, Ukraine) (5); from July 25 to September 19, 1941, it was in Berdichev (9e); and on September 25, 1941, it was in Darnitsa (9e).[2] From mid-October 1941 to May 1942, the camp was deployed in Poltava (9f), and then in Krasnograd (9f) and in the village of Dergachi (today Derhachi) (9f). From July to November 1942, it was in Rossosh' (9d), and, in late fall 1942 and winter of 1942–1943, it was in the village of Alekseevka (9d). Dulag 205 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 18 035 between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The number was struck between February 10 and August 23, 1943.

In the summer of 1941, the camp was subordinate to the 454th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). While it was deployed in Poltava, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Süd*). From May 1942 on, the camp was under the authority of the Sixth Army.

As of May 29, 1941, the camp staff consisted of 11 officers and 124 noncommissioned officers and men; it had 14 motor vehicles, 10 horse teams, 2 horses, and 21 motorcycles. The first commandant of the camp, from September 1940 until May 1942, was Oberst Hans Jauch (1883–1965). He was replaced by Oberst Rudolf Kerpert (1886–1944; taken prisoner at Stalingrad on January 31, 1943, and sentenced to death on October 10, 1944, by the military tribunal of the 3rd Baltic Front). At least in the summer of 1941, the deputy commandant of the camp was Hauptmann der Reserve (d. R.) Schwenke, the adjutant was Oberleutnant d. R. zur Verfügung Eckhoff, the camp doctor was

Oberarzt d. R. Braun, the assistant camp doctor was Dr. R. R. Ficus, the head of the labor group was Oberleutnant d. R. zur Verfügung Krausbauer, the head of the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) group was Oberleutnant d. R. zur Verfügung Stieghorst, the 1st aide-decamp (*Ordonnanzoffizier*) was Oberleutnant d. R. Richter, the 2nd aide-de-camp was Oberleutnant d. R. Ebert, the 3rd aidede-camp was Oberleutnant d. R. Schulz. In 1942, Hauptmann Wilhelm Langheld (1891–1943; sentenced to death by the military tribunal of the Fourth Ukrainian Front and hanged in Khar'kov on December 19, 1943) became head of the counterintelligence group, and Oberleutnant Otto Meder became the camp adjutant.

Dulag 205 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). As of October 9, 1941, the camp contained 20,000 prisoners,[3] and on December 20, 1941, there were 9,271.[4] At the end of January 1942, after more than 2,000 prisoners were taken away, there were 5,835. At the end of January, 5,414 prisoners were in the camp, and, at the end of March, 5,769. At the end of April, after more than 1,000 prisoners were sent to Germany for forced labor, there were 4,774 prisoners.[5]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners. Overcrowding, malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, lack of proper medical care, and abuse by the German guards led to widespread starvation and disease, which produced an extremely high mortality rate. For example, according to a report by the commander of the Army Group South Rear Area, dated December 21, 1941, 21 people were dying in the camp each day, mainly of typhus. In total, there were about 630 deaths in December.[6] That number had increased to 42 per day as of January 31, 1942, and 1,260 for the entire month.[7] In February 1942, 565 prisoners died in the camp, and in March there were 267 deaths.[8] In total, from December 1941 to the end of April 1942, around 3,000 prisoners died in the camp. About 5,000 prisoners are estimated to have died during the camp's deployment in Poltava.

A resident of Rossosh', Vasilii Skorik, reveals the conditions in the camp while it was deployed there in his testimony, which he gave on September 5, 1943:

> After the taking of the town of Rossosh by the German fascist occupiers, on the grounds of our kolkhoz—"Put' Lenina" [Lenin's Way]—the military authorities of the German fascist occupiers set up a concentration camp. Kolkhoz buildings were used for this concentration camp: the stable, the cowshed, the pigpen, the forge, and four granaries. All these structures and the yard in their midst, which had an area of around 2 to 2.5 hectares [about 5 to 6 acres], were surrounded by barbed wire. In this concentration camp, by July 10, 1942, were confined Red Army soldiers and civilians, around 10,000 to 11,000 persons in all. From July 10, 1942, through September 1, 1942, an average of about 12,000 to 13,000 persons were imprisoned in this concentration camp on a daily basis, with minor fluctuations in these numbers. From September 1, 1942, through November 20, 1942, the daily average was about 5,000, and from November 20, 1942, to the day of the liberation of Rossosh' by the Red Army, the average number of prisoners was about 1,000, 700, and 500. Until November 20, 1942, this concentration camp was run by the Germans, but from November 20, 1942, until January 15, 1943, it was run by the Italians…. The majority of the prisoners, because of the shortage of accommodations, were outdoors in the yard of the concentration camp, even in cold or wet weather. They fed the prisoners poorly. They forced the prisoners to do various kinds of heavy work involving moving large quantities of soil. For the slightest disobedience toward the concentration camp guards and for refusal to work, the prisoners were beaten terribly in every way, shot, and hanged…. Overall, I can't say precisely how many of the prisoners in the concentration camp on the grounds of the "Put' Lenina" kolkhoz were shot by the fascist dogs, but the total was at least 1,500.[9]

A report by the chief of the Main Administration of Counterintelligence (SMERSH), Viktor Abakumov, to the deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, Andrei Vyshinskii, dated September 2, 1943, reveals information about the conditions in the camp in Alekseevka:

> In the Alekseevka camp, planned for 1,200 persons, were imprisoned up to 4,000 Soviet POWs, accommodated in incredibly crowded and horrible, unsanitary conditions. As stated by the German officers Kerpert, Kunowski, Langheld, and Meder, the Soviet POWs present in Dulag 205 were half-starved, and starting in early December 1942 the command of the German Sixth Army, in the person of chief of staff Generalleutnant Schmidt, completely ceased supplying the camp with provisions; the result was a massive death rate, due to starvation, among the POWs. After December 5, 1942, the prisoners' death rate from starvation reached 50 to 60 persons per day, and by the time of the camp's liberation by Red Army troops, around 3,000 had died.

The former camp commandant, Kerpert, stated when examined on July 23 of the same year: "The POWs were accommodated in incredibly crowded conditions. They had absolutely no possibility of lying down and slept in a seated position…. Starting on December 5, 1942, real starvation began among the prisoners, and as a result of that the death rate soared. From December 10 on, around 50 people died each day. The corpses of the POWs who had died in the night were tossed out of the dugouts every morning, and they were taken outside the boundaries of the camp and buried."

This is confirmed by Oberleutnant Meder, who also stated that he reported more than once on the situation created in the camp to the Oberquartiermeister of the German Sixth Army, Kunowski, but the latter took no steps at all to provide the camp with food and told Meder on one occasion that the prisoners had to be killed. In addition, Kerpert, Langheld, and Meder testified that German guards beat the Soviet prisoners for minor infractions, for sluggishness at work, and also when they were guilty of nothing at all. The prisoners, driven mad by hunger, were tormented by dogs to establish "order" during the distribution of food, prepared from various types of carrion. Langheld said that while conducting interrogations of the prisoners, he himself, his Feldwebel, and the interpreter beat the Russian prisoners of war to obtain information of military significance from them. Langheld admitted that he, through his agents, provoked escape attempts, after which the

prisoners were shot. Such practices of violence, humiliation, murder, and provocation were employed not only in the Alekseevka camp but also, as was well known to Kunowski, Langheld, and Meder, in other camps.

In the process of the investigation of Kerpert, Langheld, and Meder, former Red Army servicemen were placed in the Stalingrad special camp and examined, for instance, K. S. Krupachenko, K. K. Pisanovskii, I. D. Kasinov, S. M. Kucheriaev, and A. A. Alekseev were held in Dulag 205 for an extended period of time while in German captivity. These individuals testified to the very high death rate among the prisoners as a result of starvation and savage treatment of the Russian prisoners of war on the part of the German command. For example, A. A. Alekseev, a former Red Army serviceman, stated when examined on August 10, 1943:

> There was a high death rate in the camp, the reason for which was as follows: during the entire time of my presence in the camp, the prisoners were given no bread or water at all…. Instead of water, they gathered dirty, bloodstained snow in the area of the camp, after which the POWs fell sick en masse. There was no medical aid. I personally had four wounds, and despite my repeated requests, no aid was provided, and my wounds festered. The German sentries fired at the POWs without warning. I personally saw one POW, whose name I don't know, attempting during the food distribution to cut off a bit of horsehide with a knife—he was noticed by a sentry, who fired at point-blank range at the POW and killed him. There were many such instances. We slept on the ground in the dirt, and there was absolutely no place to get warm in cold weather. They took away the POWs' felt boots and warm clothing and in exchange gave us torn shoes and clothes removed from people who had been killed and who had died…. Many of the POWs, unable to endure the horrors of the situation in the camp, went mad. Around 150 people died each day, and during the first part of January 1943, 216 died in a single day, as I was told by workers in the camp medical unit. The German command of the camp tormented the prisoners with dogs, German

> Shepherds. The dogs knocked down POWs who had become weak and dragged them through the snow, while the Germans stood there and laughed at them. Public shootings of POWs were practiced in the camp …[10]

Oberleutnant Meder was taken prisoner on January 31, 1943, at Stalingrad, and sentenced to death on October 10, 1944, by the military tribunal of the Third Baltic Front.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 205 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-57-514); TsDAGO (57-4-270); DAPO (4085-3-227); and BArch B (162/28294: Ermittlungen gg. Lulay und Langheld wg. Verdachts der Beihilfe zum Mord an russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 205 in Poltawa 1942/43).

Additional information about Dulag 205 can be found in the following publications: Frank Ellis, "Dulag-205: The German Army's Death Camp for Soviet Prisoners at Stalingrad," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 19, no. 1 (March 2006): 123–148; A. Hilger, "'Die Gerechtigkeit nehme ihren Lauf?' Die Bestrafung deutscher Kriegs- und Gewaltverbrecher in der Sowjetunion und der SBZ/DDR," in *Transnationale Vergangenheitspolitik: Der Umgang mit deutschen Kriegsverbrechern in Europa nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Norbert Frei (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), pp. 217–222; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 57, 88; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 22.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 88.

2. 454 . Sich. Division, Abt. 1a, Stand vom 11.7.1941, 15.7.1941, 28.7.1941, 15.8.1941, 1.9.1941, 19.9.1941, 25.9.1941, NARA, T 315, rolls 2215, 2216.

3. 113 . Inf. Division, Ia, Div. St. Qu. (Kiew), den 9.10.1941, an 454. Sicherungs-Division, NARA, T 315, roll 2216.

4. See report by commander, Rear Area, Army Group South, December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. XI (Washington, DC, 1950), p. 643.

5. See reports of the commander, Rear Area, Army Group South (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), dated January 31, 1942, March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), and April 30, 1942, published in part in *Istoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'ko-fashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posobnykiv na tymchasovo okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny* (Kiev: Vydavnytsvo politychnoi literatury Ukrainy, 1986), pp. 79–80, 88–89, 90–91.

6. See report of commander, Rear Area, Army Group South, December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), in *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. XI (Washington, DC, 1950), p. 643.

7. See report of commander, Rear Area, Army Group South, January 31, 1942, published in part in *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 79–80.

8. See report of commander, Rear Area, Army Group South (Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen), March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), published in part in *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 88–89.

9. GARF, 7021-149-207.

10. TsAFSBRF, 14-5-1, pp. 228–235. Published in

Stalingradskaia epopeiia: dokumenty NKVD i voennoi tsenzury (Moscow: Zvonnitsa-MG, 2000).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 220

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 220 on July 18, 1941, from Frontstalag 220.[1] On August 1, 1941, the unit was redesignated as Dulag 220 z.b.V. (*zur besonderen Verwendung*: "for special employment") and was deployed to Gomel' (map 9c).[2] In 1943, the camp was located in the village of Shui (9c). The order to disband the camp was dated September 25, 1943, but records indicate that it was still in operation as late as November 15. Dulag 220 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 813 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck on December 17, 1943.

While deployed in the USSR, the camp was subordinate to the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 559), to Security Brigade (*Sicherungsbrigade*) 203, and to the Prisoner of War District Command J (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant* J). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Schmidt; the adjutant was Hauptmann Both.

Dulag 220 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In Gomel', the camp held 8,500 POWs at the beginning of September 1941, of whom 3,000 slept under a roof and 5,000 stayed out in the open. Two thousand five hundred of the prisoners were employed as forced laborers. Only 30 soldiers guarded the camp.[3] Those who lived inside were only marginally better off than those outside. The camp was located on the grounds of a former cavalry barracks. Prisoners were housed in the stables, which had no doors, no panes in the windows, and no heat. In these stables, the prisoners slept on bare plank beds, side by side.

The prisoners were fed a soup (*balanda*) made of chaff and flour dust from buckwheat husks, and 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread baked from the same flour twice a day. From time to time the soup was made from rotten, frozen, unpeeled potatoes with the addition of horse bones and the flesh of unborn foals and calves

taken from the wombs of animals that had been killed. No medical aid was provided to the prisoners, although a "hospital" was set up in the camp for the sake of appearance. The leather shoes of all the prisoners were taken away from them and many suffered from frostbite during the winter. Both sick and healthy prisoners were used for forced labor, building fortifications around the town and repairing the railroad tracks. Prisoners who lagged along the way or collapsed from exhaustion while at work were shot or stabbed with bayonets by the escorts.[4] Malnutrition and disease were widespread, leading to a high mortality rate. In November 1941, an average of 350 people died per day,[5] and, in early December 1941, the death rate reached 400 a day. On some days it was as high as 700.[6] At that time there were 12,857 prisoners in the camp, of whom 5,000 were working as forced laborers.[7] During the deployment in Gomel', the headquarters of Dulag 220 was also used, at least in the spring of 1942, for fighting against partisans.

In 1943, the camp was located in the village of Shui. A former POW, Evgenii Belousov, recalled his stay in the camp at Shui:

> On March 23 [1943], we reached the village of Shui, at the edge of which was located a camp for prisoners of war. The camp was surrounded by 2 rows of barbed wire, with towers at the corners. On the gates of the camp was written "Dulag-220." Behind the barbed wire were 2 barracks, in which POWs were housed. There was also a barracks standing off to one side, which contained a bath with a place for drying clothes, a washbasin, and a medical unit with beds for the sick and wounded. Next to the gates stood a house for the guards and the camp commandant. In the camp there was a square where all the POWs could be lined up. Here, every day, they all were counted and taken away to work. In the commandant's office, all those who had arrived were recorded in a register: last name, first name, patronymic, military rank, unit number, place of residence. The officers were immediately sorted out and sent to another camp. In the barracks, which had been knocked together from boards, were solid plank beds in two tiers, made of round, small logs. On top of them was some straw. If a prisoner had no clothes, or if his clothes were tattered, they gave him used German army

clothing. The prisoners were forced to work every day, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday. They worked in the forest, felled birch trees, sawed them into rough chunks, and split the big ones. The meter-long chunks were piled up in stacks and burned to make charcoal, which was sent to Germany. I worked in this camp until June 10, 1943. Then some of us, including me, were sent to the town of El'nia.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 220 is located in BA-MA (RW6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-85-257, 415); BArch B (162/9134-9137: Ermittlungen gg. K. W. Daemm u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der "Aussonderung" sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Dulag 220 in Gomel); NARB; and DAGO (file 1345-2-7/8).

Additional information about Dulag 220 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 57 and 89; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 99.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 99; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 57 and 89.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 57 and 89.

3. Reisebericht des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant J v. 18.9.1941, BA-MA WF 03/7353, Bl. 778; Besichtigungsbericht des Leitenden Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant beim Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Mitte v. 9.10.1941, BA-MA, RH 22: 251.

4. State Archive of Public Organizations of Gomel' Oblast', 144-5-1, pp. 21–22.

5. Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Mitte, Quartiermeister, Monatsbericht November v. 9.12.1941, BAMAWF 03/7314, Bl. 439.

6. Besichtigungsbericht des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant J v. 11.12.1941, BA-MA WF 03/7353, Bl. 777.

7. Ibid.

8. E. V. Belousov, "Povest' voennykh let," *Zhurnal "Samizdat"*; and http://militera.lib.ru/memo/russian/belousov_ed/index.html.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 226

The Wehrmacht created Dulag 226 on May 5, 1943, from AGSSt 25 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I. In November 1943, the camp deployed to northern Italy. While there, the camp was located in Pissignano and in Campello sul Clitunno (map 6), having taken over the facilities of the Italian-run Prisoner of War Camp (*Prigione di Guerra*, P.G.) 77. Dulag 226 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 950 between February 10 and August 23, 1943; the number was struck on February 12, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Tenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 594). The camp commandant was Oberst Heinrich Lehnard until February 1944.

The Italian camp P.G. 77 appears to have been principally a tent camp with few permanent structures.[1] Under German control, the camp held both Italian military internees and Allied prisoners of war (POWs), many of whom had been there at the time of the Italian capitulation, and some of whom were recaptured escapees from other camps.

Allied prisoners reported inadequate conditions after the Germans took over: overcrowded tents with no beds (though that situation improved later on), small rations of low-quality food, little protection against the cold, and primitive latrine facilities. No records survive of the treatment that Italian prisoners received, but Italian internees were generally treated harshly by the Germans. Most prisoners remained only for a short time before being transferred to Germany.

The Germans disbanded the camp on November 19, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 226 is located in BA-MA (RH 49), WASt Berlin, and TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 950: CC77 [was Dulag 226] Pissignano Italy 43-12).

Additional information about Dulag 226 can be found in the following publications: Janet Kinrade Dethick, *The Long Trail Home: Allied Prisoners of War in Umbria 1943–44* (self-published, 2016); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 58; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 124; and Malcolm Tudor, *Beyond the Wire: A True Story of Allied POWs in Italy 1943–1945* (Newtown, Powys, UK: Emilia, 2009).

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NOTE

1. "Additions to American POW Camps," Report, US Department of State (ca. 1943), NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 230

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 230 in September 1941 from Frontstalag 230. It deployed to Viaz'ma (map 9c) and then, in April 1942, to Orsha (9b). In Orsha, it was not initially used as a prisoner of war (POW) camp but instead as a site for equipping and managing sites for quartering military units.[1] Later, it deployed to Vitebsk (9b) and Rzhev (9c), and at one time it had a subcamp in Iartsevo (Iartsevskii raion, Smolenskaia oblast') and in the village of Prechistoe (Dukhovshchinskii raion, Smolenskaia oblast').[2] On September 20, 1944, the camp was reorganized as AGSSt 44.[3] Dulag 230 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 054 between February 15 and July 30, 1942. The number was struck on September 22, 1944.

The camp was subordinate to the 3rd Panzer Army and Prisoner of War District Commandant J (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant* J), the 286th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), and, in 1944, to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III).

Dulag 230 held Soviet POWs. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical care, led to widespread starvation and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. For example, while the camp was deployed in Viaz'ma in mid-January 1942, it held 5,000 prisoners, of whom 60–100 died each day. There were no stocks of winter supplies, the camp received no food supplies, and 4,200 prisoners were classified as unfit to work.[4] In the camp's three infirmaries, according to the lists of deceased prisoners, 2,153 prisoners died in January 1942, 643 died in February, and 949 died in March.[5] As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*,

SD).

In late 1943 and in early 1944, the camp was located in Vitebsk and was used as both a prisoner of war camp and a transit camp for members of the civilian population who were suspected of giving aid to the partisans. After interrogation by the SD, the civilians held in the camp were deported to the Majdanek or Auschwitz concentration camps.[6]

In early 1944, all residents of Vitebsk who were unfit for work were placed in the camp. In total, there were approximately 12,000 prisoners, including people who had typhus and other infectious diseases. By order of General Friedrich Gollwitzer, the commander of the LIII Army Corps, and Oberst Schmidt, the corps chief of staff, the surviving prisoners in the camp were used as human shields during the Soviet offensive of that spring; for this purpose, they were placed in another camp closer to the front line, near the Krynka railroad station (Liozno raën, Vitsebskaia voblasts'). About 4,000 people perished in this camp; the remaining prisoners were liberated by the attacking Soviet troops. A witness questioned in this case, I. Solov'ev, testified that "in April 1944, I and my family, consisting of my wife and four children, came down with typhus. From the Letsy station they took us all to Vitebsk and put us in the same hospital, where we received no treatment at all. In early June, we and other typhus patients were sent to the Vitebsk station, where we were loaded into a train and taken to the front line." Witness A. Zhuravskii testified that "in March 1944, the Germans established a death camp in Vitebsk. In early June 1944, I was one of 12,000 people who were taken to the front line, to the Aleksandrovskii forest, where the Germans killed 4,000 people, while the rest were herded to the front line, as a 'human shield,' and consequently found themselves on the side of the Soviet troops."[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 230 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 230) and NARB (4683-3-917).

Additional information about Dulag 230 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein*

Nachschlagewerk (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 62–63; A. L. Kakuev and I. V. Dolgushev, eds., *Dolg Pamiati* (Smolensk: Madzhenta, 2005), p. 172; D. E. Komarov, *Viaz'ma v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* (Smolensk, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 141.

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NOTES

1. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 62–63.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 141.

4. Besichtigungsbericht des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-Kommandant J v. 17. 1. 1942, BA-MA, RH 22: 220.

5. Kakuev and Dolgushev, *Dolg Pamiati*, p. 172.

6. *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, vol. XI (Washington, DC, 1950), pp. 612–614.

7. See the memorandum of the head of the administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for Vitebsk Oblast', Colonel V. Gogolev, to Kudriaev, the secretary of the Vitebsk Oblast' Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia, concerning the results of the investigation of the crimes committed in Vitebsk oblast' by the German fascist

occupiers (No. 2/3158, Vitebsk, November 24, 1947), in *Vystoiali i pobedili: svidetel'stvuiut arkhivy* (Vitebsk, 2005), pp. 63–64.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 231

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 231 on March 19, 1941, from Frontstalag 231.[1] It was first deployed in Poland in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, it deployed to occupied Belarus. In July 1941, the camp was located in Volkovysk (map 4c); in August 1941, it was in Dokshytsy (9b); and in October and November 1941, it was in Viaz'ma (9c).

From December 1941 to April 1942, Dulag 231 was in Smolensk, but it was not used as a prisoner of war [POW] camp there. The camp commandant, Major Gutschmidt, was appointed commandant of one of the defensive sectors of the town of Smolensk on January 10, 1942, and he spent the following two months mainly preparing his sector and training the rear area soldiers in his sector to function as defensive forces.[2]

From April to June 1942, the camp was once again deployed at Viaz'ma.[3] From July 1942 to the spring of 1944, the camp was located in Millerovo (9d), Volchansk (today Vovchansk) (9d), Poltava (9f), Kremenchug (9f), Charkow (Russian: Khar'kov; today Kharkiv, Ukraine) (9f), Kirovograd (today Kropyvnyts'kyi) (9f), and Pervomais'k (9g).[4] The camp was disbanded on October 11, 1944 (although the order to disband it had been issued on August 27, 1944) and converted into AGSSt 57.[5] Dulag 231 received field post number *(Feldpostnummer*) 21 260 between February 15 and July 30, 1942. The number was struck on December 4, 1944.

As of July 1, 1941, the camp was subordinate to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), and later to the Third Armored Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 590). As of June 27, 1942, the camp was subordinate to Army Group B,[6] specifically to the Second Army, II Hungarian Army Corps, *Armeeabteilung* Lanz (later, *Armeeabteilung* Kempf). As of August 16, 1943, it was

subordinate to the German Eigth Army. In 1944, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II).[7]

The camp commandant from December 1940 until the end of November 1941 was 57-year-old Major Hartwig von Stietencron (1884–1952) and, later, 65-year-old Major Johannes Gutschmidt (1876–1961). The names of additional commandants and other camp personnel are unknown.

Dulag 231 held Soviet POWs. Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, exhaustion from forced labor, unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread starvation and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards made the situation even worse. The first prisoners to arrive in the camp in Volkovysk, which was initially located in the former Red Army barracks, were given no food or water for several days, nor did they receive any form of medical care.

In the camp at Viaz'ma, where there were 27,000 prisoners at the end of October 1941 and 34,000 in early November 1941, the conditions were particularly inhumane. Every day, dozens of prisoners died in the camp. Driven to despair, the prisoners made attempts to escape en masse, only to be shot by the guards. The procedures in the camp aroused the indignation of even the Fourth Army Rear Area Commander (Korück 559), and the local military commandant. They complained to the Army Group Center Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Mitte*, Berück Mitte) about the camp commandant, accusing him of poor leadership.[8] The commander, General Max von Schenkendorff (1875–1943), inspected the camp at Viaz'ma on November 20, 1941, and was astonished by the mortality rate (4,000 deaths in November alone) and, in a conference on November 23, 1941, declared that he had given instructions for an investigation of the activity of the camp commandant, who was removed from his position and transferred to Dulag 203.[9]

As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews, political commissars, and Communist Party

members, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD). Jewish-Soviet prisoner Lev Frankfurt witnessed such an execution soon after his arrival in the camp at the beginning of July 1941. He stated that the Jews and commissars were machine-gunned by the Germans in full sight of the other prisoners. Frankfurt, who was both a Jew and a political commissar, avoided the same fate only because he had, by coincidence, not been circumcised at birth (the method by which the Germans identified Jews), and he had lost his Army uniform shirt (which bore the identifying red star of the political commissars) and had been given a new one by a peasant family.[10] These executions occurred every time a new transport of prisoners arrived in the camp. In November 1941, a selection operation (*Aussonderung*) conducted by *Einsatzkommando* 9 uncovered 117 Jews, who were subsequently shot.[11]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 231 is located in BA-MA (RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 231); GARF (7021-44-620); and GASmO (r1630-1-304; r1630-2-26, 28, 29).

Additional information about Dulag 231 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); Christian Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung? Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im 'Unternehmen Barbarossa.' Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Lagerkommandanten," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 49 (2001): 97–158; A. L. Kakuev and I. V. Dolgushev, eds., *Dolg pamiati* (Smolensk: Madzheta, 2005); D. E. Komarov, *Viaz'ma v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* (Smolensk, 2002); Dieter Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht: Deutsche Militärbesatzung und einheimische Bevölkerung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 223–224; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Achter Band: Die Landstreitkräfte 201–280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 145.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 231.
2. Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung," 109, 156–157.
3. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 64.
4. Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung," 109.
5. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 145.
6. BA-MA, RH 49/9: Stammtafel Dulag 231.
7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*.
8. Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht*, pp. 223–224.
9. Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung," 155.
10. VHA #28879, Lev Frankfurt testimony, March 25, 1997.
11. Ereignismeldung UdSSR #149, 22.12.1941.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 240

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 240 on March 26, 1941, from Frontstalag 240. From March to July 1941, the camp deployed to Litzmannstadt (today: Łódź, Poland) (map 4c), and, in July 1941, it was in Jabłonna (5).[1] Beginning in the summer of 1941, the camp deployed to various locations in the occupied Soviet Union. From August to November 1941, the camp was in Smolensk (9c); from late November 1941 until January 1942, it was in Rzhev (9c), where it replaced AGSSt 7; and from January 1942 until mid-1944, it was in Borissow (Russian: Borisov; today Barysaw, Belarus) (9b). The Germans disbanded the camp in September 1944. Dulag 240 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 251 between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

Beginning on July 27, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Ninth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 582), part of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).[2] From 1942 to 1944, it was subordinate to the 286th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Milentz.

Dulag 240 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942.[3] On November 23, 1941, the headquarters took over the camp in Rzhev, with 5,582 prisoners, from AGSSt 7. The death rate among the prisoners at this time was about 2 percent per day, and on November 27, 1941, it reached 125 men per day. On December 4, 1941, the camp commandant announced that it was now possible to give the prisoners food twice a day; the "really catastrophic food situation" improved, as did the prisoners' capacity for work. As the air temperature dropped, however, the death rate increased once again. In total, from November 25, 1941 to December 14, 1941, 1,191 prisoners (around 22 percent of the camp population)

died. During the very cold days from December 5–7, 1941, the death rate grew from 88 to 119 persons per day, though with the moderation of the freezing temperatures it dropped to 62 on December 8, and continued to decline. On December 9, 47 prisoners died, and on December 10 and 11, there were 30 deaths each day. When the air temperature dropped again, the death rate began to rise once more. On December 12, 35 prisoners died, and there were 38 deaths on December 13 and 53 on December 14.

The camp commandant sought to reduce the death rate by improving the prisoners' food and accommodations. According to his report on December 14, 1941, sick prisoners who were able to recover were moved into a newly created, heated hospital barracks, while sick prisoners for whom there was no hope of recovery were left in their previous situation. According to the commandant's report on December 9, 1941, each prisoner was receiving daily rations of 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, 30 grams (1 ounce) of horseflesh, and 175 grams (6.2 ounces) of other food products (1,435 calories).[4] Jewish-Soviet prisoner Lev Frankfurt, who was interned in Dulag 240 from December 1942 to May 1943, remembers that he weighed only 44 kilos (97 pounds) at a height of 185 centimeters (6 feet) when he was taken into the camp hospital (*Lazarett*) for the treatment of an infected wound. He was so emaciated that he was able to touch his thumb to his forefinger around his knee.

While the camp was deployed in Smolensk, a large transport of prisoners had to be turned away due to overcrowding and taken to the city; the incident which followed this decision is typical of the behavior of German guards toward Soviet prisoners during this time. The camp commandant's report dated October 25, 1941, describing the events noted that "[o]n the night of October 19–20, 1941, 30,000 prisoners of war, who could not be admitted to the Smolensk North camp because there was no space, were redirected to the city. On the morning of October 20, 125 dead POWs were counted on the route from the railroad station to the north camp alone; most of them lay close to the march route, with shots to the head. In most cases, therefore, it cannot have been a matter either of attempted escape or of actual defiance."[5] As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot by the guards or

Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

While the camp was located in Borisov in the winter of 1943–1944, it held 1,000 Italian military prisoners. By order of the German Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) on September 15, 1943, Italian prisoners were to be sent to the east and used for labor. About 70 of the Italians were still alive by the spring of 1944. On January 19, 1944, 16 wagons of Italian internees were deported from the camp to the Zubry railroad station (Mogilev voblasts').[6]

Based on prisoner identification cards, as of the end of June 1944, no fewer than 14,209 prisoners had passed through the camp system. From June 14–26, 1944, alone, the Germans brought at least 1,062 people to the camp, both POWs and civilians. The civilians, natives of the Minsk area, were mostly between the ages of 14 and 18. On July 19, 1944, a large group of prisoners was sent to Stalag III A in Luckenwalde.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 240 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-87-165; 7021-44-1089, 1090, 1093); NARB (4683-3-917); and BArch B (162/8449: Erschiessung von 125 russischen Kriegsgefangenen in der Nacht vom 19. zum 20.10.1941 während des Transports vom Bahnhof Smolensk zum Lager Nord des Dulag 240).

Additional information about Dulag 240 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), p. 65; E. S. Federov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve. Dokumenty i fakty* (Rzhev, 1995); E. V. Kazakova, "Elektronnaia baza dannykh 'Sovetskie voennoplennye': novye vozmozhnosti issledovaniia," in *Sovetskie i nemetskie voennoplennye v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny*, ed. V. Selemenev, Iu. Zverev, Klaus-Dieter Müller, and A. Kharitonov (Dresden; Minsk: 2004), p. 143; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2

(Koblenz: self-published, 1987); V. Mikhailov and V. Romanovskii, *Nel'zia prostit'* (Minsk, 1967), pp. 23–24; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1997), p. 159; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 178.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 178.

2. Ibid.

3. GARF, 7021-44-1089, 1090, and 1093; GASmO, r1630-2-29, pp. 104, 111–114, 146, 176; GASmO, r1630-2-19, pp. 5, 8, 10, 20 rev., 32 rev., 35, 42; Federov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve*.

4. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 159.

5. Cited in Paul Kohl, *"Ich wundere mich, dass ich noch lebe." Sowjetische Augenzeugen berichten* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1990), p. 248. See also BArch B 162/8449: Erschiessung von 125 russischen Kriegsgefangenen in der Nacht vom 19. zum 20.10.1941 während des Transports vom Bahnhof Smolensk zum Lager Nord des Dulag 240.

6. Mikhailov and Romanovskii, *Nel'zia prostit.'*

7. Kazakova, "Elektronnaia baza dannykh 'Sovetskie voennoplennye,'" p. 143.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 241

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 241 on April 5, 1941, from Frontstalag 241. It first deployed to the Generalgouvernement. Beginning in June 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Eleventh Army and deployed to various locations in occupied Ukraine and Crimea. On September 9, 1941, the camp was located in Berezovka (today Berezivka) (map 9g); on September 29, 1941, it was in Snigirevka (today Snihurivka) (9g), where it replaced AGSSt 12; and on October 10, 1941, it was in Kalga (9h), with a subcamp in Kherson, where it once again replaced AGSSt 12.[1] On October 21, 1941, the camp replaced AGSSt 12 in Melitopol' (9h), but after the occupation of Crimea in early November 1941, it moved to Simferopol' (9h), with a subcamp in Qurman (today Krasnohvardiis'ke), where it remained until September 1942, when it was replaced by Stalag 370. The Germans disbanded the camp on August 22, 1944. Dulag 241 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 068 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on November 25, 1944, and allocated again on February 8, 1945.

As of June 12, 1942, the camp staff included 21 officers and officials and 112 noncommissioned officers and men.[2] The camp was guarded by Company 1 of the 836th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*), which consisted of 2 German officers and 114 enlisted men as well as 30 Tatars.[3] On July 1, 1942, the command of the Eleventh Army ordered the commander of the army rear area to create a subcamp in Sevastopol', starting on July 3, 1942.[4] Hauptmann Dr. Reithoffer and Oberleutnant Luschützky are known to have been part of the camp's leadership.

Dulag 241 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Meager food rations, overcrowding, and lack of proper medical care resulted in malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. As in other camps, the Germans screened the

prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 241 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-9-47); GARK (R156-1-34); and NARA (RG-242).

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NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 55.
2. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 63, fr. 632.
3. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 63, fr. 624.
4. NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-501, roll 63, fr. 706.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 314

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 314 on April 15, 1941. Beginning in August 1941, the camp was first under Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 221 and then the 339th Infantry Division (Rear Area, Army Group Center), and deployed to Bobruisk, in occupied Belorussia (map 9b). From 1942 to 1944, the camp was under the Second Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580), and continued to be deployed in the occupied Soviet Union. In the first half of 1942, the camp was located in Vorozhba (9c), then in Konotop (9c), and then, starting in May 1942, in Kursk (9d).[1] In 1943, the camp deployed to Kalinkovichi and then to Brest (both 9e). In July 1944, the camp was located near Warsaw, and, on September 20, 1944, it was disbanded in East Prussia.[2]

From April 1941 to March 1944, the camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Ernst Meley. Dulag 314 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 454 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on September 22, 1944.

While deployed in Bobruisk, Dulag 314 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). For example, on September 15, 1941, the camp held 12,265 POWs, and, on September 29, there were 5,157 prisoners.[3] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners did not receive adequate housing, food, or medical care, resulting in a high death rate, primarily due to malnutrition and disease. As in other camps, the Germans conducted selections to weed out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel.

During the deployment in Brest, the camp held Italian servicemen who refused to fight on the side of Germany. Details on conditions for those prisoners is lacking, but, if the general

pattern prevailed, they were harsh.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 314 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); NARA (RG 242); NARB (4683-3-917); and BArch B 162 (319 AR-Z 41/71: Verfahren gegen ehem. Angehörige des Dulag 314).

Additional information about Dulag 314 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 68–69; and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

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NOTES

1. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet Süd, Quartiermeister, vom 30.4.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 9, fr. 637–639; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 63.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 68–69.

3. BArch B 162/9404, fol. 4.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 320

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 320 on May 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X, from Stalag 320.[1] In 1942 and 1943, the camp was deployed in Luga (map 9a).[2] The Germans disbanded the camp on October 5, 1943. Dulag 320 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 968 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck on October 20, 1943.

Beginning in June 1941, the camp was under the authority of the 285th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*). On August 1, 1942, it was transferred to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* IV).[3]

Dulag 320 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners suffered from overcrowding, insufficient food, and inadequate medical care. Malnutrition and disease led to a high mortality rate. As in other such camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were executed by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 320 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B (162/9224–9229: Ermittlungen gg. P. Woop u.A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" russischer Kriegsgefangener in Luga [UdSSR] 1941 bis 1943 durch Angehörige des Dulag 320 und der 285. Sicherungsdivision sowie Erschiessung durch u.a. das SK 1a); and GARF (file 7021-30-165, 167).

Additional information about Dulag 320 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 142.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 142.

2. Ibid.

3. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62.

4. Ermittlungen gg. P. Woop u.A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener in Luga (UdSSR) 1941 bis 1943 durch Angehörige des Dulag 320 und der 285. Sicherungsdivision sowie Erschiessung durch u.a. das SK 1a, BArch B 162/9224–9229.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 339

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 339 on April 25, 1944, from the staff of Stalags 337 and 339. The camp was located in Mantua (map 6).[1] The camp commandant, Menz, noted that the "appellation of Stalag [was] wrongly given to the camp," since it was in effect, if not in title, a Dulag.[2] Both Stalag 337 and 339 functioned as assembly points for troops captured in their respective regions of Italy. In the spring of 1944, the Germans merged the camps in Mantua to form Dulag 339.[3] The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 895 on June 5, 1944. The camp was under the control of the Prisoner of War District Command K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* K).

Dulag 339 was located on the outskirts of Mantua, near the shores of Lake Inferiore. It occupied a group of buildings that had previously been used as garages and repair shops for Italian artillery. When it first opened, the conditions were primitive. Few dormitories had been created, beds were hastily constructed of wooden planks, latrines were adequate in number but unsanitary, and there was no kitchen. All food at that time was brought in from the town twice daily. Work was underway on a new section across town intended for Allied prisoners of war (POWs).

By November 1944, substantial changes had taken place within the camp. Four buildings had been fully converted to use. Two were dedicated dormitories with separate rooms for officers. Though the officers' rooms had stove heaters, the main facilities had no heat but were otherwise well ventilated. Another building served as a storeroom, and the last contained workshops for the carpenters and tailors as well as showers and receiving rooms for new prisoner arrivals. The buildings surrounded a central courtyard that the prisoners used for recreation. In the center of the courtyard, a new kitchen had been erected, and its cellar served as an air-raid shelter with a capacity of up to 500.

The camp had an overall capacity of nearly 2,000 at its peak, though the prisoner count rarely exceeded 500. The principal purpose of the camp was to hold Allied POWs and Italian partisans prior to their relocation to permanent camps in Germany. In the fall of 1943, an estimated 50–100 British, 100–200 Italian partisans, and a collection of Americans, French, Greeks, and Yugoslavs passed through the camp each week. Generally, prisoners were only held at the camp for a matter of days before undergoing transport to Germany. Two to three convoys of 200 prisoners each typically emptied the Dulag every month. By November 1944, the camp had been repurposed primarily to hold Allied POWs, the only such camp in Italy.[4]

The camp was not created to hold prisoners for long periods. At times, particularly toward the later months of the war in northern Italy, communications and transportation delays created supply problems within the camp. In November 1944, several hundred men had been in the camp for more than three weeks owing to air raids and close fighting; the camp had recently been hit in an Allied air raid, killing one prisoner. At the same time, Red Cross shipments had not arrived for over a month because of bombardments. This created a crisis in the overcrowded and undersupplied camp.

The date on which the camp was closed is unknown. It was still open as of March 1, 1945, but must have been closed on or before April 25, when the Allies captured Mantua.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 339 is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt; NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War, created 1942–1947, documenting the period 12/7/1941–11/19/1946, 7 partial records for Stalag 339); and TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 901: Stalag #339 [formerly #337] Mantua Italy 45-10).

Additional information about Dulag 339 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 60; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen*

Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 217; and Malcolm Tudor, *Beyond the Wire: A True Story of Allied POWs in Italy, 1943–1945* (Newtown, Powys, UK: Emilia, 2009).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 217.
2. Translated report by the International Red Cross (November 11, 1943), NARA RG389, Box 2143.
3. Translated report by the International Red Cross (December 8, 1944), NARA RG389, Box 2143.
4. Translated report by the International Red Cross (December 8, 1944), NARA RG389, Box 2143.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 375

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 375 on September 1, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII. It was then subordinated to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583).[1] The camp first deployed to Sablino (today: part of Ul'ianovka, Tosnenskii raion, Leningradskaia oblast') (map 9a). From May 1943 until mid-1944, the camp was located in Fellin (today: Viljandi, Estonia) (9a), where it replaced Stalag 332. While it was deployed in Viljandi, it was under the Army Group North Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Nord*, Berück Nord). Dulag 375 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 40 527 between March 10 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on January 25, 1945.

Dulag 375 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, insufficient food, unsanitary conditions, and lack of proper medical care resulted in widespread malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards added to the prisoners' suffering. As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot by the guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[2]

The Germans disbanded the camp on August 27, 1944.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 375 is located in BA-MA, WASt, and BArch B (162/16772–16775: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 375).

Additional information about Dulag 375 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und*

Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1975), p. 14.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 14.
2. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 375, BArch B 162/16772–16775.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 14.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 376

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 376 on September 1, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, from the staff of Oflag VIII H in Oberlangendorf (map 4e).[1] The camp then deployed to Rogavka (today in Finëv Lug, Novgorodskii raion, Novgorodskaia oblast') (9a) and was subordinate to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583). In October 1943, the camp deployed to Pleskau (today Pskov, Russia) (9a), where it replaced Stalag 372, and was subordinate to the Army Group North Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Nord*, Berück Nord). In March 1944, the camp relocated to Kauen (Kaunas, Lithuania) (9b), where it replaced Stalag 336.[2] While in Kauen, the camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Military Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*). The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 014 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on November 23, 1944.

The camp commandant was Major Weber until March 1944, when he was replaced by Oberstleutnant Sieber.[3] The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Schäfer, the adjutant was Hauptmann Schmidtborn, and the head of the office was Stabsfeldwebel Seidel. The camp headquarters consisted of five groups.

Group I (*Stabsgruppe*—Staff Group) included five sections: Ia, Ib, Ic, Id, Ie. Section Ia, led by Hauptmann Schäfer, was in charge of the guard and security service. The guard subunit was headed by Hauptmann Klein. Section Ib, led by Hauptmann Schmidtborn and Hauptmann Langner, was the personnel section. Section Ic, also headed by Hauptmann Schmidtborn and Hauptmann Langner, managed the weapons and ammunition. Section Id, led by Hauptmann Langner and Rittmeister von Enkevort, was in charge

of antiaircraft defense, antichemical protection, and fire protection. Section Ie, led by Sonderführer Matschke, was responsible for the investigation of various kinds of misconduct among the German personnel in the camp.

Group II (*Lagerführung*—Camp Leadership) had four sections: IIa, IIb, IIc, IId. Section IIa, headed by Hauptmann Langner and Oberleutnant Jenkner, was responsible for accounting for the prisoners and maintaining order inside the camp; the camp police force was subordinated to this section. Section IIb, led by Rittmeister von Enkevort and Oberleutnant Karlos, was in charge of the deployment of the prisoners as a workforce both inside the camp and outside its boundaries. Section IIc, led by Stabsfeldwebel Zahn and Stabsfeldwebel Seidel, managed the vehicle fleet. Finally, Section IId, under Feldwebel Tarks and Unteroffizier Günther worked on building, expanding, and refurbishing the camp.

Group III (*Abwehr*—Counterintelligence) was also made up of four sections: IIIa, IIIb, IIIc, IIId. The group was headed by Rittmeister Scholz, whose deputy was Sonderführer Lenz, and it dealt with all counterintelligence issues and also was responsible for cooperation with the Sicherheitsdienst, Gestapo, local police, and military police (*Feldgendarmerie*). The group had its own agents among the prisoners, and with their help it brought to light the "unreliables" among the prisoner population in order to prevent escapes, sabotage, and diversionary activities.

Group IVa (*Verwaltung*—Administration) was the camp's bookkeeping department. This group also was responsible for supplying the German personnel and prisoners with food and clothing. The group was headed by Oberzahlmeister Krause, and his deputy was Oberzahlmeister Malecha.

Finally, Group IVb (*Sanitätsoffizier*—Sanitary Officer) was in charge of medical services for the German personnel and the prisoners. This group was headed by Oberarzt Dr. Franz.[4]

Dulag 376 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded, and the prisoners suffered from malnutrition and inadequate medical care, exacerbated by

deliberate abuse at the hands of the guards.

The Germans disbanded the camp on November 9, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 376 is located in BA-MA, WASt Berlin, and BArch B (162/19279: Verfahren VI 319 AR-Z 118/70: Proceedings against K. Sieber, accused of killing Soviet prisoners of war in Dulag 376 in Kauen).

Additional information about Dulag 376 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 18.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 18.
2. L. Schtz. Btl. 875 u. 653, Bataillonsbefehl No. 33 (März 1944), BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 514.
3. L. Schtz. Btl. 875 u. 653, Bataillonsbefehl No. 36 (März 1944), BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 513.
4. Organisationsplan Dulag 376, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 431–436.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 377

The Wehrmacht established Dulag 377 on September 1, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII. It was subsequently deployed to the occupied Soviet Union.[1] At first the camp deployed to Kohtla-Järve (map 9a) and was subordinate to the Eighteenth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 583). From April 1943 until mid-1944, the camp was deployed in Kiviõli, Estonia (9a), and was subordinate to the Army Group North Rear Area Commander (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Nord*, Berück Nord). While located in Kiviõli, Dulag 377 had five subcamps, in Kohtla, Küttejõu, Ahtme, Käva, and Kukruse. The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 632 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The date on which the Germans disbanded the camp is not known; it may have operated until the end of the war.

The testimony of former prisoner Konstantin Kiliakov reveals the nature of the conditions in the camp at Kiviõli:

> The camp was guarded by German soldiers. Its commandant was a German major; I don't know his last name. Inside the camp, the sentry consisted of three German NCOs and policemen who were Russian POWs…. For any action that displeased an NCO or a policeman, a POW was punished in the most ruthless way. Usually in such cases, the POW at fault, and often all the men living in the same room or barracks as well, were driven with sticks into the courtyard and forced to do "physical training"—run, lie down, stand up, lie down again, etc. This mistreatment, which usually continued until 2 a.m., reduced the men to complete exhaustion. After all, all this was done to people who were tired from 12 hours of wearisome work at the construction site, where they were also beaten and forcibly compelled to work; this was done to people who were weak from hunger

> and backbreaking toil. It is no wonder that many, utterly exhausted, fell to the ground. With blows from sticks, they were forced to rise. In addition, the camp commandant, on the basis of denunciations from police and German skilled craftsmen, punished POWs by locking them in a punishment cell for a period of 7 to 21 days. Only bread and boiled water were given to a prisoner in the punishment cell, along with half a liter [2 cups] of soup every 2 days. For attempted escape and special offenses, POWs, by order of the camp commandant, were sent to the penal camp in Kohtla-Järve, where conditions were especially dreadful…. The daily ration of a POW consisted of 350 grams [12.3 ounces] of bread, 1 liter [1 quart] of soup made from potato peels, and 1 liter of flour *boltushka* [a thin, sticky gruel] without any fat.[2]

As in other such camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 377 is located in BA-MA, WASt, BArch B (162/16783–16784: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 377), and GARF (files 7021-97-2, 4, 17, 20, 882).

Additional information about Dulag 377 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 21.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 21.

2. Svodka 91, Leningrad Front, “O zverstvakh nemtsev i estonskikh gitlerovtsev nad sovetskimi voennoplennymi i grazhdanskim naseleniem v Estonii,” September 3, 1944, GARF, 7021- 97-882, pp. 34–35.

3. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 377, BArch B 162/16783–16784.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 402

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 402 on September 14, 1943, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. It first deployed to Zagreb, Croatia (map 7) and then to Bitola (then Bulgaria, today North Macedonia) (8). In November 1943, the unit returned to Defense District II, where it was disbanded.[1] Dulag 402 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 522 on September 25, 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoner of War District Z (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* Z) in Belgrade.

The camp commandant in September–November 1943 was Oberstleutnant Fritz von Bernuth (previously commandant of Stalag II B). The deputy camp commandant was Major der Reserve Dr. Karl Franzen (previously deputy commandant of Stalag II E).[2]

Dulag 402 held Italian military prisoners. Information about the conditions in the camp is unavailable, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 402 is l ocated in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B (162/16751).

Additional information about Dulag 402 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 60; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 89.

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 20.

2. BArch B 162/16751, Bl. 24.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 404

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 404 on September 14, 1943, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. It was deployed to the Independent State of Croatia, initially in Slavonski Brod and then in Zagreb (both map 7). At the end of 1943, the unit was replaced by Stalag 345 and returned to Defense District IV, where it was disbanded.[1] Dulag 404 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 134 on September 22, 1943; it was struck on April 20, 1944. The camp was under the command of the Prisoner of War District Commander (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* Z) in Belgrade.

The camp commandant from September 1943 to January 1944 was Oberst Theodor Lorentzen, and the deputy camp commandant was Oberstleutnant der Reserve Heinrich Giesse (previously deputy commandant of Stalag IV G).[2]

Dulag 404 held Italian military prisoners. The prisoners were supposed to be sent to the eastern front for forced labor. Specific information about the conditions in the camp is not available, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 404 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B (162/16646).

Additional information about Dulag 404 can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943 bis 1945* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990), p. 246.

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NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51

vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 20.

2. BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 37.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 410

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 410 on September 14, 1943, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X and deployed it to Salonika (today Thessaloniki) (map 8). In December 1943, the unit was replaced by Dulag 185 and returned to Defense District X, where it was disbanded.[1] Dulag 410 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 985 on October 2, 1943. The number was struck on March 8, 1944. The camp was under the command of the Prisoner of War District Commander Z (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* Z) in Belgrade.

The camp commandant from September to December 1943 was Oberstleutnant der Reserve Kurt Petroschky (previously commandant of Stalag X A) and the deputy camp commandant was Major der Reserve Dr. Georg Müller-Jürgens (previously deputy commandant of Stalag 370).[2]

Dulag 410 held Italian military prisoners. The prisoners were supposed to be sent to the eastern front for forced labor. Specific information about the conditions in the camp is not available, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 410 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B (162/16647).

Additional information about Dulag 410 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 60.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 20.

2. BArch B 162/16647, Bl. 32.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 413

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 413 on September 14, 1943, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. It deployed to Nisch (Serbian: Niš), in occupied Serbia (map 8). In December 1943, the unit was replaced by Dulag 161 and returned to Defense District XIII, where it was disbanded.[1] Dulag 413 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 04 766 on September 30, 1943. The number was struck on December 21, 1943. The camp was under the command of the Prisoner of War District Commander Z (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* Z) in Belgrade.

The camp commandant in September–November 1943 was Oberstleutnant Rudolf Bischoff (previously deputy commandant of Oflag XIII B) and the deputy commandant was Major der Reserve Johann Sir (previously deputy commandant of Stalag XIII D).[2]

Dulag 413 held Italian military prisoners. The prisoners were supposed to be sent to the eastern front for forced labor. Specific information about the conditions in the camp is not available, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 413 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B (162/16750).

Additional information about Dulag 413 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 61.

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NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 20.

2. BArch B 162/16750, Bl. 23.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) 420

The Wehrmacht formed Dulag 420 on September 14, 1943, in the Generalgouvernement. It then deployed to Zemun, in occupied Serbia (map 7). In November 1943, the unit was replaced by Dulag 172 and returned to the Generalgouvernement, where it was disbanded.[1] The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 351 on October 10, 1943. The number was struck on July 10, 1944. The camp was under the command of the Prisoner of War District Commander Z (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* Z) in Belgrade.

Dulag 420 held Italian military prisoners. The prisoners were supposed to be sent to the eastern front for forced labor. Specific information about the conditions in the camp is not available, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag 420 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B (162/16726: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Dulag 420).

Additional information about Dulag 420 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 61.

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NOTE

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 20.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) VIII A

The Wehrmacht created Dulag VIII A on August 26, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it to Görlitz (map 4e). (Because of bureaucratic confusion, the designations "Dulag C" and "Dulag Reichenbach" are also associated with this camp.) On September 23, 1939, the camp was converted into a permanent enlisted men's camp, Stalag VIII A.[1] Dulag VIII A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

Dulag VIII A held Polish prisoners of war captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. Specific information about the conditions in this camp is not available. Generally speaking, Polish prisoners of war were treated poorly at this stage in the war; they often did not receive adequate food and were usually sent to work as agricultural laborers shortly after their arrival in the camps.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag VIII A is located in BA-MA (RH 49), WASt Berlin, and the State Archive of Wrocław.

Additional information about Dulag VIII A can be found in the following publications: Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 67; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945,"

Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg Vol. IX/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 67.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) VIII B / DULAG LAMSDORF

The Wehrmacht created Dulag VIII B on August 26, 1939, in Lamsdorf (today Łambinowice, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII (map 4e). The camp was also commonly known as Dulag Lamsdorf. On October 4, 1939, the Germans converted the camp into Stalag VIII B.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

Dulag VIII B held Polish prisoners of war. Specific information about conditions in the camp is unavailable, but conditions in such camps were generally poor, with inadequate shelter and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor, mainly agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag VIII B is located in BA-MA (RH 49), WASt, and WAP-W.

Additional information about Dulag VIII B can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 68; Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972).

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 68.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) XVII / DULAG DÖLLERSHEIM

The Wehrmacht created Dulag XVII on September 22, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII. The camp was located on the military parade ground (*Truppenübungsplatz*) in Döllersheim, while the headquarters were about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the north in Kaufholz (map 4f). Two designations, Dulag XVII and Dulag Döllersheim, were in use simultaneously, according to the camp records. On October 20, 1939, the Germans converted the camp into Stalag XVII C.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII).

Dulag XVII held Polish prisoners of war. Specific information about the quality of life in the camp is unavailable, but conditions in such camps were generally poor, with inadequate shelter and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor, mainly agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag XVII is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag XVII can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 63 and 68; Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939–1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag,

2003), p. 265.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 63 and 68; Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 265.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) A

The Wehrmacht created Dulag A on September 14, 1939, in Halbau (today Iłowa, Poland) (map 4e), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, from Dulag Halbau.[1] On October 4, 1939, the camp was converted into Stalag VIII C.[2] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

Dulag A served as a transit camp for Polish prisoners of war captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. No specific information about conditions in this camp is available, but, in general, Polish prisoners were treated poorly at this point in the war; most of the camps in which they were confined had no permanent housing, and food supplies and medical care were similarly inadequate. Most of the prisoners were quickly sent out to labor detachments, primarily in agriculture.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag A is located in BA-MA (RH 49), WASt Berlin, and the State Archive of Wrocław.

Additional information about Dulag A can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 68; and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972).

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NOTES

1. BArch RM 7/873. Note that Dulag Halbau never actually held

any prisoners, and so it is not included here.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 68.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) B

The Wehrmacht established Dulag B in Halbau (map 4e) on September 14, 1939. The camp closed in October 1940.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) D

The Wehrmacht established Dulag D on August 26, 1939, in Amtitz (today Gębice Gubinskie, Poland) (map 4b), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. On December 6, 1939, the camp was moved to Fürstenberg an der Oder (4b) and reorganized as Stalag III B.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

Dulag D held Polish prisoners of war captured during the invasion of Poland in September 1939. No specific information on conditions in this camp is available, but, in general, the Germans treated Polish prisoners very poorly at this stage of the war. Housing and rations were probably both inadequate.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag D is located in BA-MA (RH 49), WASt Berlin, and the State Archive of Wrocław.

Additional information about Dulag D can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 68; and Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 68.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) E/ DULAG II E

The Wehrmacht established Dulag E on August 26, 1939, in Gross-Born-Rederitz (today Borne-Sulinowo, Poland) (map 4b).[1] The camp functioned from September to November of that year. Dulag E held Polish prisoners of war (POWs) as well as a large number of civilian prisoners (*Zivilgefangene*).[2] On September 18, 1939, the camp contained 8,298 enlisted men and noncommissioned officers, 123 officers, and 2,458 civilians. In October 1939, there were 7,300 prisoners in total, including 2,229 civilians.[3] On November 9, 1939, the camp was converted into an enlisted men's POW camp, designated Stalag II E.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag E/Dulag II E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450), WASt, and APP.

Additional information about Dulag E/Dulag II E can be found in the following publications: Iwona Biegun, "Obozy w Gross Born w zasobie archiwalnym Centralnego Muzeum Jeńcow Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu," *Łambinowicki rocznik muzealny. Jeńcy wojenni w latach II wojny światowej* 34 (2011): 153; Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach II wojny światowej* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), pp. 101–108, 110; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 11; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939– 1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 114; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 2*

(Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 11. Records of this camp show both designations, Dulag E and Dulag II E.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 114.

3. Biegun, "Obozy w Gross Born," 153.

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 11; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 114.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) F/ (DULAG) VI F

The Germans established Dulag F in late August 1939 in the Deutz district of Köln (Cologne) (map 4a), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI; the camp was actually in operation on September 10.[1] The camp also operated under the designation Dulag VI F. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

On October 3, 1939, the German Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) ordered the camp's conversion into Stalag VI F; a follow-on order of October 7 directed the camp staff to take on the functions of a Stalag. On November 5, the OKW ordered the camp to move to Bocholt as Stalag VI F as soon as the facilities there were complete, but, as of December 1, Dulag F was still in operation in Köln-Deutz.

Dulag F held Polish prisoners of war. Specific information about conditions in the camp is unavailable, but conditions in such camps were generally poor, with inadequate shelter and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor, mainly agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag F is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag F can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), vol. 1: p. 12; vol. 2: pp. 67, 69; and Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2

(Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, vol. 2: p. 69; the alternate name of the camp is erroneously given as “IV F” instead of “VI F.”

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) G

The Wehrmacht created Dulag G on August 26, 1939, in Limburg an der Lahn, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII (map 4d). The Germans disbanded the camp on January 21, 1941.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

Dulag G held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). Specific information about conditions in this camp are not available, but, in general, conditions in camps for Polish POWs at that time were poor, with inadequate housing and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor detachments, mainly for agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag G is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag G can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 69; and Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 69.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) GNEIXENDORF

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Gneixendorf on September 25, 1939, in the village of Gneixendorf near Krems (Austria), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII (see map 4f). In this period, the camp operated under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis XVII*). On October 2, 1939, the camp took over Dulag Döllersheim as a subcamp (*Zweiglager*). On October 26, 1939, the authorities converted Dulag Gneixendorf into Stalag XVII B.[1]

The camp commandant was Generalleutnant Hugo Schäfer (b. 1899). In 1945, a Soviet military tribunal sentenced Schäfer to execution by shooting.

The camp held Polish army servicemen whom the Germans captured in the course of their invasion of Poland in September 1939.

Details on conditions in the camp are unavailable, but generally speaking, the Germans did not treat Polish prisoners of war (POWs) well at this early stage of the war. Conditions in Dulag Gneixendorf are likely to have been primitive, at best.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Gneixendorf is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about Dulag Gneixendorf can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 64; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Hubert

Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes. Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939–1945* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2003), p. 228.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 64; Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 228.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) H

The Wehrmacht established Dulag H on August 26, 1939, in Ludwigsburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V (map 4f). It may have deployed for a time to the troop training area (*Truppenübungsplatz*) at Heuberg (Pfedelbach, Hohenlohekreis, Baden-Württemberg), but the details are unclear. The camp operated under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V). On October 16, 1939, the camp was converted into Stalag V A, again in Ludwigsburg.[1]

Dulag H held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). Specific information about conditions in this camp are not available, but, in general, conditions in camps for Polish POWs at that time were poor, with inadequate housing and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor detachments, mainly for agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag H is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag H can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 69; Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875; and Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986).

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 69.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) J

The Wehrmacht created Dulag J on August 26, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII. The camp was located in Kaisersteinbruch (map 4f). It was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII). On September 30, 1939, the camp was converted into Stalag XVII A.[1]

Dulag J held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). Specific information about conditions in this camp are not available, but, in general, conditions for Polish POWs at that time were poor, with inadequate housing and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor detachments, mainly for agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag J is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag J can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 69; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der“Ostmark“ 1939–1945* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 28, 30, and 217.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, 1987), p. 69.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) K

The Wehrmacht established Dulag K on September 8, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I. The camp was located in Hohenstein (today Olsztynek, Poland) (map 4c). It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). On October 10, 1939, the camp was converted into Stalag I B.[1]

Dulag K held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). Specific information about conditions in this camp are not available, but, in general, conditions for Polish POWs at that time were poor, with inadequate housing and food supplies. Most of the prisoners were immediately sent to forced labor detachments, mainly for agricultural labor.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag K is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt.

Additional information about Dulag K can be found in the following publications: Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 64; Rüdiger Overmans, "Die Kriegsgefangenenpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1939 bis 1945," *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. IX/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), pp. 729–875; and Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986).

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 64.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) L

The Wehrmacht established Dulag L on September 8, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II and deployed it to Stargard in Pommern (today Poland) (map 4b), 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) east of Stettin (today Szczecin, Poland). The camp was located on the western outskirts of Stargard, approximately 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) from the railway station, in the vicinity of army barracks and grounds. Dulag L was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

Dulag L held Polish prisoners of war (POWs) and persons interned during the September 1939 campaign in Poland. A significant number of camp inmates had been taken prisoner on the Baltic coastline in the vicinity of Gdynia, Oksywie, Kępa Oksywska, Gdańsk, Wejherowo, and Bożepole Wielkie. Among them were soldiers and civil internees (including policemen, clergymen, and adolescent males). Some of them were from Gdynia.[1] Officers came to Dulag L from Bożepole Wielkie, Gdynia, Hel, Oksywie, and Tomaszów Lubelski, among other locations.[2]

The arrival date of the first transport is uncertain, but was probably September 15, 1939. The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht,* OKW) report from that day indicates that there were 8,655 prisoners in Dulag L (including 1,960 civilians). The following day, the population was listed as 6,003 (13 officers, 5,945 rank-and-file soldiers, and 45 civilians).[3] Prisoner accounts state that a large transport of prisoners arrived on September 20.[4] On September 23, 1939, Dulag L held 11,350 prisoners (441 officers, 10,002 rank-and-file soldiers, and 907 civilians), and a day later there were 10,851 (20 officers, 9,924 rank-and-file soldiers, and 907 civilians).[5] On September 30, 1939, there were 10,410 prisoners (9,582 rank-and-file soldiers and 828 civilians).[6] Officers from Dulag L were mainly sent to Oflags in Defense District II and Oflag XI A in Osterode.[7]

The prisoners were transported to Stargard by rail, then led to the camp on foot. During the march, the prisoners encountered hostile attitudes from the German civilian population. Upon arrival at the camp, money, compasses, maps, flashlights, matches, and sharp objects (including razors and penknives), as well as canteens, spoons, and cups, were taken away from the prisoners.[8] Prisoners were segregated according to whether they were civilian or military and by rank (officer or enlisted). The prisoners slept in tents, although there were instances when they were put in army garages or warehouses for a short time.[9] Jews and prisoners with German ancestry lived in separate tents, away from the other civilians and POWs. The exact number of tents is not known. One prisoner wrote about three rows of 30 tents, for a total of 90.[10] The tents were numbered with Arabic numerals, and the highest number assigned was 53.[11] The tents were intended to hold 250 people. Some tents had straw for bedding, but most prisoners slept on the bare ground. Only some of them received blankets, but even that did not provide sufficient protection from the cold. Witness accounts say that there were tables in some tents (but probably only in the officers' tents).[12] No one was allowed out of the tents from 7:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. The camp was surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence and entanglements. Watchtowers were located inside the fence. Regulations forbade prisoners from getting close to the fence. Prisoners could be shot by the guards for breaking these rules.

The camp infrastructure was very simple. It contained rudimentary bathing and disinfecting facilities, a kitchen, and administrative buildings. The infirmary was located in one of the tents. There was a post office, from which prisoners could send (censored) postcards printed with information about the camp and whether they were sick or healthy.[13] The sanitary conditions in the camp were primitive. There was only one water pump and the latrines were uncovered.[14] Camp regulations provided for three meals. Prisoner accounts confirm that the food did not provide adequate nutrition or calories. The prisoners received bread and ersatz coffee for breakfast and a watery rutabaga soup for dinner.

No records from any prisoners from Dulag L have come to light. Prisoners who were sent to work probably received identification cards with a stamp reading "Prisoner of War, Durchgangslager L,

Stargard in Pommern."[15] These prisoners were required to undergo delousing and receive vaccinations. Many prisoners volunteered for work, hoping to receive more food. Prisoners assigned to the labor units (*Arbeitskommandos*) were used primarily as agricultural laborers. Prisoners worked on the land of estates in the surrounding counties, mainly Kreis Saatzig (today Szadzko) and Kreis Pyritz (today Pyrzyce). They were guarded by German soldiers while at work. The exact number of prisoners who were sent to work from Dulag L is not known, but reports from October 1939 indicate figures between 71 percent and 86 percent.[16]

The garrison officer (*Standortoffizier*), Major Joachim von Hellermann, oversaw prisoner burials. The *Neues Gesellschaftshaus* (New Society House) building, where there was purportedly a hospital, was recorded as the prisoners' place of death.[17] The first deaths among prisoners were reported on September 23, 1939. Prisoners were buried in a cemetery near the camp, which was later known as the Russian cemetery (*Russenfriedhof*), since most of the prisoners who were buried there were Soviet POWs who died in Stalag II D. The site is now known as the International Military Cemetery.[18]

Dulag L was converted into Stalag II D on October 20, 1939.[19]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag L is located in ACMJW, BA-MA (RH 49), WASt, StA Greifswald, and the State Archive in Szczecin.

Additional information about Dulag L can be found in the following publications: Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach II wojny światowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), p. 101; Edward Jan Krutol, *Wrzesień na Oksywiu* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1984); Maciej Maciejowski and Magdalena Dźwigał, *Zbrodnie niemieckie na Pomorzu Zachodnim i ziemi lubuskiej popełnione w latach 1939–1945 w świetle śledztw prowadzonych przez Oddziałową Komisję Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Szczecinie. Wybór źródeł* (Szczecin: IPN Szczecin, 2013), pp. 44–49; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 66; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 469; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Marek Sadzewicz, *Oflag: Pamiętnik jeńca wojennego* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1948); Kazimierz Szubert, *Niepodległość. Wojna. Niewola. Pamiętnik podporucznika Wojska Polskiego Kazimierza Szuberta*, ed. Agnieszka Jędrzejewska and Przemysław Waingertner (Łódź: Muzeum Tradycji Niepodległościowych, 2012); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 2: Die Landstretkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt am Main: E. S. Mittler, 1966), p. 80.

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NOTES

1. Sadzewicz, *Oflag*, p. 62.

2. ACMJW, Oflag XI A, sygn. 5440, 5444; Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa*, pp. 107–108.

3. Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa*, pp. 107–108. In a document compiled from extracts of OKW reports as of September 18, 1939, on persons in prisoner of war camps in Defense District II, the item Dulag L contains no information; however, this may mean that there was no information to make a report, rather than no prisoners in the camp. ACMJW, sygn. 15, pp. 3–4, 7, 10.

4. State Archives in Szczecin, Compilation of Bogdan Frankiewicz, sygn. 360.

5. Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa*, pp. 107–108.

6. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 469.

7. ACMJW, Oflag XI A, sygn. 5440, 5444.

8. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 726, p. 5; Szubert, *Niepodległość*, p. 76.

9. State Archives in Szczecin, Compilation of Bogdan Frankiewicz, sygn. 360.

10. Krutol, *Wrzesień na Oksywiu*, p. 102.

11. Szubert, *Niepodległość*, p. 76.

12. Ibid., p. 75.

13. National Archives in Szczecin, Compilation of Bogdan Frankiewicz, sygn. 360.

14. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 726, p. 5; AIPN Sz., sygn. S 1/66/OKS, pp. 637–640; *Protokół przesłuchania świadka Stanisława Piekarka przez prokuratora Prokuratury Powiatowej w Gdyni* (May 9, 1969).

15. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 726, p. 9.

16. ACMJW, *Statystyka genewska*, sygn. 15, p. 9; State Archives in Szczecin, Compilation of Bogdan Frankiewicz, sygn. 47; Stadtarchiv Greifswald, Acc. 3/69, Nr. 51, Bl. 69.

17. Headquarters of the Polish Red Cross, Warsaw, sygn. 19880 (*Beiheft zum Aktenstück Kriegsgefangenen Friedhof*), pp. 1–2.

18. Ibid., p. 15.

19. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 80.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) LUFT INSTERBURG

The Luftwaffe established Dulag Luft Insterburg in the town of Insterburg, East Prussia (today Chernyakhovsk, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia) (map 4c) in April 1943. The camp was closed in November 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) LUFT OST

The Luftwaffe established Dulag Luft Ost in 1943. The camp was located in Karlsbad (today Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic), then in Haid (today Bor, Tachov District, Czech Republic), and finally in Gross Meierhöfen (today Velké Dvorce, Czech Republic) (all map 4d). It was disbanded on or before May 8, 1945.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) LUFT WEST

Dulag Luft West performed a dual function. First, it served as a transit camp for air crews of the Western Allies as a part of the prisoner of war (POW) administration. Second, it was also the military intelligence center of Luftwaffe Operations Staff Ic/Foreign Air Forces West (*Luftwaffenführungsstabs* Ic/*Fremde Luftwaffen West*) for the western theater of war: Evaluation Site West (*Auswertestelle West*). Both facilities were located on the same campgrounds in the small town of Oberursel, in what today is the federal state of Hesse (map 4d). However, while Evaluation Site West, along with its interrogation camp, remained in that location until the spring of 1945, Dulag Luft West moved twice.

Only a few days after the beginning of the war in 1939, the Luftwaffe set up several centers for prisoner interrogations. One of these improvised facilities was located in Oberursel, where the authorities used the infrastructure of an assembly point for army officers. When the assembly point shut down, the Luftwaffe took over the property and set up a camp.[1] In this way, Dulag Luft West came into being in mid-November 1939. The camp was disciplinarily subordinate to Luftwaffe Administrative Command Headquarters (*Luftgaukommando*) XII in Wiesbaden, while the superior military-intelligence authority was Luftwaffe Operations Staff Ic in Potsdam.[2] As a result of restructuring, Dulag Luft West was, from early 1941, part of the newly created Luftwaffe Administrative Command XII/XIII before it was placed under the control of Luftwaffe Administrative Command VII in April 1944.

In the spring of 1940, the actual transit camp came into being—a fenced area, secured with guard towers, with three barracks, two of which served to house a maximum of 150 prisoners. In September 1943, Dulag Luft West was separated from the compound at the Oberursel site when the transit camp reached its limits in terms of logistics. At the instigation of Hermann Göring

and with the approval of the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW), the camp was moved, in violation of international law, to a newly constructed building designed for 500 POWs, in the center of Frankfurt am Main, not far from the main railroad station (Grüneburgpark/Palmengarten) (4d). The Allied POWs, it was assumed, would serve as human shields to prevent the bombing of the city, but during the night of March 22–23, 1944, Dulag Luft West was destroyed by fire during a Royal Air Force raid, and two POWs died. Once again, there was a change of location, this time to Wetzlar, 50 kilometers (31 miles) north, to a military barracks formerly occupied by an antiaircraft unit, in the Klosterwald (4d). This facility was gradually enlarged to accommodate a capacity of almost 800 prisoners.[3]

Throughout the war, the prisoners in Dulag Luft West were almost exclusively military personnel from the forces of the Western Allies. Their status under international law as POWs had been verified and registered before they were sent on to the transit camp. As the transit camp for an interrogation center, in which the POWs stayed only briefly, Dulag Luft West was not subject to the control of the Reich Labor Deployment Administration (*Reichsarbeitseinsatzverwaltung*). In any case, since many flying personnel were officers, they could only be deployed at labor to a limited extent or not at all.

Nonetheless, starting in July 1942, a voluntary British work detachment came into being on a trial basis. It had its own duty roster, and its members gave written promises that they would neither escape nor speak with German civilians during the construction work in the camp area, in exchange for the "privilege to work in full liberty without any guard."[4] In April 1943, the protecting power's representatives learned of its existence through the senior British officer. As a result, the volunteers unanimously requested that they be transferred to Stalag Luft 1 in Barth: They feared that, if their pledge were to become known, the Air Ministry would block their pay. Whether a Western Allied work detachment existed again after this event is not indicated by the sources.

At the beginning of July 1942, the unit's war diary noted the impending arrival of a group from Litzmannstadt (today: Łódź, Poland), consisting of 31 Soviet POWs, to be deployed as a work

detachment.[5] These men probably were members of the Red Air Force who were transferred from Evaluation Site East/Dulag Luft East to Oberursel as a result of a previous labor force requisition. The existence of a sectioned-off "Russian camp" of unknown size, with its own guard force, is documented for the first time in November 1942. With the transfer of the transit sector to Frankfurt, the former Dulag area in Oberursel was changed, beginning in the fall of 1943, into a camp for the Soviet POWs involved in internal Luftwaffe labor deployment, who worked on the grounds of Evaluation Site West.[6]

In total, 42,000 (and, in 1944, 29,000) POWs—bomber crews, fighter pilots, paratroopers, and air landing troops— passed through Dulag Luft West at its sites in Oberursel, Frankfurt, and Wetzlar; around 25,000 of them were interrogated at Evaluation Site West. Until the summer of 1940, the number of POWs in Dulag Luft West usually was below 100. After the conclusion of the campaign in the west, most of the French Air Force (*Armée de l'air*) personnel were transferred. The next phase of the air war led to an increase in Royal Air Force personnel; in July 1941, around 200 POWs passed through the camp.[7] On a regular basis, they were removed from the transit sector, where only the permanent camp staff (around 25 officers and noncommissioned officers) remained. Demographically, the British were the largest national contingent until the fall of 1943. They included men from every part of the Commonwealth and the Dominions, from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia, and the British West Indies as well as volunteers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands. At the end of September 1942 (monthly admissions were around 400), the presence of American POWs was ascertainable during an inspection visit by the Swiss legation. In March 1943, with constantly increasing admission figures in the following months (May: 574, June: 619, August: 1,278) and an even faster pace of transit, the numbers of British and Americans were approximately equal for the first time.[8] The participation of the United States Army Air Forces in the Allied Combined Bomber Offensive resulted in a shift in the proportion: with 1,500 new arrivals in October 1943, the US aircrews became the largest group (72 percent) in the Dulag Luft in Frankfurt. When the last camp inspection at the Wetzlar site took place in March 1945, 826

POWs were present there—during the previous month, around 40 new arrivals were still being registered each day.[9] The intake always included soldiers who had been wounded or injured when their plane was shot down or crashed or when they made a parachute descent. Their medical care was provided primarily by the Hohemark Reserve Military Hospital, located in Oberursel and equipped with around 50 beds. No deaths are known.

The first commandant of Dulag Luft West was Oberstleutnant Peterpaul von Donat. He had served in the German air service since 1915, in part as an intelligence officer and interpreter, and spoke several foreign languages. He had also been a member of the SA.

Von Donat's successor, Major Theodor Rumpel, was the commandant of Dulag Luft West between June 1940 and November 1941; he had been an interrogation officer there since the end of 1939. He, too, spoke various languages. After tensions with the Reich Security Main Office and under pressure from Heinrich Himmler for treating POWs in Dulag Luft West "too well," Rumpel was replaced in 1941, with a failed escape attempt made months earlier used as the ostensible reason.

Oberstleutnant Erich Killinger assumed command of Dulag Luft West in the winter of 1941 and ran it until the fall of 1943; Evaluation Site West remained under his command until the end of the war. Killinger also had experience in intelligence work.

Oberstleutnant Otto Becker became commandant of the new Dulag Luft West in Frankfurt in September 1943 and coordinated its establishment. In 1936, Becker had joined the Foreign Organization (*Auslandsorganisation*) of the NSDAP. By the early summer of 1943, Becker was an interrogation officer in Oberursel.

Air Fleet Command 4 detailed the three platoons of Reserve Company 14/XVII, which in May 1940 was commanded by Oberleutnant d. R. Erhard Denzler, to guard Dulag Luft West. Leutnant (later Hauptmann) Wilhelm Beer, commander of the 2nd Platoon in December 1941, took command of the company one year later. After the transit camp was relocated, the unit remained in Oberursel as a guard force for Evaluation Site West. The expansion of Dulag Luft West in Frankfurt to more than three

times its previous capacity required an increase in the guard forces, so that, in the end, 14 platoons of Reserve troops (*Landesschützen*) were on site; at the beginning of 1944, one company was under the command of Hauptmann Hardje.

The difference between Dulag Luft West and other facilities for POWs was not primarily the existence of a unique camp society made up of Allied prisoners but rather the presence, within the German camp administration, of a camp culture that was quite critical of the regime.[10] This culture sought to evade the exertions of increasingly dominant influence by the Reich Main Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) in particular, and the endeavor led to escalation. After one commandant, Rumpel, had been removed for being "too prisoner-friendly," the Gestapo pursued an action before a special military court in the fall of 1944 against his successor, Killinger, accusing the officer corps of political unreliability and alleged subversion of the war effort. The proceeding ended in a verdict of acquittal. To the last, the commandant, who was influenced by Christianity and had contacts to the Confessing Church, transferred into Dulag Luft West prisoners whose lives were at risk because of their unresolved or uncertain status as POWs. In Wetzlar, in turn, the POWs remained protected, even in the final phase of the war, from the consequences of arbitrary orders, which probably was due not least to the exploitation of individual room for maneuver by the camp commandant there, Becker.[11]

Morale in the main camp was generally high. Prisoners typically spent no more than several days in the camp before transfer to another location, though those recovering from injuries would often remain some considerable time.[12] Overall, the prisoners found the camp guards to be kind and conditions to be more than adequate. In the summer of 1943, several American POWs wrote about the "excellent food" and "eating like a hog." Another stated, "You sometimes wonder if you are a prisoner of war."[13]

Before they could enjoy such conditions, however, prisoners often had to pass through the trial of interrogation in the Evaluation Site. One international observer "believed that the exceptionally good treatment given prisoners at [the Dulag] is an effort to make them forget the treatment they received at Oberursel."[14] While that treatment did not approach the kind of

torture that some other German prisoners experienced, it could include threats, inadequate rations, and extremes of heat and cold.

Owing to the high turnover and short stay of the prisoners, prearranged escape attempts long remained the exception in Dulag Luft West, in contrast to the Stalags. During the entire war, there was only one large-scale escape attempt, by a group of 18 British officers who fled during Pentecost, on the night of June 1, 1941, through a tunnel dug in advance. All the escapees from Oberursel were captured again after a few days. For the other locations (Frankfurt and Wetzlar), three escape attempts, all ending in failure, are known to have occurred.[15]

A few hours after the bombing of Frankfurt, Dulag Luft West, almost completely consumed by flames, was evacuated on the morning of March 23, 1944. A special train took the POWs and the camp personnel to Wetzlar, where Dulag Luft West was constructed anew. The last inspection report by the protecting power's representative documents the fact that the camp was operational until mid-March 1945, with a supply situation that was relatively good overall. A final POW transport from Evaluation Site West to Dulag Luft took place at the same time.[16] Presumably, the majority of the more than 800 POWs in Dulag Luft were liberated on March 27, 1945, by American units that entered Wetzlar.

At the end of 1945, with the authorization of the United Nations War Crimes Commission in the British Zone of Occupation (Wuppertal), the military court for prosecution of war crimes put five former officers from Dulag Luft West/Evaluation Site West on trial for ill-usage of POWs, committed in May 1943 and in the time period between June and November 1944. The initial plans of the British Foreign Office for passing sentence on those responsible date from the fall of 1944. On December 3, 1945, the military court sentenced the former camp commandant, Killinger, and his deputy, Junge, to five years in prison. Leutnant Eberhard received a sentence of three years, while two of the accused were acquitted. Those who were convicted were imprisoned in Werl Prison and later granted early release after serving two-thirds of the term imposed. The main count in the proceeding was the extortion of interrogation statements, in violation of international law, through targeted overheating of the solitary confinement cells

in the interrogation section of Evaluation Site West. The tribunal took it as demonstrated that the camp leadership had been guilty of violations of administrative supervision and, even after initiation of an investigation following a protest by the British government in 1943, had adopted only inadequate countermeasures.

Although hundreds of former POWs were interviewed in the run-up to the trial, only 14 provided evidence for the breach of the Geneva Convention; the indictment is based on 12 witness statements. Even if one assumes that a high number of cases of additional violations went undetected, probably fewer than 1 percent of the Allied POWs channeled through Dulag Luft (West) during the war were subject to treatment that contravened international law. In the US Zone of Occupation, on the basis of an investigation in the spring of 1945 headed by Colonel Allan B. Richardson and conducted by the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps ("I not only found no evidence of war criminality but abundant evidence to the contrary."), no efforts were made to open an analogous proceeding or to participate in the British trial.

SOURCES Primary source information about Dulag Luft (West) is located in BA-MA (RL 2/II, RL 2/III, RL 7, RL 23, and RH 53/7); TNA (WO 32, WO 208, WO 224, WO 235, WO 239, WO 309, FO 916, AIR 22, and AIR 40); NARA (RG 319 and 389); and PAAA (Gesandtschaft Bern, Rechtsabteilung).

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OFFIZIER-DURCHGANGSLAGER (OFFIZIER-DULAG) XII

The Wehrmacht established Offizier-Dulag XII (referred to simply as Dulag XII in some sources) on November 15, 1939, in Mainz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII (map 4d).[1] It was located in the seventeenth-century Mainz Citadel (*Mainzer Zitadelle*), close to the Rhine River in the center of the city. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

Offizier-Dulag XII held Polish officers who had been captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. These prisoners were presumably brought to Offizier-Dulag XII from another camp or camps, but their place of origin is unclear. No information about the conditions in the camp is available, but, in general, conditions in camps for Polish prisoners in the early months of the war were poor, with insufficient food supplies and medical care being the norm. It is possible that some French, Belgian, and British prisoners were brought to the camp in the weeks before its closure.

The order to disband Offizier-Dulag XII was issued on July 25, 1940. The camp was then converted into Oflag XII B, which was also located in the Mainz citadel.[2] Since Oflag XII B only held Western Allied officers, the Polish officers in Offizier-Dulag XII were presumably transferred to other camps on or before July 25, 1940.

SOURCES Additional information about Offizier-Dulag XII can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2

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NOTES

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2. Ibid.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAGS) INTRODUCTION

[Editor's Note: Within the section of this volume that deals with prisoner of war (POW) camps, the Frontstalags occupy a unique position. There is little information on most of the individual camps. At the same time, there is important material on the camp category as a whole, more than fits logically into the introduction on the POW camp system and also more than we have for any of the other categories. For that reason, in contrast to what we have done with the other types of POW camps, and in order to provide information that would not be available otherwise, we have chosen to include a broad introduction to this group of camps.]

The German army established approximately 70 Frontstalags in France during and shortly after the campaign of May–June 1940 as well as perhaps another 50 related temporary detention sites. The function of these camps, like the Dulags, was to serve as intermediate stations, to hold prisoners temporarily until they could be sent back to permanent POW camps. In fact, many Frontstalag staffs were later used to form Dulags on the eastern front. Contrary to their original mission, however, some Frontstalags remained in operation throughout most of the war.

Many Frontstalags were installed in French barracks or internment camps that had previously housed French or Allied troops and refugees from the Spanish Civil War or Nazi Germany.[1] Some early camps consisted simply of tents surrounded by barbed wire. All camps were overcrowded, poorly supplied, and unhygienic in the summer and early fall of 1940. By November, however, the departure of all British and most metropolitan French prisoners of war to camps in Germany had mitigated the overcrowding, even though nearly 40,000 colonial prisoners who had initially been brought to Germany returned to the Frontstalags in France.

Until the late summer of 1944, the Frontstalags served primarily

as the internment center for French colonial prisoners as well as hundreds of soldiers of color who lived in France and had French citizenship.[2] In 1943–1944, between 6,000 and 9,000 British colonial soldiers captured in North Africa and Italy also arrived in the Frontstalags. Most of them came from South Africa and British India. They were usually confined to separate facilities and came into contact with the French colonial prisoners mostly inside the hospitals and camp infirmaries. In the summer and fall of 1944, several Frontstalags briefly served as transit camps for Frontstalag prisoners being evacuated to Germany and for Allied soldiers captured in Normandy.

The Frontstalags and work commandos (*Arbeitskommandos*) covered the initial German-occupied section of France with the exception of the two northernmost departments of France, which belonged to the administrative area of the German military commander in Belgium, and Alsace-Lorraine, which the Germans informally annexed. Frontstalags were never in the "free" zone of France, although the German army temporarily deployed a few work commandos there after the Germans and Italians occupied this area on November 11, 1942. Prisoners who escaped to the "free" zone of France were generally safe from recapture, even after November 1942.

Many Frontstalags consisted, in fact, of a number of branch camps (*Zweiglager* and *Teillager*), one of which (the main camp, or *Hauptlager*) served as the administrative center and held the commander and his staff. The staff deployed and supervised guard units, kept a registry of prisoners, and organized the reception and distribution of aid packages and mail. All Frontstalags supervised work commandos, generally between 10 and 100 of them, whose size varied from 1 to 1,000 prisoners. The commandos were dispersed across a large region around the main camp, often encompassing several French departments. In accordance with Article 43 of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War (1929), every camp and every commando had a "man of confidence" (French: *homme de confiance*) who was the prisoners' spokesperson to the camp commander, the protective power, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). In theory, the prisoners were supposed to select the man of confidence, but, in practice, the Frontstalag commander often appointed him.

The network of Frontstalags in France was constantly in flux. The Frontstalag administration might move from one subcamp to another, and the same subcamp or commando could belong to two or three different Frontstalags between 1940 and 1944. Most of the 120 early Frontstalag administrations, few of which left archival traces, were disbanded or returned to Germany in late 1940 and early 1941, once the vast majority of metropolitan French and Allied prisoners had left for Germany. Only 20 Frontstalags survived the first wave of Frontstalag closures, which came to an end in July 1941, but another round of consolidations occurred in late 1941 and early 1942, leaving no more than 8 camps (numbered Frontstalag 133, 141, 153, 194, 195, 204, 221, and 222). Some of these Frontstalags absorbed other camps in the second half of 1943, leaving only Frontstalags 133, 194, 221 (with two separate sections), and 222.

Detailed occupancy numbers exist from July 1941 on. At this time, the Frontstalags held approximately 70,000 French colonial prisoners (down from an estimated 90,000– 100,000 colonial soldiers at the end of June 1940) and a few hundred metropolitan French prisoners, mostly officers and translators. Between 2,000 and 3,000 colonial prisoners were still in Germany, either because they were assigned to propaganda camps or because they were overlooked; the majority of them returned to France over the next two years. North Africans (foremost Algerians, but also Moroccans and Tunisians) were the largest group among the colonial prisoners (approximately two-thirds until December 1941), followed by the tirailleurs sénégalais, who came predominantly from French West Africa but included some people from Central Africa (20%).

In addition, the Frontstalags housed a few thousand Madagascans and Indochinese as well as several hundred prisoners from the French Caribbean (called *Martinicans* or *Antillais*). A few prisoners came from the French territories in East Africa, India, and the southern Pacific. The Germans also considered prisoners of color living in France as colonial prisoners, even though most of these people, like some inhabitants of the French colonies, had French citizenship. The classification of Jewish prisoners by the German army was inconsistent: a number of North African Jews (predominantly from Algeria) as well as some

French Jews were kept in the Frontstalags as "colonial" prisoners, while others were sent to Germany.

Perhaps the most famous Frontstalag prisoner was Léopold Sédar Senghor, later an eminent poet, philosopher, and the first president of the Republic of Senegal (1960–1980). Senghor spent some time in poorly installed provisional camps before arriving in Frontstalag 230 (Poitiers) in October 1940. He was transferred to Frontstalag 221 in Saint-Médard-en-Jalles in November 1941 and dismissed from captivity on the grounds of a faked illness on February 14, 1942. After his release, Senghor wrote an anonymous report on his last two camps, highlighting German propaganda efforts and the susceptibility of some North African prisoners to German pro-Islamic messages.[3] Other well-known prisoners were Guy Tirolien, a poet and colonial administrator from Guadeloupe who spent some time with Senghor in Poitiers, Édouard Kouka Ouédraogo, who became minister of education in Burkina Faso and was interned in Frontstalag 221 until his escape in August 1942, and Papa Guèye Fall, a teacher from Dakar who escaped from Frontstalag 121 in Épinal on January 2, 1941, after German secret service officers had asked him whether he would support a future German administration in French West Africa. In 1956, Guèye Fall founded and directed a school in Dakar that is still named after him (Institution Papa Guèye Fall).

The capture of nearly 1.8 million French and 40,000 British prisoners during the western campaign of 1940 created a vast organizational challenge for the German army. The great majority fell into German hands in the last two weeks of the campaign, June 11–25. The prisoners experienced overcrowded transit camps with poor water and food supplies, and most of them had to march to Germany under appalling conditions. German guards targeted them for random violence. Diseases related to poor nutrition and hygiene became rampant. The barracks and fortresses used as camps were sometimes in poor shape due to damage caused by the retreating French troops or by the fighting. French colonial prisoners, particularly prisoners of color, suffered the worst abuses and received the poorest supplies and accommodations, as German soldiers were still under the influence of a Nazi propaganda campaign that had helped to trigger widespread massacres of black French prisoners during the fighting.[4]

In July 1940, the transport of French prisoners to Germany slowed down because of a clogged infrastructure, leaving over 400,000 prisoners from metropolitan France as well as 50,000 to 60,000 French colonial soldiers in France for the time being. Most of the approximately 40,000 French colonial soldiers who had already arrived in Germany were sent back to the Frontstalags in France in the remaining months of 1940 following an order by Hitler, who did not want prisoners of color on German soil. Meanwhile, the majority of the metropolitan French prisoners remaining in France, after helping to bring in the harvest, were transferred to Germany. Escapes succeeded frequently in the early phase of the Frontstalags, particularly among white French prisoners who, unlike colonial soldiers at this time, could work outside the camps.

Conditions in the Frontstalags remained precarious throughout the summer of 1940, even though changing German propaganda and colonial interests helped to improve the treatment of the colonial prisoners.[5] The German authorities refused to allow the protective power of French prisoners at this time, the United States, to inspect the Frontstalags in France because they argued that France was still a war zone (in anticipation of an invasion of Britain). At the insistence of the American diplomat charged with prisoner of war matters at the embassy in Berlin, Jefferson Patterson, the Germans permitted Patterson and an American physician to visit 10 camps in northeastern France in September 1940, but they did not agree to Patterson's demand to allow the American embassy and consulate personnel in France to inspect nearby camps regularly (as was the practice in Germany).

The diplomatic impasse was only overcome when Hitler requested that Vichy France replace the United States as the protecting power for its own prisoners in German captivity, leading to the Agreement of November 16, 1940, signed by Hitler himself.[6] The Diplomatic Service of Prisoners of War (*Service diplomatique des prisonniers de guerre*, SDPG, also called the Scapini Mission) in Paris, under the leadership of Ambassador Georges Scapini, received the right to inspect all camps containing French prisoners and to negotiate with the German authorities. Scapini, a blind World War I veteran with connections to some German officials, finalized procedures for camp visits in France

with the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) in January 1941, and the first inspections of Frontstalags by the Scapini Mission took place a few weeks later. The Scapini Mission gathered detailed information on most camps based on its official inspection reports and on informal letters from aid workers, local officials, and the prisoners themselves. A major exception was the crisis in the wake of the escape of General Henri Giraud from captivity in Germany in April 1942, which threw Hitler into a fit of rage and induced him to prohibit inspections of camps with French prisoners in Germany and France from May to October 1942. In a personal letter to Hitler, Scapini offered himself as a prisoner instead of Giraud if Hitler withdrew his prohibition, but Hitler turned down the offer.[7]

Conditions in the Frontstalags improved markedly in early 1941. The Germans began to allow colonial prisoners to work outside the camps in commandos, giving them access to better food supplies. A new group of German camp commanders reined in the abuses and worked hard to improve the physical conditions of captivity. Moreover, new Home Guard Battalions, consisting of men who were too old or unfit for frontline service (*Landesschützen*) took over the guard duty, and they were much friendlier than the frontline troops and the military police (*Feldgendarmerie*) units that had at first guarded the prisoners.[8] The camp commanders often hired local companies and deployed the prisoners in improving the setup of the camps (drainage work; insulation of barracks; repairs or creation of medical facilities; sports fields), as Senghor describes in his captivity report with reference to Frontstalag 230.[9]

French colonial prisoners in the Frontstalags did not generally benefit from concessions the German government made in Franco-German negotiations on POWs. According to the Agreement of November 16, 1940, for example, fathers with four children living in poverty had to be dismissed from captivity. Yet, the German authorities balked at applying this agreement to colonial prisoners by arguing that almost all colonial prisoners were poor by European standards and by claiming that documentation would be impossible. Pressed hard by the Scapini Mission, which consistently requested the dismissal of *all* colonial prisoners, the Germans only let go a few North Africans under this agreement.

In May 1941, Hitler rewarded some French concessions with the decision to dismiss French World War I veterans with the exception of professional officers, but, once more, the agreement benefited only a few French colonial prisoners, mostly North Africans. On July 3, 1941, the German Military Command in France decided to dismiss most remaining metropolitan French prisoners from the Frontstalags (approximately 2,800—and with the exception of Jews), a measure that irritated many Frontstalag prisoners, especially those who had French citizenship and lived in France but had to remain in captivity as prisoners of color. Colonial prisoners also did not benefit from the relief (*relève)* program of 1942, which liberated one French prisoner for every three French workers who were transferred to Germany. Although German officials were responsible for these discriminatory acts, colonial prisoners often blamed the French authorities for them. The discrimination fed demands for equal treatment, especially in light of the fact that the colonial troops had fought hard in May–June 1940. As many prisoners argued, bullets had not distinguished between white and nonwhite soldiers, and decrees should not do so either.

The Germans did, however, dismiss a large number of colonial prisoners due to health and propaganda considerations. Pulmonary disease, including tuberculosis, was widespread among the colonial prisoners. While it remains unproven that non-European soldiers had a special susceptibility to pulmonary diseases (European and African prisoners held in cramped and unsanitary conditions in 1940 became sick at very similar rates), there is no doubt that the Scapini Mission used the widespread belief in this susceptibility as an argument for the wholesale dismissal of colonial prisoners. The Germans, though aware through intelligence reports that the French were dramatizing the health situation of the colonial prisoners, became surprisingly generous in letting sick prisoners go.

In addition, the Germans decided in December 1941 to dismiss 10,000 North Africans as a propaganda measure. German agents and propaganda specialists, with the assistance of Arab nationalists inside and outside the prisoner of war camps, had developed an intense propaganda campaign that highlighted Germany's championship of Islam, vilified France and Britain as colonial

powers, and asked the prisoners to come to terms with an allegedly inevitable German victory. German propaganda won over a few North Africans, particularly among the more educated prisoners and religious persons, and also a few West Africans. The French secret service and police interviewed the dismissed and escaped prisoners, especially the North Africans, to identify spies and to confirm the prisoners' loyalty to France.

Together, the dismissals due to disease and propaganda reduced occupancy in the Frontstalags by approximately 50 percent from July 1941 to July 1944. Moreover, several thousand prisoners managed to escape. As a result, nearly two-thirds of the colonial prisoners captured in 1940 were free by July 1944. Of the remaining one-third (30,000 to 33,000), over half were liberated in the summer of 1944. The Germans transferred only approximately 13,500 French colonial prisoners—as well as several thousand British colonial prisoners—to Germany in August and September 1944. Despite the discriminatory policies on prisoner dismissals, French colonial prisoners were therefore much more likely to be free before the end of the war than French prisoners in Germany (with nearly one million still in the Reich in April 1945). Dismissal or escape from captivity, however, rarely meant a return home for colonial prisoners. It sometimes led them straight into a colonial labor battalion under Vichy command, some of which had to work for the German army or the Organisation Todt after November 1942—often under worse conditions than they had experienced as prisoners of war.

Frontstalag prisoners worked predominantly in agriculture, forestry, and public works, sectors that were particularly hurt by the absence of French laborers in German prisoner of war camps. As was the practice in the German Stalags, the German army in France hired the prisoners out to private companies, farms, and public employers such as town administrations. The vast majority of Frontstalag prisoners therefore stayed in the labor commandos. There was some seasonal shifting, especially from agriculture to forestry at the end of the fall and back in the spring. Prisoners received a daily wage for their labor by the employer (usually 10 francs a day, of which the Frontstalag withheld 1 or 2 francs for administrative costs). In addition to paying this small wage, the employer often also had to contribute to the feeding and

accommodation of the prisoners.

Work commandos generally offered more freedom but fewer services than large camps. Guarding was lax in most commandos, but prisoners had less access to medical and religious services and fewer opportunities to enjoy sports and entertainment. Agriculture offered the best conditions in terms of food because the farmers often helped feed the prisoners. Forestry commandos demanded hard work, usually in isolated and hence poorly supplied locations. Given that most forestry work was performed in the winter, prisoners—who were always short of mittens, shoes, and warm clothing—also suffered greatly from the cold. The German army required large amounts of wood for construction purposes and as fuel, and the exploitation of the French forests with the help of colonial prisoner labor was therefore a high priority of the German Military Command in France. Prisoners staying in big camps often worked for the upkeep of the camp (a labor that did not have to be paid according to the Geneva Convention) or in nearby work sites, for example, factories or public works.

Many colonial prisoners (and some metropolitan French prisoners in Germany) had to perform war-related work, in violation of Article 31 of the Geneva Convention; for example, prisoners worked in armaments factories or directly for the German armed forces. The Vichy government tacitly condoned this practice—at least until 1943. Prisoners working for the Wehrmacht and armaments factories usually received the highest wages (up to 40 francs a day) and decent supplies. In 1943–1944, however, many colonial prisoners had to load and unload munitions at train stations and airports— workplaces that exposed them to frequent air attacks, sometimes with deadly consequences. In the same period, the German army also forced several hundred French colonial prisoners to work on fortifications in Belgium and the Netherlands under harsh and unhealthy conditions. The Scapini Mission was not allowed to inspect these commandos and protested repeatedly until the Germans withdrew the prisoners in the spring of 1944.

The food supply of the Frontstalag prisoners was uneven. Prisoners in agricultural commandos, the majority, fared well, but the situation was worse in some large camps and in isolated commandos. According to the Geneva Convention, the detaining

power was responsible for feeding and accommodating the prisoners, but, in practice, the German army increasingly relied on French employers and a range of official and nonofficial charitable organizations to supplement and sometimes replace German supplies. The French authorities grudgingly noted this trend but did not oppose it resolutely because they saw in the care for the colonial prisoners a precious tool of French counterpropaganda.[10] Yet, French agencies often could not keep up with prisoner transfers, and their increased role in supplying the prisoners meant that prisoners blamed them for glitches in the system. In addition, the aid deliveries sent to prisoner groups varied by territory of origin. North Africans, especially Moroccans, always received the most generous supplies, and this created jealousies and conflicts.

Corruption networks among the prisoners and sometimes the guards existed in many camps and commandos and made conditions worse by plundering aid packages and selling their contents to the other prisoners or to civilians at inflated prices. A particular supply problem affected the three Frontstalags in the Southwest of France (195, 221, and 222) in 1941– 1942. Pressed by the Scapini Mission and the ICRC to house colonial prisoners in milder climates, the Germans transferred too many people to these camps in the arguably warmest zone of German-occupied France. When the German secret services in the fall of 1941 discovered that the most important aid organization supplying these three camps, the French Red Cross section in Périgueux, had smuggled people and letters across the demarcation line, they ordered a halt to the deliveries, exacerbating the shortages for several months.

Guard behavior in the Frontstalags was generally decent after the harsh first phase. In some small work commandos, guards and prisoners even developed a comradely relationship. There were very few guards, and prisoners had much freedom; for example, they could go to town after work and on the weekends without guards. Wherever the supervision of guards was tighter—and this was particularly the case in northeastern France, where many commandos worked for the German agrarian organization Ostland —the guards tended to be harsher. Camp commanders often found their guards (“good old Papas”) too lenient and tried to enforce stricter guard behavior, especially during escape attempts, but to

no avail.[11] In January 1943, the Military Command in France, faced with persistent personnel shortages, requested that the French government provide cadres for the colonial prisoners. The Vichy government agreed, hoping to offer the prisoners better conditions and to counter the effects of German propaganda.

Some French cadres, however, were corrupt and abusive, and French-led commandos in general did not offer better conditions than German-led commandos. In some places, the prisoners under French cadres even asked to get their German guards back. Civilians frequently insulted and attacked the French cadres. Views of this arrangement varied among the 6,000 colonial prisoners affected by it: some saw it as a betrayal by France, while others appreciated the French cadres and found that they allowed them more freedom than the German guards. The Germans ended the arrangement soon after the Allied invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944, because they feared that French-led commandos might defect to the resistance, as occasionally happened.[12]

Relations among the prisoners in the Frontstalags were often tense. Soldiers who were serving in separate territorial units were suddenly mixed with people from all areas of the French empire and initially from France itself.[13] The Germans tried to keep commandos homogeneous by territory of origin, but there also were tensions among prisoners from different ethnic groups from the same territory. In larger camps, moreover, prisoners remained mixed, although they were often housed in separate barracks. Strong tensions existed in particular between North Africans and blacks from West Africa. But Moroccans, Tunisians, and Algerians also did not always get along with each other. Corruption networks centering on the man of confidence from a particular ethnic group, unequal supplies, and the divisive effects of German propaganda exacerbated these tensions. In some camps, ethnic gangs who controlled the camp police terrorized the other prisoners. A particularly bad case was Frontstalag 221 in Saint-Médard, which Senghor and other prominent prisoners experienced. Usually, such abuses came to the attention of the Scapini Mission and the German authorities, who tried to stop them.

The prisoners of the Frontstalags were members of the French army and also foreigners in France. While it was generally

possible for North Africans to communicate with their homes, many prisoners from the more distant colonies had no contact with their families for the entire duration of the war. This strongly affected the mood, in particular, of the Indochinese, Madagascans, and West Africans. Relations with French civilians could mitigate homesickness, however. Some prisoners were very close to the farmer family on whose land they worked. The French authorities also encouraged a "war godmother" program, whereby French women would send letters and packages to a prisoner. Sometimes, the prisoner could visit the war godmother. Several of these relationships became amorous.

In general, the lax guarding in the commandos made relations between prisoners and French women relatively easy even outside the war godmother program. A number of colonial prisoners, cut off for years from their homes, decided to marry French women and hoped to settle down in France. Such plans were difficult to carry out, however, because the prisoners were still mobilized soldiers and therefore required official permission to marry. Although pregnant French women or their mothers urged Ambassador Scapini to secure permission for Frontstalag prisoners to marry, the Vichy administration (and later the Free French authorities) rarely granted the permission, because they saw these amorous relationships as a threat to French prestige in the colonies. For that reason, some prisoners got married without official papers, and some couples had children.

Relations between French civilians and colonial prisoners were generally friendly. There were cases of racism and rejection, and mixed couples often suffered ostracism, but many civilians were grateful for the contribution the colonial soldiers had made to France's defense in 1940. The Scapini Mission and the other French agencies responsible for prisoners of war actively encouraged supportive relations between civilians and prisoners (short of amorous relationships). The Scapini Mission, for example, admonished town mayors and department prefects if colonial prisoners in their area suffered public hostility or received inadequate supplies. Mayors and prefects sometimes countered the criticism by arguing that the labor of the colonial prisoners was not needed in their area and that the prisoners were not as diligent as hired workers in peacetime.

Escapes from the Frontstalags were frequent, particularly among the North African prisoners, who had good chances of reaching their homes until the Allied landings in North Africa in November 1942. Blacks and other prisoners from the more distant colonies were less likely to flee. Escape was dangerous because German guards had strict orders to fire immediately on every prisoner making an escape attempt, and guards undoubtedly shot and killed a number of prisoners during escape attempts (which was legal) and in a few cases after recapture (which was a war crime). However, the laxity of the guards as well as their poor marksmanship in most cases allowed escapes to succeed, and very few prisoners were ever recaptured. Early resistance networks helped to hide the prisoners and escorted them to the "free" zone of France.[14] Several escaped prisoners joined resistance groups. The most famous was Addi Bâ, a black soldier who escaped soon after capture and founded a resistance network in the Vosges Mountains. He was arrested on November 18, 1943, and executed a month later in Épinal.[15] Most escaped prisoners either took up a civilian job in wartime France or were integrated into a labor battalion under the Vichy authorities.

In September 1943, the Germans transferred many British colonial prisoners held in Italy to France after a short stay in German Stalags. At least 2,000 soldiers from Africa and British India arrived in four camps in France in October 1943 (Frontstalag 133, 194, 221, and 222), and more than 3,000 Indians came to Stalag 315 in Épinal in the first months of 1944. Most of these prisoners were in poor health because they had to undertake long marches in Italy without adequate supplies. The German Frontstalag commanders ordered that all British colonial prisoners receive rations for heavy workers to restore their strength. The inspection reports of the ICRC and the Swiss government (as protecting power) suggest that conditions were fairly good for them. They performed work similar to that done by the French colonial prisoners, although usually in separate commandos.[16]

After the Allied invasion of Normandy, the Germans began to concentrate the prisoners from commandos in the bigger camps. In proximity to the fighting, French colonial prisoners often had to perform war-related work under dangerous conditions, such as digging antitank trenches and clearing bombed streets and towns.

In August 1944, with the German position in France rapidly crumbling, the German army tried to evacuate the Frontstalag prisoners to Germany. On their way to Germany, the prisoners (both French and British colonial soldiers) spent time in the camps in the northeast of France, closest to the German border (mostly the camps of Charleville and Nancy, as well as some older campsites that were revived as transit camps, such as Châlons-sur-Marne and Vesoul).

Allied soldiers captured on the Normandy front also passed through these camps on their way to Germany. The transfers and disruptions due to the fighting affected the supply chain for the prisoners, who experienced much hardship during this period. Trains with prisoners became targets of air attacks, which killed many prisoners. In western, southwestern, and central France, the Germans were unable to evacuate most prisoners before the arrival of Allied troops. In some cases, the French resistance liberated the prisoners. The destruction of bridges by the resistance also held up the prisoner transfers, leading to liberation.

A few of the Frontstalags became part of the network of centers for French colonial ex-prisoners awaiting repatriation. The conditions in these centers were bad because the new French authorities could neither repatriate them quickly nor care for them adequately. Whereas most prisoners had worked and earned money under the Frontstalag administration, they were now idle and unemployed. The French authorities often could not procure them their military pay and their premiums. Some prisoners compared their frustrating situation with the "time under the Germans," which they now tended to idealize. The discontent among ex-prisoners triggered many riots in France, Britain (where some ex-prisoners were sent before returning to Africa), and Africa itself.

A complicating issue was that a number of ex-prisoners had "married" French women and sometimes had children with them; these prisoners wanted to stay in France and settle there, and French women occasionally started riots when these soldiers were forcefully repatriated. The French administration did not recognize most of these marriages, and some officials feared miscegenation and social problems if the exprisoners were allowed to settle in France. On the other hand, the colonial governors did not want

these couples in the colonies because they feared that marriages of colonial "subjects" and white French women would undermine colonial prestige. In light of these considerations, the commander of France's "indigenous" troops even went so far as to suggest resettling the mixed couples in Madagascar, but his proposal was deemed illegal. The bloodiest clash involving ex-prisoners occurred in Thiaroye outside of Dakar on December 1, 1944, when the French army command and police opened fire on a crowd of 1,280 ex-prisoners who demanded immediate pay, killing at least 35 of them.[17]

The experience of Frontstalag prisoners in France, after a dismal start in 1940–1941, was not altogether terrible. Although there were periods of hunger and hardship in the Frontstalags, the guards in general treated the prisoners in a humane way, and the camp commanders often made great efforts to enhance the infrastructure and supply of the camps. Some of the prisoners' suffering was due to internal rivalries and corruption. The prisoners' prolonged stay in Germanoccupied France created significant problems for a French administration intent on reintegrating the prisoners into a colonial routine, based on discrimination, after 1944.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the Frontstalags. All the sources are listed here, because published sources on the individual camps are for the most part unavailable.

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NOTES

1. Peschanski, *La France des camp*, pp. 36–71, 76–80, 102.

2. This article, as well as the articles on the Frontstalags in France, heavily draws from the book: Raffael Scheck, *French Colonial Soldiers in German Captivity during World War II*.

3. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu" July 24, 2011; Hiernard, "Rouillé-la Chauvinerie"; Hopquin, "Document inédit de Léopold Sédar Senghor"; Riesz, "Léopold Sédar Senghor in deutscher Kriegsgefangenschaft"; Riesz and Bjornson, "Senghor and the Germans"; Scheck, "Léopold Sédar Senghor comme prisonnier de guerre allemand."

4. Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims*, pp. 101–112.

5. Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," 452; Scheck, "French Colonial Soldiers in German Prisoner of War Camps," 427.

6. Scheck, "Prisoner of War Question and the Beginnings of Collaboration."

7. Scheck, "Prisoner of War Question and the Beginnings of Collaboration," 382–383.

8. Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft?" p. 154.

9. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," 25–26; Scheck, "Léopold Sédar Senghor comme prisonnier de guerre allemand," 84–87.

10. Frank, "Pour 'nos' prisonniers"; Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes,"* pp. 153–168.

11. Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft?" pp. 160–161.

12. Scheck, "Officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats?"; Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes,"* pp. 137–152.

13. Fargettas, *Les Tirailleurs sénégalais*, p. 215.

14. Mabon, "Solidarité nationale et captivité coloniale."

15. Ibid.; Guillermond, *Addi Bâ. Résistant des Vosges*.

16. Records on the British colonial prisoners in France: National Archives, Kew, WO 224/57–61 and WO 361/1824–1828.

17. Akpo-Vaché, "'Souviens-toi de Thiaroye!' La mutinerie des tirailleurs sénégalais"; Cousin, *Retour tragique des troupes coloniales*; Echenberg, "Tragedy at Thiaroye"; Fargettas, "La révolte des tirailleurs sénégalais"; Ginio, "African Colonial Soldiers between Memory and Forgetfulness"; Godechot, "Prélude aux rebellions en Afrique du Nord"; Gueye, "Le 1er décembre 1944 à Thiaroye"; Mabon, "La tragédie de Thiaroye"; Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes"*; Riesz, "Thiaroye 1944"; Scheck, "Prémices de Thiaroye."

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 100

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 100 on July 20, 1940. The camp existed only briefly to accommodate the masses of prisoners captured in France and Belgium in May and June 1940 before they were marched to Germany. The Wehrmacht dissolved the camp on March 18, 1941, and used its personnel to form Dulag 100. Frontstalag 100 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 36 090 between April 28 and September 19, 1940; the number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Frontstalag 100 was initially located in the Collège Saint Jacques Prairie du Séminaire in Hazebrouck (map 2). The camp appears to have moved for a short time to Amiens in early 1941, where it coexisted with several other Frontstalags in fortresses and barracks formerly used by the French Army. It housed predominantly French prisoners of war but likely also some British soldiers captured near Dunkirk. No records of this camp are known to have survived.

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 100 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Raffael Scheck

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 101

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 101 on July 19, 1940, and deployed it in Cambrai in northern France (map 2) during the summer and fall of that year. The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 37 042 between April 28 and September 19, 1940; it was struck between March 1 and September 27, 1941. The Germans dissolved the camp on March 13, 1941.

Little is known about this Frontstalag. It likely served as an assembly and transit camp for French and British prisoners of war on their way to more permanent camps in Germany.

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 101 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*. 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Raffael Scheck

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 102

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 102 on July 20, 1940. It was one of many Frontstalags that the Germans created in northern France; these camps were used predominantly as assembly and transit camps for the large number of French prisoners whom they transferred to more permanent camps in Germany during that summer and fall. It existed briefly in Lille, where it was located in a large fortress, and it appears to have moved to Amiens in early 1941 (map 2). The Germans disbanded the camps on March 17, 1941. Frontstalag 102 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 38 028 between April 28 and September 19, 1940; the number was struck between March 1 and September 27, 1941.

No records concerning this camp seem to have survived.

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 102 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, 2 vols. (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

Raffael Scheck

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 110

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 110 on July 20, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. From August 1940 to February 1941, the camp was stationed in Brussels (map 2). On February 9, 1941, the camp headquarters was recalled to Defense District II and on March 16, 1941, it was converted into Dulag 110. While deployed in Belgium, the camp was subordinate to the Military Commander of France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*) and Commander of Prisoner of War District VII (*Kommandeur des Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks* VII).

Frontstalag 110 held French prisoners of war. The conditions were satisfactory and generally in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 110 is located in BA-MA (RW6—Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B (162/9281– 9284); and AN (file 619/MI/4–5).

Additional information about Frontstalag 110 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 71; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945. Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 229.

Alexander Kruglov

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 111

The Germans established Frontstalag 111 on July 22, 1940, and deployed it in Drancy, in the northeastern suburbs of Paris (map 2). It functioned as a transit camp for French prisoners of war (POWs). The Wehrmacht requisitioned a former French army barracks as well as a low-cost housing project that had been built between 1931 and 1934. This vast U-shaped building, called the *Cité de la Muette* (city of the mute) was a logical choice for a detention center because the shape made it easy to guard. Frontstalag 111 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 492 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. It was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The Germans dissolved the camp on August 13, 1941.

Very little documentation exists on the early phase of the camp. On October 11, 1940, an informal inspection reported that 4,849 prisoners were held at Frontstalag 111, the vast majority of them (3,346) North African colonial POWs. The second largest group were soldiers from metropolitan France (1,226), who were almost certainly transferred to Germany in the weeks following this inspection. The camp also held 128 *tirailleurs sénégalais* (a general term for soldiers from French West Africa, regardless of whether they were actually of Senegalese nationality) as well as 31 prisoners from the French Antilles and 8 from French Indochina. In addition, there were 79 prisoners without registered nationality, who were probably British. Thirty-one of the North Africans claimed to have been detained by mistake, insisting that they were civilian migrant laborers rather than soldiers. The German authorities often arrested "foreign" laborers in France at the end of the 1940 campaign, on the assumption that they were colonial soldiers who had taken on civilian clothes. Most of these workers contacted French aid agencies and obtained release after a couple of months, which is likely what happened to the 31 North Africans

in Drancy, because they no longer appear on the notes of an inspection on December 14, 1940. This inspection mentions the presence of 160 black prisoners (most likely tirailleurs sénégalais), 300 French soldiers, and 350 British civilians, probably interned civilians who had been stranded in France.[1] According to French government sources, the Germans spread a great deal of pro-Islamic propaganda in this camp, promising independence for Arab countries.[2]

Frontstalag 111 held very few POWs by the end of 1940, and soon thereafter it was no longer a prisoner camp. In August 1941, the U-shaped building of the *Cité de la Muette* became a detention center and served as one of the main transit camps for Jews. Because of its initial character as a POW camp, some family members of Jews deported to Drancy and later to Auschwitz contacted the French POW services asking for information about the deported family members—to no avail.

The correspondence concerning the former prisoner of war Jacob Abecassis, who was born on January 15, 1908, in Mascara, in French Algeria, illustrates the confusion between the POW camp and the later transit camp for Jews in Drancy. Abecassis was a North African Jew residing in Paris. He had served in the French army, was captured by the Germans on June 17, 1940, and was released from captivity on December 19, 1941, probably as part of the liberation of 10,000 North African prisoners from the Frontstalags on that day. On April 3, 1942, however, the Gestapo arrested Abecassis in Paris because he had not registered himself as a Jew. The Germans interned Abecassis in Tourcelles and then sent him on to Drancy, where he arrived on April 13, 1942. The Scapini Mission, prompted by inquiries from relatives, found that the Germans had sent him to a camp near Krakau (today: Kraków, Poland) with a name similar to "Husswicht" (which was, in reality, Auschwitz) in June 1942 and asked the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) about his whereabouts. Ambassador Georges Scapini pointed out that according to French police records this man had committed no crime. Scapini urged the OKW to ensure that he would at least be transferred to a POW camp, so that he could communicate with his relatives. No response seems to have arrived.[3]

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NOTES

1. “Note pour M. Caron,” October 11 and December 14, 1940, in AN, F9, 2810.

2. “Note de renseignements,” Vichy, June 10, 1941, in AN, F9, 2892.

3. Bureau d’études, no. 1952, Paris, January 29, 1943, in dossier “Lettres Scapini à OKW,” in AN, F9, 2121.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 112

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 112 on July 17, 1940. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 14 588 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The Germans disbanded the camp on March 14, 1941. The field post number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

Frontstalag 112 was located in La Celle-Saint-Cloud, in the western suburbs of Paris (map 2). It served as a transit camp for French prisoners of war (POWs). On November 2, 1940, it housed 2,365 colonial POWs—listed as "blacks" although there were certainly also some North Africans among them—as well as 1,131 metropolitan French prisoners. The work commandos of this camp were spread over a large area west and south of Paris. One work commando with 110 French prisoners had to load heavy bombs at the airport of Étampes-Mondésir, 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) south of the main camp, and unload coal from trains at a train station in early 1941. An anonymous informer mentioned that discipline was very harsh in this commando. The prisoners had no rest, and the guards would kick them with their boots or strike them with bayonets if they did not stand in a perfectly straight line. One prisoner had to go to the infirmary with a bleeding wound.[1]

More commandos appear to have been transferred to Étampes later on. The city archives contain announcements by the local German commander and the Military Commander in France (*Militärbefehlshaber Frankreich*) encouraging civilians to request prisoners for paid labor to bring in the harvest of 1940. Several hundred colonial prisoners indeed went to work mostly in agricultural commandos, likely under much better circumstances than the ones described in the report about the airport commando in Étampes-Mondésir. A photo of a guard with black prisoners, likely at the airport in Étampes, seems to show a friendly relationship between them.[2] Other pictures from the same

collection show black prisoners doing agricultural work near Étampes.

No detailed information exists about the dissolution of the Frontstalag. The metropolitan French prisoners must have left for Germany by the end of 1940, and the remaining colonial prisoners could easily have been integrated into the Frontstalags close to Étampes, such as Frontstalags 151 and 153.

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NOTES

1. Anonymous report, November 2, 1940, in AN, F9, 2810.

2. Documents and lists in Archives municipales, Étampes, 2 W 16. Photo "Gefangene Turkos in Étampes," collection Dietrich Klose, www.historicmedia.de.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 120

The Germans established Frontstalag 120 on July 19, 1940. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 203 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The unit was disbanded on March 23, 1941, and the field post number struck between July 31, 1942, and October 4, 1943.

The camp was located in Mirecourt, a small town of the Vosges department, not far from Épinal (map 2). The prisoners probably worked at the airport of Épinal, which is located on land belonging to the town of Mirecourt, and in work commandos on farms in the area around Mirecourt. The Germans appear to have dissolved the camp after most metropolitan French prisoners had been sent to Germany. Some of the camp's work commandos, however, remained in the area and became formally part of Frontstalag 121.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 121

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 121 on July 19, 1940, and disbanded it on November 10, 1941. It received field post number 22 933 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

The Germans installed this camp in the barracks of the French 22nd Algerian Infantry Regiment and in two additional sites in the town of Épinal (map 2).

According to one source, the camp also had a section in Cambrai, possibly established before the camp in Épinal and lasting as a branch camp (*Zweiglager*) until December 1940.[1] It integrated work commandos from Frontstalag 120 in nearby Mirecourt when the Wehrmacht dissolved that camp. The German army closed down Frontstalag 121 for administrative purposes, but the main camp in Épinal and the surrounding work commandos continued to operate under the auspices of Frontstalag 141 in Vesoul. A substantial number of prisoners slept in the main camp in Épinal; one (declining) part of them performed services and repairs within the camp, and a larger number worked in a wide variety of jobs in town, marching to work and returning to the camp for the night. These prisoners were assigned to public works or to local businesses. The majority of prisoners listed under Frontstalag 121, however, belonged to commandos in the villages and forests outside of the town. Many prisoners worked in agriculture in the warmer months and in forestry during the winter. Some commandos did public utility work such as repairing roads and bridges. Given the strong presence of the German organization Ostland (*Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschaftungsgesellschaft*) in the northeast of France, several work commandos were assigned to abandoned farms, where they worked under the direction of Ostland officials (responsible for administering Polish forest and farmland that the Germans had appropriated and transferring it to

ethnic German owners). Through the Military Commander in France (*Militärbefehlshaber Frankreich*), it also played a role in administering forestry and farming operations in northern and eastern France.

Frontstalag 121 at Épinal. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Frontstalag 121 was one of the 10 camps that the American diplomat Jefferson Patterson was allowed to visit in September 1940. According to the German officers in charge of the camp, Oberleutnant Puhl and Leutnant von Thielen, the barracks had been in extremely dirty condition when the Wehrmacht took them over. Given the proximity of Épinal to the German border, the site had served as a transit camp in the summer of 1940 and had become extremely overcrowded, at one point housing 40,000 prisoners (four times the permissible maximum). By the time of Patterson's visit, however, the camp housed only 4,442 prisoners and had 1,250 men assigned to work commandos in villages. The majority of the prisoners were from mainland France, but the camp also had a substantial number of Muslim prisoners, probably from North Africa and West Africa. Patterson and the accompanying physician drew a positive picture of the camp, stressing that it was not overcrowded, that there were no complaints about the food, and that the health of the prisoners seemed good. They expressed concern, however, regarding the vulnerability of the colonial prisoners to disease and urged the Germans to transfer them to the

south of France.[2]

The ethnic composition of the camp population soon changed because of the resumption of transfers of metropolitan French prisoners to Germany and the return of colonial prisoners to France. The first inspection by the Scapini Mission on March 27, 1941, found the main camp to be overcrowded. The Frontstalag altogether had 8,437 prisoners: 7,451 "indigenous" prisoners and 986 Frenchmen. The majority (5,237) lived in the main camp, whereas the remaining 3,200 prisoners belonged to work commandos. The camp inspector found that the mood of the prisoners was not very good because the camp offered no leisure activities and because the men of confidence (*hommes de confiance*) among the colonial prisoners seemed to be completely ignorant of the Geneva Convention.[3]

The situation improved very much in the following weeks. When inspector Jean Detroyat returned to Épinal on May 22, 1941, he found the main camp much less crowded because a larger number of prisoners had been sent to work commandos in the surrounding villages. The German authorities had installed a decent library and organized courses, film screenings, and concerts. The main camp at this time held 1,977 prisoners: 650 Indochinese, 621 "blacks" (i.e., West Africans), 222 Madagascans, 210 Moroccans, 138 Algerians, 84 French-men, 40 Tunisians, and 12 Martinicans. The food supply was good: the camp authorities had built a small farm on ground adjacent to the camp, and the French Red Cross was generously supplying the camp with packages. The inspector bemoaned, however, that the "indigenous" prisoners were not always receiving food supplies matching their cooking habits, such as couscous, rice, dates, and figs, and he also pointed out that the postal connections were a source of complaints. The latter issue was a general problem related to the disruption of postal service within France and between France and the empire. Whereas the food supply was good, the inspector found that the clothing and the shoes of the prisoners would soon need to be replaced. Prisoners in the main camp and in the work commandos were deployed in agriculture and forestry as well as public works. An undetermined number of prisoners worked for Ostland.[4]

Detroyat was able to visit several work commandos in the area

north and west of Épinal during the following days. In the village of Bussières, 101 West Africans and Madagascans were working in forestry for a French state enterprise and a private company. The inspector found the living quarters too cramped but was impressed by the food situation and the warm relationships between the prisoners and the local civilians. Many other colonial prisoners performed work on farms, often under the direction of Ostland officials. The food situation was generally good in the work commandos, but the inspector noted deficits with respect to clothing, shoes, accommodations, tobacco, and religious services. The prisoners working for Ostland often had particularly long workdays.[5]

By the end of June 1941, an inspection by a delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) confirmed the good impression. Almost all metropolitan French prisoners had left Frontstalag 121, the food supply was beyond reproach, and the health situation—aside from a small number of prisoners with tuberculosis—was good. The delegation concluded that "the camp of Épinal is in very good shape. The men of confidence and the prisoners themselves agree that they are being treated very well." The only critical suggestion of the prisoners was that the winters in the Vosges Mountains were hard for people from warm climates and that the camp should be transferred to the warmer region of Bordeaux before the onset of winter.[6] An unofficial visit of the Frontstalag by a French philanthropic group in late October and early November 1941 reported similarly positive observations and confirmed that the prisoners were treated well.[7]

Informal observations by women driving supply trucks for the French Red Cross add information on some work commandos. In the region of Épinal, for example, they found that most of the commandos received supplies from a section of the German Red Cross stationed in Mirecourt. The drivers noticed, however, that the mayor of Gouécourt (Vosges) seemed to take supplies out of the aid packages sent to the prisoners in order to feed the local population. In Xaronval, the drivers noted particularly generous and benevolent German guards in a work commando of 10 West Africans and 10 Antillean prisoners. In Pierremond, the prisoners had to cut the grass at a local airport used by the Luftwaffe.[8]

Épinal played a significant role in German propaganda efforts

directed toward African prisoners. One of the prisoners, the West African officer Papa Guèye Fall, reported that a German intelligence officer asked him in early 1941 what he would do for Germany should Germany establish a colonial empire in West Africa. In the spring of 1941, the German commander assured the North African prisoners of his solidarity with the Arab anti-British uprising in Iraq. Given its proximity to the German border, Épinal was a station on the way of North African prisoners who had been to special propaganda camps in Germany and were then sent back to France to spread the message in the Frontstalags.[9]

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 121 can be found in the following publications: Jacques Mièvre, *L'"Ostland" en France durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale: Une tentative de colonisation agraire allemande en zone interdite* (Nancy: Humblot, 1973); Jacques Mièvre, "Les débuts de l'Ostland en Meurthe-et-Moselle," *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* 20, no. 79 (1970): 61–82; and Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. "Rapport sur la capture et la captivité," by Dr. Hollecker, SHD, 34 N 1097, p. 40.
2. Inspection report of Frontstalag 121, September 16, 1940, by Jefferson Patterson, in NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.
3. Inspection report of Frontstalag 121, March 27, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2352, and PAAA, R 40769.
4. Inspection report of Frontstalag 121, May 22, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2352, and PAAA, R 40989a.
5. Reports of work commandos, Frontstalag Épinal, May 23 and 24, 1941, in PAAA, R 40989a.

6. Inspection report, Frontstalag 121, June 24, 1941, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, in ICRC, Geneva, F (-D) 121.

7. "Notes sur une mission de M. Brault dans la région de l'est," October 27 to November 9, 1941, in AN, F9, 2351. See also "Kommandos de la Région d'Épinal," undated [1941], in AN, F9, 2345.

8. "Kommandos de la Région d'Épinal," no date [likely 1941] in AN, F9, 2345.

9. See Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 453.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 122

The Wehrmacht created Frontstalag 122 on July 9, 1940. From August 1940 until February 1941, the camp was deployed to Chaumont, Haute-Marne. From February to June 1941, it was located in Dijon, Côte d'Or. Finally, from the end of June 1941 until August 28, 1944, it was located in Royallieu, Compiègne (all map 2). In Compiègne, the camp replaced Frontstalag 170, which had been located there from October to December 1940. Frontstalag 122 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 376 sometime between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck sometime between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The Wehrmacht ordered the camp disbanded on March 8, 1944.

American diplomat Jefferson Patterson and army physician Dr. Vance Murray visited Frontstalag 122 in Chaumont on September 17, 1940. The Germans initially kept French prisoners of war (POWs) in a former French artillery barrack outside of town but moved them into infantry barracks in town on the day after the American visit because the Wehrmacht wanted to take over the first site for its own use.

At the time of the American inspection of Frontstalag 122, the conditions in the camp were very good. The maximum capacity of the camp was 10,000. Although the camp had been at full capacity soon after the Armistice (June 22, 1940), there were only 4,090 French and 2 Belgian prisoners in the camp in September 1940. A small number of the French prisoners were colonial soldiers. While many metropolitan French and Belgian soldiers performed agricultural work in the surrounding villages and were housed with the farmers, the colonial soldiers worked inside the camp or on commandos nearby, returning to the main camp every evening. The camp commander was Oberstleutnant Kurt Pelzer. The food supply, with supplemental deliveries of French aid organizations,

was good, and the health of the prisoners was very good. The planned new location of the camp in town was smaller, but the American inspectors agreed that the present location was too large for the number of prisoners.[1]

Frontstalag 122 moved again in early 1941, this time to Dijon, to the south of Chaumont. In Dijon, the camp occupied two different locations: for a short time (perhaps only a month), it came to Longvic, a suburb of Dijon near the city's airport, and then it moved to an abandoned fort in Hautevillelès-Dijon, a few kilometers northwest of the city. At the time of the first inspection by the Scapini Mission, on March 20, 1941, the camp held 2,566 prisoners (2,482 metropolitan French and 84 colonial prisoners) and was still under Pelzer's command. The vast majority of the prisoners were working in small agricultural commandos (three to four men per farm) in the surrounding countryside. The main camp in the fort housed only 130 prisoners (90 metropolitan French and 40 colonial prisoners). The inspector, Dr. Jean Bonnaud, bemoaned above all the poor leisure and entertainment infrastructure in the main camp (inadequate sports facilities, no educational courses, and hardly any games and books). The inspector heard that the large number of escapes had motivated the camp's recent moves.[2]

According to a second inspection by the Scapini Mission in May 1941, the shortages in the leisure sector had not improved and the camp received excellent grades in most other categories. There were only 47 prisoners in the fort (40 metropolitan French soldiers and 7 colonial soldiers, all of them Martinicans) and an unknown number on work commandos. The inspector claimed that 2,512 "indigenous" prisoners had been dismissed over the course of the previous month, but this appears unlikely in light of the fact that there had been mostly metropolitan French prisoners in Frontstalag 122 before.[3]

In an unusual move, the Frontstalag 122 administration relocated to Compiègne, where it ran a site that functioned as a police internment camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) rather than a POW camp. Between June 1941 and August 1944, more than 54,000 people passed through the camp and more than 40,000 of them were deported to concentration camps in Germany and occupied Poland. More than 20,000 of these deportees perished. Among the

deportees were 2,112 Jews, of whom only 51 survived.

The camp in Compiègne occupied a large quadrangle, which was encircled by walls and a wooden fence. Wehrmacht soldiers patrolled the outer perimeter of the camp and the circular road inside the outer walls as well as manning watchtowers from which searchlights illuminated the camp at night. The head of the camp was still Oberstleutnant Pelzer. Some 30 officers and junior officers were stationed in the camp. SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Illers of the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) also had a role. The two German doctors in the camp were majors, Dr. Buckard and Dr. Fürtwangler.

The camp consisted of three sections (known as Camps A, B, and C) separated by barbed wire. Camp A was for political prisoners, Resistance fighters, and those suspected of subversive activities. Most of the prisoners were French citizens. Many of them were Communists. Often, prisoners who were arrested in reprisal for attacks on German soldiers were held as hostages in Compiègne and shot at Mont Valerien, a fortress in Paris. Most of the prisoners suspected of subversive activities were deported to concentration camps in Germany such as Dachau, Buchenwald, Ravensbruck, Sachshausen, Mauthausen, and Neuengamme. Apart from French citizens, prisoners in Compiègne included Belgian, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Polish, and Russian nationals. Prisoners were brought to Compiègne from French prisons or from Drancy and were sometimes transferred from Compiègne to Drancy. Camp A consisted of eight buildings (blocks) and included an infirmary, offices, a library, a kitchen and canteen, a chapel, and a small prison.

Camp B was smaller than Camp A. It housed British, American, South American, and Soviet prisoners as well as some of the administrative offices of the internment camp. Russians living in France, including about 180 Jews, were arrested and brought to Compiègne after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The barracks in which they were housed, bordering on Camp B, came to be known as the Russian camp. Women and children were housed separately from the men. There were two American doctors in the camp. M. Schlissman was appointed chief of the American camp.

On the night of December 12–13, 1941, about 1,000 Jews were brought to Compiègne and housed in Camp C, which became known as the Jewish camp. Of the new arrivals, 743 were French Jews, many of them professionals and distinguished citizens of France, while 300 were foreign Jews, mostly Polish or Russian, many of them workers or artisans, who had been arrested and interned in Drancy in August 1941. They were included in the train to Compiègne to bring the total number of Jewish prisoners to 1,000. Jews were subsequently brought to Compiègne from the internment camps Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, from Drancy, and from prisons in France.

Prisoners in Camps A and B were forbidden to visit Camp C. At first, the Germans tried to keep the existence of Camp C secret. Prisoners in Camp C were not allowed to write to their families or to receive packages. At the end of February 1942, as a result of pressure from the French Red Cross and the Vichy government, families were allowed to write to prisoners in Camp C and to send them packages of clothing but not food or medications. As of December 1941, the head of Camp C was a German named Kuntze.

During the first months of Camp C's existence, Russian prisoners in Camp B and Communist prisoners in Camp A sent food to the prisoners there. They also smuggled letters to Camp C. After a kitchen was established in Camp C, the quality and quantity of food declined. Russian and French prisoners could no longer smuggle packages to the camp as the Germans now limited the number and weight of packages they could receive. Many prisoners in Camp C subsequently died from hunger and cold.

Although external work was not obligatory in Compiègne, prisoners had to help clean and maintain the camp and perform chores such as peeling vegetables. Prisoners who volunteered for labor worked outside the camp for Organisation Todt or inside the camp as electricians, warehouse workers, or other specialists. Jews were not allowed to work outside the camp.

Each camp had a chief (doyen) appointed by the Germans. The Germans also appointed heads of blocks, deputy heads of blocks, and heads of barracks rooms, who distributed the food to the prisoners. Since a large percentage of the prisoners in Camp A

were Communists, they monopolized the positions in the camp. The doyen of Camp A, Georges Cogniot, who was fluent in German, helped organize the delivery of food to the prisoners in the Jewish camp. In 1943, after the percentage of Communists in the camp had declined, the Germans replaced them with prisoners who held pro-Fascist views. The "police," whom these prisoners appointed to help maintain order, often beat other prisoners.

Apart from the twice-daily roll call, prisoners had little contact with Germans. From time to time the commandant would make a night inspection and call for a general roll call. The junior officer Erich Jaeger would promenade in the camp with two dogs on a leash and slap the faces of prisoners who did not lift their hats quickly enough.

Conditions were better in Camp B than in Camps A or C. Food was more plentiful, and British and American prisoners received packages from the British and American Red Cross.

On July 6, 1942, Camp C was liquidated. Some 18 Jews remaining in Camp C were transferred to Camp A; 147 Russian Jews were sent to Drancy.

The chief doctor in the camp, Hauptmann Fürtwangler, treated the Jewish internees particularly harshly. He would not provide medication for them and refused to send even those who were seriously ill to the hospital. After a report of terrible conditions in Camp C was sent to German authorities in early 1942, about 30 sick Jews were released. At first, two doctors from Camp A served Camp C. For a brief period, a small infirmary was organized in Camp C by Jewish doctors who were prisoners in the camp. After Camp C was liquidated, prisoner doctors worked in the infirmary in Camp A under Fürtwangler. The infirmary in Camp A was known for the kindness of the doctors and for the good conditions there. Prisoners were given clean sleeping bags, and they could sleep until ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. They received meals at noon and at six o'clock in the evening, a snack at four o'clock in the afternoon and milk several times a day. Doctors offered very weak internees an opportunity to come to the infirmary to regain their strength. Very sick prisoners were sent to the hospital in Compiègne. Doctors struggled with the lack of medication and the reluctance of the German doctor to transfer

prisoners to the hospital.

Camp A had a small chapel, with one corner for Catholics, the other for different denominations. There were two masses every day conducted by priests who were themselves prisoners. About 100 people participated. After an attempted escape through a tunnel underneath the chapel, the chapel was closed and religious services were banned for a time. Eventually, the Germans permitted a mass on Sunday without a sermon. Monsignor Theas, the bishop of Montauban, who gave sermons in the camp in favor of liberty, was eventually arrested by the Germans.

About 120 prisoners escaped from Compiègne in total. Some hid in trucks leaving the camp, others built tunnels or climbed over the barbed wire, and some escaped while outside the camp. Most of the escape attempts failed. In mid-August 1944, the consul general of Sweden in France tried to negotiate an agreement with the Germans to take control of political prisoners in Paris, Compiègne, and Drancy together with the Red Cross, but the SS refused. On August 31, 1944, the last Germans left the city of Compiègne. American troops arrived the following day and liberated the camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 122 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Frontstalag 122). Additional material is in the CDJC; AN; and AMA Paris.

Additional information about Frontstalag 122 can be found in the following publications: *Le Camp Juif de Royallieu-Compiègne 1941–43*, Part of the Collection Temoignages de la Shoah de la Fondation pour le Memoire de la Shoah (Paris: Editions de Manuscrit, 2007); Jean Hoen, *De Compiègne à Buchenwald, Frontstalag 122, un camp de concentration en France* (Luxembourg: Bourg-Berger, 1946); André Poirmeur, *Compiègne 1939–1945* (Telliez, 1968); Christian Bernadac, *Le Train de la mort* (Paris: France-Empire, 1977); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1

(Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Xavier Leprêtre, *De la Résistance à la Déportation, Compiègne-Royallieu 1940–1944* (Compiègne: chez l'auteur, 1994); Sabine Peiffert and Laurent Jouin, "Le Camp d'internement de Compiègne," in *Annales Historiques Compiègnoises*, nos. 61–62 (Fall 1995); Denis Péchanski, *La France des Camps, l'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); *Mémoire de Compiègne* (Jacques Marseille, 2003); André Bessière, *Revivre après l'impossible oubli de la déportation* (Felin Kiron, 2006); Jean-Pierre Besse and Thomas Pouty, *Les Fusillés, répression et exécutions pendant l'Occupation* (Ivry-sur-Seine: L'Atelier, 2006); Beate Husser, Jean-Pierre Besse, and Françoise Leclère-Rosenzweig, *Frontstalag 122 Compiègne-Royallieu: Un camp d'internement allemand dans l'Oise, 1941–1944* (Archives départementales de l'Oise, Conseil général de l'Oise, 2008); Christian Delage, ed., *Mémorial de l'internement et de la deportation: Camp de Royallieu, Textes et documents* (Compiègne, 2008); Christian Delage, *Le camp de Royallieu (1941–1944): De l'histoire au Mémorial* (Compiègne, 2008); *Mémorial de l'internement et de la déportation Camp de Royallieu. Livret d'accompagnement au dossier pédagogique: A destination des enseignants* (Compiègne, 2008); *Compiègne-Royallieu: Un camp, dans ma ville*, by pupils at the Lycée Pierre d'Ailly (Compiègne, 2011). Internet resources: Compiègne Memorial: http://www.memorial-Compiègne.fr.

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NOTES

1. Inspection report, September 17, 1940, by Jefferson Patterson, in NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 122 Dijon, March 20, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in PAAA, R 40769.

3. Inspection report, Frontstalag 122 Dijon, May 11, 1941, by

René Scapini, in PAAA, R 40770.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 123

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 123 on July 19, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III.[1] From August 1940 to January 1941, the camp was located in Langres (map 2).[2] In February 1941, the headquarters was located for some time in Defense District XVII and was attached to Stalag XVII B in Gneixendorf.[3] As of March 1, 1941, the Germans converted the camp into a Dulag. Frontstalag 123 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 914 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

While deployed in France, the camp was under the authority of the Military Commander of France and Military Administration District C (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich/ Militärverwaltungsbezirk* C). Beginning on February 10, 1941, the headquarters was subordinated for some period of time to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII.

During the deployment in France, the camp held French prisoners. The maximum number of prisoners was 2,000.[4] The conditions of the French prisoners' confinement were satisfactory on the whole and in conformity with the major provisions of the Geneva Convention relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 123 is located in BA-MA (RW6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and BArch B (162/29007).

Additional information about Frontstalag 123 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2

(Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 74; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 301.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 301.
2. Centre National d'Information sur les Prisonniers de Guerre: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 11 Octobre 1940, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 85 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 24 Mars 1941, p. 64), BNF.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen*, p. 74.
4. Ibid.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 124

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 124 on July 19, 1940, and disbanded the camp in August 1941. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 24 402 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 124 was initially located in Troyes (Aube) (map 2), where at least three camp sites were in use simultaneously in the summer of 1940, all of which were terribly overcrowded. Léopold Sédar Senghor passed through one of these camps at this time. One site, located in the small suburb Saint-Julien, had 45,000 prisoners in July 1940.[1] The American officials Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance, as representatives of the protective power for French prisoners, were allowed to visit another camp (Pont Hubert) on September 17, 1940, but by that time the vast majority of the prisoners were working in rural work commandos and only 977 Frenchmen lived in the camp, a former tank depot of the French army. Conditions were good, but the inspectors heard that not long ago 15,000 prisoners had been crowded into the tank garages. The commander of the Frontstalag was Oberstleutnant Gobbin, and the camp Troyes-Pont Hubert was commanded by Leutnant Wegener.[2]

On March 14, 1941, Frontstalag 124, still under the command of Gobbin, moved to the garrison town Joigny. It admitted a large group of prisoners arriving from a branch camp of Frontstalag 150 in nearby Cravant and took over the work commandos of Frontstalag 150 in this area. Frontstalag 124 now included 1,683 colonial prisoners (1,156 North Africans, 428 Indochinese, and 99 West Africans), 1,112 metropolitan French prisoners, and 4 members of the French Foreign Legion from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Of these 2,799 men, 1,620 (roughly half metropolitan French and half colonial prisoners) were working in

small work commandos on farms. The conditions in the main camp, located in the former barracks of the French 3rd Artillery Regiment in Joigny, left much to be desired. The metropolitan French prisoners lived in a reasonably well-built and recently painted building, but the African prisoners had to sleep in poorly ventilated halls and the Indochinese soldiers lived in horse stables. The colonial prisoners had bags of straw as mattresses, while the metropolitan French prisoners had to sleep on loose straw. The latrines were dirty and poorly constructed. The camp lacked equipment for sports and games, and it had poor food and tobacco supplies. Eight colonial prisoners were in the camp prison after other prisoners accused them of theft. The camp inspector noted approximately 100 sick Indochinese prisoners. He also bemoaned that the prisoners had not been allowed to send money to their families. The physical structure of the camp was generally in bad shape, but the fact that most of the prisoners in the main camp were working on the development of the camp suggested that it would soon improve.[3]

When the Scapini Mission returned to Joigny in early May, the main camp had indeed experienced major renovations, and all prisoners had received straw bags as mattresses. The formation of new work commandos in the countryside and in local industry and mining had reduced occupancy in the main camp from 1,179 to 610 (268 North Africans, 185 Indochinese, and 157 metropolitan French). The inspector emphasized that the prisoners appreciated the improvements even though they still missed cigarettes and needed new clothing, shoes, and more plentiful food supplies. The problems with the money transfer to the families and the lack of leisure opportunities also remained unresolved. The inspector was able to see seven agricultural work commandos nearby, which were in good shape.[4] An inspection by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in June 1941 confirmed the improvements. At this time, however, only 140 prisoners were still living in the main camp. The majority of the metropolitan French prisoners had likely been transferred to Germany, and most of the remaining colonial prisoners were probably sent to work commandos in the countryside.[5] The camp had 2,281 colonial prisoners plus a small number of metropolitan French prisoners. Among the colonial prisoners, West Africans predominated (1,513). In addition, Frontstalag 124 had 536 North African, 185

Indochinese, and 47 Madagascan prisoners.[6]

Frontstalag 124 maintained a military hospital in nearby Auxerre. With a staff of six French physicians and a pharmacist, as well as nine medical assistants, this hospital served 489 prisoners from February to September 1941. Only 41 prisoners were left in September 1941. A German chief physician, who was well regarded by the French staff, led the hospital. As in most other places, the French medical personnel complained that the Germans allowed them to leave the camp only with a guard even though the Geneva Convention on the Wounded and Sick (1929) stipulated that medical personnel were not prisoners of war.[7]

In early September 1941, Frontstalag 124 held approximately 3,000 prisoners. Occupancy in the site of Joigny was reduced to 134 prisoners (50 Algerians, 30 Moroccans, 25 Indochinese, 12 West Africans, 12 metropolitan French, 3 foreigners—probably Foreign Legion members—and one prisoner each from Madagascar and Martinique), and the camp was in good shape. The latrines were clean and better installed, shower facilities existed, and most prisoners had received new clothing and shoes. Prisoners were able to play soccer in the courtyard of the barracks, and they had a library. Money transfers were now permitted (although this likely did not help many colonial prisoners given the precarious state of overseas communications). The food supply was good thanks to deliveries of aid packages. The tobacco supply was still inadequate and religious services were not available. The Catholic priests who had previously offered masses had all left, and the Muslim prisoners lacked a room for worship. Nonetheless, the morale of the prisoners was very good, although many complained about having no postal connections with their homes. Thirteen prisoners were under arrest, most of them as a result of disputes with their French employers in the work commandos. Some arrested prisoners were noncom-missioned officers who had refused to work (on the basis of Article 27 of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War) but who had apparently signed work contracts with French employers before. The inspector, Jean Detroyat, hinted that there were irregularities in the distribution of aid packages in the camp, indicating that there might be corruption networks.[8]

The report of Algerian prisoner Brahim ben Driss confirms this

impression. Ben Driss escaped in August 1941 and wrote to the French authorities that the German camp administration, in conjunction with some pro-German North African prisoners, requisitioned aid packages and sold their contents to the prisoners. He also criticized the North Africans working as camp policemen, who were so brutal that the prisoners preferred dealing with the German guards. Ben Driss's escape almost failed because a French farmer betrayed his intention to flee to the Germans. Another farmer, however, helped him by giving him civilian clothing.[9]

Evidence of corruption is also revealed in the documents of the prefect of the Yonne Département. In August 1941, for example, the commander of Frontstalag 124 complained that the camp was not receiving adequate tobacco supplies. The prefect thereupon sent a list of all the deliveries, showing that the camp had been supplied at the prescribed level.[10]

Aside from the main camp, Detroyat inspected 19 work commandos in the area around Joigny. The state of the prisoners' clothing and shoes was worse in the commandos, while the food deliveries were uneven. In several commandos, Detroyat found much animosity among prisoners from different territories. The housing of the prisoners was sometimes in poor shape and not heatable. In Cosnes (Nièvre), 47 Algerians working for the German army were living in an abandoned factory with broken windows. A large work commando of 271 prisoners (169 West Africans, 55 North Africans, 42 Indochinese, and others) stationed in Fourchambault (Nièvre) had to load and unload trains at the local rail yard. The prisoners needed new shoes and clothes but were adequately supplied and showed good morale. Most prisoners of the work commandos visited by Detroyat worked for local farmers, and they were generally well fed.[11]

Like many other camps in France, Frontstalag 124 was closed in the latter half of 1941. The camp of Joigny and its work commandos became part of Frontstalag 141 in Vesoul on October 24, 1941.[12]

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 124 can be found in the following publication: Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cam-

bridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

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NOTES

1. "Liste de camps de prisonniers," July 15, 1940, in AN, F9, 2803.
2. Inspection report of Camp Pont Hubert, by Jefferson Patterson, September 17, 1940, in NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.
3. Inspection report, Frontstalag 124, Joigny, by Dr. Bonnaud, March 19, 1941, in PAAA, R 40769.
4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 124, Joigny, by [René?] Scapini, May 5, 1941, in PAAA, R 40770.
5. Inspection report, Frontstalag 124, Joigny, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, June 18, 1941, in CICR, Geneva, CSC**,** Service des camps, France (Frontstalags), F (-D) 124, 18.6.1941.
6. "Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des frontstalags," May–July 1941, in AN, F9, 2351.
7. Inspection report of Frontstalag 124, Kriegsgefangenen-Lazarett Auxerre, September 9, 1941, in PAAA, R 40990.
8. Inspection report of Frontstalag 124, Joigny, September 8, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, in PAAA, R 40990.
9. "Fiche de renseignements," undated, in AN, F9, 2892.
10. Prefect of the Département Yonne to Commander of Frontstalag 124, August 9, 1941, in AD-Y, 1 W 644.
11. Inspection of work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 124, September 8–11, 1941, in AN, F9, 2352.
12. Treasurer of Frontstalag 124 to Prefect of the Département Yonne, October 24, 1941, in AD-Y, 1 W 644.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 125

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 125 on July 19, 1940, and deactivated it on March 16, 1941. Frontstalag 125 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 079 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 125 existed only for a few months in Melun, southeast of Paris (map 2). It functioned as a transit camp for prisoners of war from July to December 1940. No record of camp inspections has survived. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) did receive a summary report about camps in the region of Paris in August 1940 that almost certainly referred to this camp. According to the author of the report, French army physician Dr. Marquezy, the camps in the area of Paris were overcrowded and offered very poor accommodations to approximately 45,000 prisoners, of whom almost a third were colonial prisoners. Initially, the Germans kept thousands unprotected in open fields, later quartering them in tents. Dysentery and other intestinal diseases were rampant. The food and lodging situation quickly improved by August, however, and an increasing number of prisoners were being moved into barracks.[1]

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NOTE

1. Médecin Cmdt. Marquezy to Directeur du Service de Santé de la Région de Paris, August 12, 1940, ICRC, Geneva, Section B, G3/21a: Mission en France, Belgique, Allemagne.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 126

The Wehrmacht formed Frontstalag 126 on August 26, 1940, and disbanded it on March 13, 1941. It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 413 between April 28 and September 19, 1940; the number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Frontstalag 126 was a short-term camp located in the cities Dinan and Saint-Brieuc on the northern coast of Brittany (map 1). Saint-Brieuc also had a separate camp (Frontstalag 134) for a short time. The main sites of these camps became work detachments of Frontstalag 133 in Rennes in late 1940 and early 1941. The majority of the prisoners in these details worked for the German armed forces. There appear to have been no inspections of Frontstalag 126 before it became part of Frontstalag 133.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 126 can be found in BArch B 162/28913 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2672).

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 127

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 127 on August 26, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III.[1] From mid-September 1940 to February 1941, the camp was located in Rennes (map 1). In February 1941, the headquarters was briefly relocated to Defense District VIII and then deployed to Sagan (today Żagań, Poland).[2] On March 22, 1941, the Germans redesignated the unit as a Dulag. Frontstalag 127 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 34 545 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. The number was struck between February 28 and September 27, 1941.

While deployed in France, the camp was subordinate to the Military Commander of France and the Military Administration District B (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich/ Militärverwaltungsbezirk* B). Between February 13 and March 22, 1941, the headquarters was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII.

During the deployment in France, the camp held French prisoners of war (POWs). The confinement conditions of the French POWs were satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 127 is located in BA-MA (RW6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and BArch B (162/8542– 8544).

Additional information about Frontstalag 127 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertеneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 75; and Georg Tessin,

Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 320.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 320.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 75.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 130

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 130 on July 20, 1940, and deactivated it on April 8, 1941. Frontstalag 130 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 959 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

Frontstalag 130 operated in Caen (map 1) during the German campaign in France but moved to Amiens (2) in the fall of 1940. It served as a transit camp for French prisoners of war in the first months after the campaign and was dissolved before regular camp inspections began. In Amiens, the camp occupied several sites including the large citadel at the northern fringe of the old town; all of these sites became part of Frontstalag 204 sometime before March 1941.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 131

The Wehrmacht formed Frontstalag 131 on July 20, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. From August 1940 to March 1941, the camp was located in Saint-Lô (map 1).[1]

It was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 444 and operated under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander of France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*). Frontstalag 131 held French prisoners of war. A subcamp with 1,500 French prisoners existed in a pyrotechnics factory in Cormelles-le-Royal, near Caen; these prisoners were sent to Germany in March 1941. On March 29, the camp was disbanded and Frontstalag 133 in Rennes took over the administration of the remaining work commandos.

Frontstalag 131 at Saint-Lô. POW labor detachment, May, 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Raffael Scheck and Alexander Kruglov

NOTE

1. BNF/CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 11 Octobre 1940, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 85 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 24 Mars 1941, p. 64).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 132

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 132 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on May 15, 1941, making it the basis of Dulag 132. Frontstalag 132 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 979 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

Frontstalag 132 was an important camp in the first phase of the German occupation of France. In early 1941, it held approximately 10,000 French prisoners, half in Laval (Mayenne) and the other half in Mulsanne (map 1). The camp in Laval was located in the Schneider Barracks (*Caserne Schneider*). The camp in Mulsanne was also a French barracks, which had been occupied by British troops in 1939 and 1940. After the arrival of German troops in June 1940, Mulsanne was part of Frontstalag 203, which was headquartered in Le Mans, but it was integrated into Frontstalag 132 before April 1941.

In the winter and spring of 1941, the camp in Laval was severely overcrowded. In March 1941, the commander, Major Eckert, wrote to mayors in the surrounding communities asking them to request prisoners for labor.[1] By April 1, 1941, 1,400 prisoners had thus been sent to work commandos, but the camp was still overcrowded and conditions were poor. It had no showers, no library, and only a poorly stocked canteen. At this time, the camp in Laval was holding 4,826 colonial and 100 metropolitan French prisoners. Religious services for Christians and Muslims were well organized. The prisoners performed construction work at a nearby airport and inside the camp, contributing to an improvement of conditions. The camp in Mulsanne held approximately 5,000 prisoners at this time, all colonial soldiers except for 65 metropolitan French soldiers. Many prisoners were assigned to work commandos in the countryside,

but the inspector of the Scapini Mission heard that many local farmers did not appreciate having North African prisoners as a labor force. The camp itself offered inadequate accommodations. 900 prisoners had to sleep on the bare floor for lack of mattresses.[2]

Conditions improved rapidly, however. In May 1941, when the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Laval, the Germans had reduced occupancy at the local camp to 3,459 colonial prisoners (3,112 "men of color," predominantly North Africans and a few Indochinese, as well as 347 "blacks," i.e., West Africans and Martinicans) and a few metropolitan French prisoners. Most prisoners worked outside the camp during the day, mostly on farms surrounding the town. A Muslim prisoner told the inspectors that the metropolitan French man of confidence (*homme de confiance*) gave preference to his countrymen in the distribution of food parcels; the inspectors suggested that a colonial soldier be appointed as the man of confidence, and the Germans concurred. Whether this actually happened is unclear.

Frontstalag 132 at Laval. Camp entrance, May, 1941. COURTESY

The Scapini Mission learned that conditions were rapidly improving in Frontstalag 132 during its second visit to the camps and work commandos on June 19–21, 1941. The camp in Laval only housed 1,932 prisoners at this time (mostly North Africans but also including 46 metropolitan French-men), and it had showers and better sleeping quarters. The same was true for Mulsanne, which housed 2,420 North Africans and a few metropolitan Frenchmen and Indochinese (some of whom were actually civilian workers who had erroneously been detained as prisoners of war [POWs] and were released not much later). The Frontstalag had work commandos up to 100 kilometers (62 miles) north and east of Laval in Mayenne, Vautorte, Ambrières, La Baroche, Evron, Averton (Château Lorgerie), Bais, St. Pierre-sur-Orthe, Bernay, Savigné-l'Evesque, Ballon, and Beaumont. The prisoners in these commandos were predominantly North Africans. They worked in agriculture, forestry, and public works (maintenance of roads and bridges). Conditions were generally good, but many prisoners needed new shoes. In some commandos the prisoners complained that the French employers had not yet paid them for their labor. The health situation in the camps of Laval and Mulsanne was not very good. The ICRC inspection noted in May 1941 that 10 percent of the prisoners in Laval showed signs of tuberculosis. The inspector of the Scapini Mission found 15–18 percent of the prisoners there to be affected by tuberculosis in June, in particular those prisoners who had spent the fall of 1940 in Germany.[3]

The camp in Mulsanne received several visits from Oberstleutnant Johannes Gutschmidt, who was in charge of several Frontstalags at the time. In his diary, Gutschmidt mentions that, in December 1940, the camp held some French civilians who had been mistaken for soldiers; he ordered their immediate dismissal. On Christmas 1940, Gutschmidt organized a celebration with the Catholic priest and some officers from the camp. In regular intervals, four women from the French Red Cross section in Paris drove two trucks to Mulsanne loaded with supplies for the prisoners. Gutschmidt, faced with a shortage of guards, ordered a better fence installed around the camp and launched several

construction projects, but some prisoners took advantage of the construction and escaped. During one of his frequent visits, Gutschmidt talked to the Algerian imam of the camp, who organized frequent Muslim services in a mosque installed on the campgrounds. Gutschmidt ordered that a small tower be built so that the muezzin could call the prisoners to prayer.[4]

After Gutschmidt left, several reports indicate tensions between the French noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and the colonial prisoners as well as abuses by guards who were becoming nervous because of frequent escapes. A violent incident occurred in a commando in Bernay (Sarthe): during a dispute with the other prisoners, the French NCO Jardinie, who was the man of confidence of the local commando, attacked the African soldier Faki-Boukakeur with a chair, hitting him so hard that Faki-Boukakeur was sent to the hospital and lost an eye.[5]

Another incident occurred in a commando of five North Africans near Laval on September 3, 1941. After a prisoner escaped, the German guard assembled the other four prisoners. Farmers heard five shots and then saw the guard ride away on his bicycle. Later on, they found the corpses of three prisoners. The Scapini Mission requested an investigation, and Ambassador Scapini made it clear that he took a personal interest in this matter. The German embassy, however, delayed an investigation on procedural grounds, pointing out that the Scapini Mission had sent some letters to the wrong addresses. It appears that the incident was never investigated due to this minor technicality. The guard probably claimed that he shot the prisoners during another escape attempt.[6]

In September 1941, a German guard shot and killed three North African prisoners on a farm in retaliation for a successful escape of another prisoner even though the murdered prisoners had not tried to escape. This incident triggered a sustained inquiry by the Scapini Mission. The Germans were evasive, however, even though Ambassador Scapini himself was deeply concerned and took a personal interest in the case.[7]

In December 1941, another scandal erupted in Laval, this time involving two French NCOs who were in charge of 600 colonial prisoners. The prisoners complained that the two NCOs had taken

money from them and treated them brutally. To the inspector from the Scapini Mission who investigated the case, the accused NCOs claimed that the prisoners had become unruly because of widespread gambling and that confiscating their money had been the only way to restore calm. The inspector found the NCOs untrustworthy but also argued that the accusations of the prisoners were exaggerated, as allegedly had to be expected from "indigenous" people.[8] It is unclear how the conflict was resolved.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans made intensive propaganda efforts in Frontstalag 132 because of the strong presence of North Africans, who were the principal target of German pro-Islamic propaganda. Some German officers appeared and told the prisoners: "You were Frenchmen for fighting, for letting yourselves get killed, for becoming prisoners. You are no longer considered Frenchmen when it comes to liberation." The German officers pretended that Germany would be happy to let the North African prisoners go but that the French government was objecting to their release.[9]

The last POWs left the camp of Mulsanne in the summer of 1941. The site became an internment camp for Gypsies and, in October 1942, for Jews on their way to the Drancy camp. The camp in Laval and the work commandos remained part of Frontstalag 132 until it was administratively dissolved and integrated into Frontstalag 133 at the end of 1941.

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NOTES

1. Feldkommandant in Vertretung Kraatz to Prefect of the département Mayenne, March 13, 1941, in AD-M, Laval, 239 W 4 (with a few other preparatory documents).

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 132 (Laval and Mulsanne), April 1, 1941, by Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2352, and PAAA, R 40769; "Relève des observations nécessitant une solution urgente," no date [1941], and "Rapport du Service d'Inspection des camps de P. G.—Frontstalags," no date [March or April 1941], both in AN, F9, 2345.

3. Inspection report, Frontstalag 132, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, May 26, 1941, in ICRC, Geneva, Service des camps, F (-D) 132, 26.05.41, and inspection report, Frontstalag 132 with work commandos, June 19–21, 1941, by Henri Dantan Merlin, in PAAA, R 40988 and AN, F9, 2352.

4. Lieutenant General Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," BA-MA, MSG 1/257, entries of December 8, 14, 24, 1940 (with photo of the Christmas celebration); January 5, 6, 23, 30, 1941; February 3, 5, 13, 18, and 21, 1941.

5. Inspection report, Frontstalag 132 with work commandos, June 19–21, 1941, by Dantan Merlin, in PAAA, R 40988 and AN, F9, 2352.

6. Desbons to Siegmann, October 1, 1941, Röhrig to Scapini Mission, October 1, 1941, as well as other correspondence in AN, F9, 2305. For the police report, see "Gendarmerie Nationale, 4eme Legion Sarthe, Section du Mans [23.9.1941]," in AN, F9, 2345. The guards stood under considerable pressure from the German Military Command to shoot immediately in case of escapes, and it seems that several guards who killed prisoners could easily defend themselves with reference to this pressure. See Raffael Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft? Die Behandlung der schwarzen französischen Kriegsgefangenen durch die deutsche Wehrmacht, 1940–1945," *Afrika im Blick. Afrikabilder im deutschsprachigen Europa, 1870–1970*, ed. Manuel Menrath (Zürich: Chronos, 2012), pp. 151–168 (here pp. 160–161).

7. Desbons to Captain Siegmann, October 1, 1941, in AN, F9, 2305.

8. Dantan Merlin to Scapini, December 10, 1941, in AN, F9, 2276.

9. General Boisseau to Secrétaire d'Etat à la Guerre, Chateauroux, October 1, 1941, in AN, F9, 2892. Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477 (here p. 457).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 133

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 133 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded it on August 16, 1944. It received several different field post numbers (*Feldpostnummer*): 32 312, assigned between April 28 and September 19, 1940, struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942; 18 129 D, assigned between January 10 and September 29, 1943, struck on December 28, 1944; 11 750 Z, assigned between January 10 and September 26, 1943, struck on January 30, 1945; and 64 674, assigned on December 4, 1944.

Frontstalag 133 was one of eight prisoner of war (POW) camps in France that existed until the end of the German occupation. Headquartered initially in the city of Rennes (map 1), an important traffic junction on the eastern side of Brittany, Frontstalag 133 absorbed all other camps from Normandy to the lower Loire valley, including Frontstalags 132 (Laval), one part of 135 (Quimper), 181 (Saumur), and 232 (Savenay), before April 1942. After this consolidation process, Frontstalag 133 was the largest camp in France, holding 8,375 men (including 2,005 West Africans, 1,760 Algerians, 733 Madagascans, 655 Moroccans, 468 Indochinese, 307 Tunisians, and 153 Martinicans). In 1943–1944, Frontstalag 133 also received several thousand British colonial prisoners, especially soldiers from South Africa and British India. These prisoners occupied the camps in Morancez near Chartres and various camps in and near Orléans. In the fall of 1943, the administration of Frontstalag 133 moved to Orléans and Chartres.

Shortly after occupying Rennes, the Germans took over several barracks and camps, most prominently the Camp de la Marne and the adjacent Camp de Verdun in the southwestern suburbs of the city. Little is known about the first months of Frontstalag 133, except that 9,500 French POWs had been sent to Germany from the camps in Rennes by November 12, 1940.[1]

Frontstalag 133 at Rennes. POW barracks, May 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The Scapini Mission carried out the first thorough inspection of the camps of Frontstalag 133 in March and April 1941. In the Camp de Verdun, also listed as Frontstalag 133A, the inspector found 3,336 French colonial prisoners, 64 French-men, and 2 foreigners. The vast majority of the prisoners worked on commandos in the countryside around the city. The camp was in unusually good shape, a fact for which the inspectors credited the commander, Hauptfeldwebel Polatzeck, whom they described as unusually understanding and caring. The camp had an excellent library, some films and film projectors, and a soccer field. The Camp de la Marne, also listed as Frontstalag 133D, received even more lavish praise. The Camp de la Marne at this point had 1,378 West African prisoners, 708 North Africans, 151 Frenchmen, and 2 Poles who had fought in French uniform. The only drop of bitterness was the state of health of some colonial prisoners: a doctor reported that 12.5 percent of the black prisoners displayed symptoms of tuberculosis.[2] The camps in Rennes by mistake also held 150 civilian workers from the French empire and one Belgian civilian. As in many similar cases, the German army had interned these people in POW camps on the suspicion that they were soldiers who had discarded their uniforms. It usually took several months and repeated protests by the Scapini Mission to get them liberated.

In June 1941, for the first time, the Scapini Mission also visited branch camps and work commandos of Frontstalag 133 in Brittany, the most remote of them being over 250 kilometers (155 miles) from Rennes. The largest subcamp was in Dinan (1,381 prisoners, including 879 West Africans and 489 Indochinese), where the prisoners worked in agriculture and on the local airport. This camp offered religious services for Muslims and Catholics and was in good condition. Most other work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 133 were small (20–30 prisoners) and deployed in agriculture and public services (foremost road building or maintenance and bridge repairs). Conditions and supplies varied given that local employers (farmers or town administrations) were responsible for lodging and feeding the prisoners. Many prisoners needed clothing and shoes.[3]

A new round of inspections in December 1941 noted that most prisoners in the coastal regions of Brittany were now employed by the German armed forces. Due to reasons of military secrecy, the inspection reports could not describe their occupation, but it appears that many prisoners performed construction work on forts, airports, and submarine bunkers. In some cases, prisoners grew food for German servicemen. The range in the quality of lodging and supplies persisted; the inspectors noted that the prisoners working for the Luftwaffe generally had the best food rations. The German armed forces offered higher daily wages than French employers. One of the largest work commandos in December 1941 was still in Dinan, albeit reduced to 520 prisoners (including 450 West Africans and 61 Indochinese). Among the larger work commandos figured also some recently incorporated camps and commandos, for example, in Brest, Vannes, and the fort of Crozon (formerly belonging to Frontstalag 135), as well as in Champagne near Le Mans (the Camp d'Auvours) and Laval (both formerly part of Frontstalag 132).[4]

Corruption and abuses seem to have been a prominent feature of Frontstalag 133 in 1941–1943. In the Camp d'Auvours, for example, a Tunisian sergeant acting as the French camp commander allegedly used his free time to cycle into town to buy vast quantities of alcohol and food that he sold for excessive prices in the camp. The sergeant enchained critics among the prisoners; the German commander, who did not speak French, was either

ignorant or complicit. A year later, the man of confidence in this camp accused the German commander of robbing aid packages himself. In Rennes, several prisoners complained about aid packages not arriving or being robbed of their most precious contents (such as chocolate, coffee, sugar, and cigarettes). In the Camp de la Marne, the French camp commander, a noncommissioned officer from Martinique, demanded money for prisoner clothing from aid packages sent by charities; the soldier Hassou Azontondji was thrown into prison without food after he protested against this practice.[5] Sometimes, prisoners directed their anger at North African Jewish prisoners in positions of authority.[6]

In March 1943, the prisoners of several camps belonging to Frontstalag 133 undertook a work slowdown in protest against the nonconsideration of colonial prisoners by the relief (*relève)* program, in which French POWs were released in exchange for the dispatch of qualified French workers to Germany. The Frontstalag commander heard that French civilians had told the colonial prisoners to insist on being dismissed under the relief, and he asked the Scapini Mission to urge the prisoners to resume work at full speed. The Scapini Mission rejected this demand, however.[7]

In 1943 and 1944, Frontstalag 133 was providing much labor for military purposes. Prisoners worked in armaments factories, carried out construction or maintenance work for military installations, and handled ammunition in train stations or airports. After bombardments, prisoners often had to perform the dangerous cleanup and reconstruction work. In some places, the local population resented the colonial prisoners because they were working for the Germans instead of escaping and joining the resistance.[8] Deployment for military purposes, moreover, almost always implied an increased risk of being attacked by Allied bombers at a time of intensifying bombardments of France. Bombings did kill or severely wound dozens of prisoners in Frontstalag 133. Generally, the French camp inspectors insisted on the availability of air raid shelters, but sometimes the prisoners could not reach them in time, and some commandos lacked adequate shelters despite repeated protests by the Scapini Mission.[9] At the airport of Orléans, for example, a bombing attack killed 7 members of a work commando of 130 prisoners (mostly North Africans) on February 7, 1944. In La Ferté-Saint-Aubin,

Vierzon, Bourges, and Salbris, prisoners worked in ammunition factories, sometimes guarded by French personnel. Many of these prisoners also experienced bombing attacks that caused several deaths among them.

Beginning in April 1943, and particularly after the Italian surrender in September, British colonial prisoners from Italy began arriving in Frontstalag 133. They usually occupied separate sections of existing camps for French colonial prisoners, but they had contacts with French prisoners and civilians. The camp of Orléans had 1,400 South Africans who worked in town in November 1943, and the camp of Morancez (Eureet-Loir) also held 800 (later 900) British colonial soldiers, together with 228 soldiers from French North Africa. In a large commando in the Camp Marguerite in Rennes, 840 British Hindu prisoners worked together with 416 French West Africans; relations between the two groups were very good. Six hundred South Africans belonged to the camp at Chartres in November 1943, where they also performed work in town. These South Africans had arrived badly nourished and engaged in intense trading with French colonial prisoners, apparently to the latter's advantage. The (French) camp inspectors hoped that Red Cross parcels for the South Africans would arrive soon and put an end to this trade, and the situation did indeed improve rapidly. In April 1944, Chartres had 1,700 British colonial prisoners situated in relatively good conditions. Many of the South Africans in Frontstalag 133, described as "half-Indians" in the inspection reports, had been captured by the Axis forces in North Africa.

The British prisoners appear to have been better supplied than the French colonial prisoners, at least after the first weeks following their arrival in France. They received parcels from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the French Red Cross, and the Germans gave them new French uniforms from the stocks earmarked for French colonial prisoners. Although the Germans initially used some British prisoners for war-related labor, for example, at the airport of Orléans, a Swiss inspector visiting Frontstalag 133 in early 1944 insisted with success that the British prisoners not be deployed for military purposes.[10] Sick British prisoners were treated by French and German doctors in hospitals that also served French prisoners.[11] By June 1944,

however, the Scapini Mission urged the Germans to separate British and French colonial prisoners; the fact that the British prisoners received twice as many aid parcels and enjoyed better work conditions had triggered jealousy among the French colonial soldiers, who blamed France for their inferior conditions.[12] Inspections of the camps, commandos, and hospitals with British colonial prisoners reveal generally good conditions. The German camp commanders gave them heavy worker rations when they arrived from Italy in poor condition, and the inspectors noted few reasons for complaints.[13]

In 1943, Frontstalag 133 took over several sites east of Rennes that had long been occupied by other Frontstalags, most notably Orléans and Chartres, which had been the headquarters of Frontstalag 153. The organizational center of Frontstalag 133 moved from Rennes to a large camp in the Dunois quarter in Orléans in 1943, and the camp commander during the last months of the German occupation was Oberst Freiherr von Kanitz. A small officer camp was established on a section of the larger camp, holding 18 French colonial officers under very good conditions (as usual, these officers had servants drafted from the rank-and-file prisoners, received better food, and did not have to work). That the Germans in this case respected the provisions of the Geneva Convention for officers (separate housing from rank-and-file troops; no obligation to work) is surprising, given that the few "indigenous" officers were almost always kept together with privates and had to work.[14]

For unknown reasons, the German army opened a sub-camp of Frontstalag 133 in Beauvais, north of Paris. Installed in old French army barracks, this camp held 435 "colored" South African POWs who worked at the nearby airport, although apparently not in violation of Article 31 of the Geneva Convention. Conditions in this camp were excellent. The prisoners had good recreational facilities, musical instruments, and excellent medical and dental care. The Swiss camp inspector praised the German commander and his staff for their effort to improve the lot of the prisoners.[15] It appears that these prisoners were later sent to camps in Laon, Sedan, Charleville-Mézières, and Nancy.[16]

In 1943–1944, another distant subcamp of Frontstalag 133 existed in Charleville-Mézières (northeastern France). This camp

held an unknown number of British colonial prisoners (including a commando of 103 British colonial soldiers in Sedan) and (in June 1944) nine work commandos under French cadres with a total of 483 prisoners.[17]

As is true for all camps in German-occupied France, little documentation exists for the last weeks of Frontstalag 133. A detailed inspection occurred only in the camp of Morancez, a few kilometers south of Chartres, which housed 307 British colonial prisoners and oversaw work commandos with 957 other British colonial prisoners. The prisoners had to load and unload trucks and perform clearing work after bombings, possibly in violation of Article 31 (although neither the inspector nor the man of confidence [*homme de confiance*] complained). The German commander promised to withdraw the prisoners from areas threatening to become war zones. The food supply of the prisoners had declined because the aid parcels from the Red Cross no longer arrived due to the fighting. The clothes and the shoes of the prisoners were in poor shape. The inspector noted tensions among the prisoners that sometimes erupted into stabbings. Still, the conditions in the camp were good overall.[18]

French colonial prisoners experienced increasing pressure to perform war-related work as the fighting front approached. In July 1944, the Scapini Mission protested to the Military Commander (*Militärbefehlshaber)* because West African prisoners from the Camp de la Marne in Rennes had to load and unload ammunition for the troops fighting in Normandy.[19] With Allied forces advancing on central France in early August 1944, the German army ordered the transfer of remaining Frontstalag prisoners to Germany. The French Resistance, however, held up several trains with prisoners from the region of Chartres and Orléans and liberated some of the local camps, thus sparing these prisoners the dangerous transfer to Germany.[20] Almost certainly, the French and British prisoners from Frontstalag 133 who were in Charleville-Mézières were sent to Stalags in southern Germany and Austria, where they experienced severe food shortages and heavy bombings. A special case was a commando of 115 North African prisoners from Frontstalag 133 working for the Organisation Todt on the British Channel Islands. The Germans were unable to evacuate this commando during the Allied invasion of Normandy,

and the prisoners kept working on the islands, which were German-occupied until the end of the war. An ICRC representative visited them in early 1945 and found that they urgently needed food and clothing, which they received through a neutral ship. These prisoners were likely the last French POWs in German hands to be liberated—on May 9, 1945.[21]

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NOTES

1. Oberstleutnant Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," BA-MA, MSG 1: 257, entry November 12, 1940; website "Les camps de Rennes," at bastas.pagesperso-orange.fr/pga/camps-francais/camp-renn.htm.

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 133A, April 2, 1941, and inspection report, Rennes-Marnelager (Frontstalag 133D), no date [likely end of March 1941], both in PAAA, R 40769.

3. Inspection reports of Frontstalag 133 and Arbeitskommandos, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 23–24, 1941, in PAAA, R 40988.

4. Inspection reports of Frontstalag 133 and Arbeitskommandos, by Henri Dantan Merlin, December 5, 1941, in PAAA, R 40991.

5. For most examples, see the correspondence in the folder "Frontstalag 133 Rennes" in AN, F9, 2352; Sergeant Fasely to Président du Comité, October 16, 1942, in AN, F9, 2965; ICRC Geneva to Direction des Services des prisonniers de guerre à Lyon, May 20, 1943, in AN, F9, 2351.

6. See, for example, Mohamed Ben Amara to Scapini Mission, December 2, 1943, in AN, F9, 2351.

7. Bonnaud to Scapini, April 5, 1943, in AN, F9, 2305.

8. See, for example, the reports by the *assistantes coloniales* after visits to commandos in Moulins-sur-Allier and Morancez, March–April 1944, in AN, F9, 2966.

9. One drastic example was a work commando on the airport of Bourges, where the prisoners were locked up in a barrack at night, guarded by two dogs, and without any preparations for air-raid alarms: Bigard to Scapini, March 18, 1944, in AN, F9, 2305. The Camp d'Auvours also lacked shelters. The prisoners were told to just run into the fields in case of an air attack: "Activité des sections: Quinzaine du 15 au 31 mars. Section du Mans," in AN, F9, 2966.

10. Camp inspection, Frontstalag 133, March 27, 1944, by Gabriel Naville, in National Archives, Kew, WO 224/57.

11. Inspection, Zweiglager (Lazarett), Frontstalag 133, November 26, 1943, by Drs. Schirmer and de Morsier, and inspection, Lazarett Orléans, December 1, 1943, by Drs. Schirmer and de Morsier, both in National Archives Kew, WO 224/57.

12. Inspection report of Frontstalag 133, by Pierre Guion and Henri Dantan Merlin, April 3–4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2352; inspection reports of camps of Orléans and Chartres, by Jean Detroyat, November 4, 1943, in AN, F9, 2353; inspection of Frontstalag 133, Détachement de travail "Luftwaffe," by the ICRC, December 7, 1943, in Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, F (-D) 133 (DST), 7. 12. 1943; inspection reports of camps Orléans-Chartres and Morancez, in AN, F9, 2353; "Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," Paris, April 20, 1943, in AN, F9, 2345; inspection report of Frontstalag 133, Charleville-Mézières, June 1–4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2345; "Visite du camp de Morancez," by Guion and Dantan Merlin, April 4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2305.

13. Inspection reports 1943–1944, in ADM, WO 224/57.

14. "Visite du Stalag 133. Visite du camp du quartier Dunois à Orléans," by Pierre Guion and Henri Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2305; inspection report of Frontstalag 133, Charleville-Mézières, June 1–4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2345; "Frontstalag 133. Camp des officiers à Orléans," by Jean Detroyat, November 4, 1943, in AN, F9, 2353.

15. Camp inspection, Beauvais (part of Frontstalag 133), March 28, 1944, by Gabriel Naville, in ADM, WO 224/57.

16. Camp inspection, Frontstalag 133, Camp de Morancez, Dr. de Morsier, July 18, 1944, in ADM, WO 224/57.

17. Inspection reports of Frontstalag 133, camps of Charleville and Arbeitskommandos, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 1–4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2355; Charlier to Detroyat, October 4, 1943, in AN, F9, 2351; inspection report of Frontstalag 133, Charleville-Mézières, June 1–4, 1944, in AN, F9, 2345; "Visite du Stalag 133. Visite du camp du quartier Dunois à Orléans," by Pierre Guion and Henri Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2305.

18. Camp inspection, Camp de Morancez (part of Frontstalag 133), by Dr. de Morsier, July 18, 1944, in ADM, WO 224/57.

19. Guion to Militärbefehlshaber, July 24, 1944, in AN, F9, 2148.

20. Nancy Ellen Lawler, *Soldiers of Misfortune: Ivoirien Tirailleurs of World War II* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), pp. 184–185.

21. Müller (Auswärtiges Amt) to Scapini, July 22, 1944, in AN, F9, 2148; Ministère des Affaires étrangères to Ministère des Prisonniers, Déportés et Réfugies, no date [January or February 1945], in AN, F9, 3159; Margaret Ginns, "French North African Prisoners of War in Jersey," *Channel Islands Occupation Review* (1985).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 134

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 134 on July 20, 1940, as a temporary camp for French prisoners of war in Saint-Brieuc, on the coast of Brittany (map 1). They disbanded the camp on March 15, 1941, after most of the prisoners were sent to Germany. Its remaining work commandos were integrated into Frontstalag 133 in Rennes. No records of this camp seem to have survived. The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 911 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 135

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 135 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on June 12, 1942. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 34 670 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

The main camp of Frontstalag 135 was located at the southwestern edge of the town of Quimper, along the Odet River in a section called Lanniron (map 1). The commander of the Frontstalag was an Oberst von Vignau (also spelled du Vigneau in French sources), and the castle of Lanniron housed the camp's German staff. Through its control of a network of subcamps and work commandos in Brittany, Frontstalag 135 provided labor for the local agricultural economy and for the German armed forces on the coastline. Frontstalag 135 had many small agricultural work commandos as well as some large commandos in the metropolitan area of Brest, Vannes, and other places near the Atlantic coast, where the prisoners were working for the Wehrmacht.

Some camps of Frontstalag 135 held large numbers of civilian workers whom the Germans had mistaken for colonial soldiers. Perhaps because many of them had to work on secret military sites, the Germans only released the civilian workers of Frontstalag 135 after a long delay. After the Wehrmacht deactivated Frontstalag 135, Frontstalag 133 in Rennes took over its subcamps and work commandos.

In May 1941, Frontstalag 135 held 7,746 prisoners, including 6,943 colonial prisoners and 803 metropolitan French-men. A total of 2,300 prisoners stayed in the main camp in Quimper-Lanniron, and 666 lived in the abandoned Saint-Charles School in Quimper. Frontstalag 135 oversaw 79 work commandos, all but 6 of which had fewer than 100 prisoners. The main camp in Lanniron had 30 barracks housing up to 90 men each. It had a mosque and an

excellent library. Unlike in most other camps, where the German army took over an existing site (usually French army barracks), the camp of Lanniron was mostly of new construction. To build the camp and to procure wood for the barracks, the German army requisitioned land and cut down 800 apple trees, much to the outrage of the owners, who requested indemnification during and after the war.[1] The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspectors who visited the camp in May 1941 noted that the Germans separated soldiers from different territories to mitigate tensions, especially between Algerians and Moroccans. The Algerians were jealous because the Moroccans had a supply organization that provided more for them than for the other prisoners (a frequent problem in Frontstalags). Altogether, however, the ICRC inspectors rated the camp as "excellent," with the only major complaint being the low tobacco distributions. Tuberculosis was less frequent than in other camps, with an estimated rate below 3 percent, and the sick prisoners received good treatment in a hospital in nearby Brizeux.[2]

Frontstalag 135 at Quimper. May, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

In June 1941, the population of the Frontstalag had declined to 6,497, partly because of the transfer of most metropolitan French soldiers to camps in Germany and partly because the Germans had dispatched 500 prisoners to Frontstalag 153 in Chartres, which needed more laborers.[3] The vast majority of the prisoners (5,188) were deployed in work commandos; only 1,276 prisoners remained in the main camp in Quimper, many of them working at a nearby airport for the Luftwaffe. The camp still held 108 Indochinese and 25 North African civilian workers. Although the inspector of the Scapini Mission confirmed that conditions in the main camp were good, he found that prisoners in some work commandos experienced great hardship. In a large commando at the Poulmic Air Base near Brest, the tensions between the 302 Moroccan and 230 Algerian prisoners led to violence, and an unusually brutal camp police force, which Algerians dominated, terrorized the camp. Every week, prisoners were treated at the hospital for severe wounds from beatings with sticks that the camp police had administered. Although the food rations and medical care in this commando were good, the barracks were in poor shape, many of them having broken windows. Hygiene was poor, partly because the camp had no fresh water supply (drinking water had to be transported to the camp in large buckets).[4]

Another large commando, with 2,045 North Africans, was located in a former military camp in Brest-Pontanézen. As was the case elsewhere in the Brest region, the prisoners performed construction work for the Wehrmacht and Kriegsmarine, possibly for submarine bases in the town. As in other camps belonging to Frontstalag 135, the Germans interned civilians from the empire here by mistake (86 Moroccans and 60 Indochinese). Conditions in this work commando were good; as was frequently the case in commandos working for the German armed forces, the food supply was better than average.[5]

Another work commando was located in Fort de Crozon, a military base on the southern side of the estuary facing the port of Brest. The 586 prisoners (420 Algerians, 162 Moroccans, 2 Tunisians, and 2 metropolitan Frenchmen) performed unspecified construction work for military purposes. The prisoners were comfortably housed, but the food deliveries arrived somewhat irregularly. The work commando included 30 Moroccan civilian

workers whom the Germans interned by mistake.[6]

In the Camp at Coëtquidan, near Guer in eastern Brittany, the Germans placed 574 North African prisoners in a former French military facility. The ICRC inspectors who visited the camp in May 1941 were impressed by the excellent housing and food supply. They pointed out that the prisoners even received barrels of apple cider, a Breton specialty. The inspectors considered the camp "magnificent" and praised its "exemplary cleanness."[7] When the French camp inspector arrived a month later, there were 565 prisoners in the commando, including 363 Algerians, 175 Moroccans, and 20 Tunisians. The inspector concurred with the ICRC report about the good lodging but pointed out that the camp had recently experienced irregular food deliveries.[8]

In Vannes, a coastal city in southeastern Brittany, 607 prisoners, including 360 Algerians, 139 Tunisians, 17 Moroccans, 7 French North Africans, 3 West Africans, and 1 Martinican, were working under good conditions. They were comfortably housed in former barracks, and their food supply was very good.[9] In August 1941, a German guard in Vannes fatally shot a prisoner named Abdallah ben Salah. Apparently, a group of prisoners had refused to obey the orders of the guard and walked defiantly toward him. The guard felt threatened and shot into the group without aiming at anybody in particular. The incident triggered an investigation, but there never was a trial.[10]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 135 can be found in AMQ; AN (F9, 2351 and 3657, dossier 5); and the Archives of the ICRC (Geneva, B SC, Service des camps, France); and the PAAA (R 40988).

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NOTES

1. Correspondence Archives municipales de Quimper, Ergué-Armel, H non coté.

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 135, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, May 28, 1941, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, B SC, Service des camps, France.

3. “Lagebericht für die Zeit vom 15.6. bis 12.7.1941,” AN, F9, 3657, dossier 5.

4. Inspection reports of Frontstalag 135 and Arbeitskommandos, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 25–27, 1941, PAAA, R 40988.

5. Inspection report of work commando Brest-Pontanézen, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 26, 1941, PAAA, R 40988.

6. Inspection report of work commando Fort de Crozon, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 26, 1941, PAAA, R 40988.

7. Inspection report of work commando Coëtquidan, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, May 27, 1941, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, B SC, Service des camps, France.

8. Inspection report of work commando Coëtquidan, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 26, 1941, PAAA, R 40988.

9. Inspection report of work commando Vannes, by Henri Dantan Merlin, June 26, 1941, PAAA, R 40988.

10. Wiegand (OKW) to Scapini, August 21, 1941, AN, F9, 2351.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 136

The Wehrmacht formed Frontstalag 136 on August 17, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV and, beginning in August 1940, was deployed in France.[1] On March 27, 1941, the Germans disbanded the unit and used its personnel to create AGSSt 2, 6, 7, and 8.[2] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 586 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between February 16 and July 18, 1942. While deployed in France, the camp was under the Armed Forces Commander of France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*).

Frontstalag 136 held French prisoners of war. Specific information on the conditions in the camp are not available, but indications are that they were satisfactory and complied with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 136 is located in BA-MA, RW6—Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens.

Additional information about Frontstalag 136 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 77; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 25.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 25.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 77.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 137

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 137 in Giromagny, in the Vosges (map 2), on August 18, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 22, 1941. Frontstalag 137 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 717 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between July 19, 1941, and February 14, 1942.

Frontstalag 137 probably held French soldiers who had occupied the large fortress complex south of Giromagny, which was part of the Maginot Line. No records of this Frontstalag are known to have survived.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 140

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 140 on July 27, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 19, 1941. Frontstalag 140 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 274 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

Frontstalag 140 was one of the short-lived camps that housed the large numbers of French prisoners of war (POWs) taken by the Germans after the fall of France in June 1940. They captured many POWs in the region of Belfort (map 2), an important fortress town, at the very end of the campaign; the prisoners in Frontstalag 140 were probably soldiers responsible for the defenses of the local forts and the nearby Maginot Line. The Germans deactivated Frontstalag 140 after the departure of the metropolitan French prisoners to permanent camps in Germany. No records of conditions in this camp are known to have survived.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 141

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 141 on July 26, 1940, in the small town of Vesoul (Haute-Saône Département), in the Franche-Comté region of northeastern France (map 2). It was the smallest of the eight camps remaining after the large consolidation of Frontstalags in late 1941 and early 1942. By April 1942, Frontstalag 141 had absorbed the former Frontstalags 121 (Épinal) and 124 (Joigny) and had 2,602 prisoners. Most of the prisoners worked in agriculture and forestry, in a large area from the Swiss border to the upper Saône and upper Marne valleys; others worked for the Peugeot car company. Frontstalag 141 had a mix of prisoners in April 1942 (1,095 West Africans, 547 Indochinese, 441 Madagascans, 211 Algerians, 178 Moroccans, 57 Tunisians, and 21 Martinicans), but, by that summer, it held predominantly Indochinese prisoners; the camp population had also increased to 2,903 prisoners. Frontstalag 141 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 219 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

In 1943, Frontstalag 141 was one of the two first camps that saw a partial substitution of French cadres for German guards. In the second half of 1943 (sometime after August 21), the camp was integrated into Frontstalag 194 (headquartered in Châlons-sur-Marne and later Nancy). At that point, the Vesoul camp was divided into two sections: one for French colonial prisoners captured in 1940 and one for colonial prisoners who had been recaptured after an escape. Most of the prisoners in the second category were soldiers with mixed racial background whom the Germans had transferred from the prisoner of war (POW) penal camp in Rawa Ruska (part of Stalag 325). In late 1943, the Germans also established a section for prisoners of color from the Free French forces in Vesoul, but this section seems to have been already administered by Frontstalag 194. Given the proximity of

Vesoul to Germany, most of the prisoners from this camp went to Germany in the fall of 1944, although a few escaped in time or were liberated by the French Resistance.

Early information on Frontstalag Vesoul was very positive. The local Red Cross section reported in August 1940 that the civilians in town were exceptionally helpful toward the prisoners, and the first inspection by the Scapini Mission in March 1941 pointed out that the prisoners enjoyed more freedom than elsewhere and seemed to be "privileged." Another French camp inspector visiting Vesoul in May 1941 also drew a positive picture. At this time, the main camp had 326 Frenchmen, 270 Tunisians, and 30 Moroccans. Some of the prisoners worked inside the camp improving the physical plant, and 369 prisoners worked in forestry around the town. The camp report lists two German commanders, a Major von Seutter-Lotzen and a Hauptmann [sometimes listed as Major] Wagner. Wagner, who might have been in charge specifically of the main camp in Vesoul, received special praise for his efforts to organize plays, film showings, concerts, and sports events. The camp existed in a former army barracks in Vesoul that had belonged to the French 11th *bataillon des chasseurs*. It offered very good physical conditions, an excellent canteen, and a large library. The prisoners' food supply was very good, thanks in part to a noble lady associated with the local section of the French Red Cross, who generously complemented the rations of the prisoners. The only problem reported was a lack of tobacco.[1]

By September 1941, the Frontstalag, then commanded by Major Reizt, oversaw over 50 work commandos from the Swiss border to the foot of the Morvan Mountains, a region with a diameter of approximately 250 kilometers (155 miles). Almost all of the commandos were small (7 to 22 prisoners) and deployed in agriculture or forestry. One large commando existed at the military camp of Valdahon (Doubs), with 313 prisoners (129 Moroccans, 75 Tunisians, 49 West Africans, 29 Madagascans, 25 Algerians, and 6 "white" prisoners). Conditions in this camp were good, and when the inspector suggested that a room be assigned to serve as a mosque, the German authorities complied immediately.[2] Later, an African sergeant denounced several of his fellow prisoners from this camp for displaying an "unpatriotic spirit," implying that they might have spied on other prisoners and betrayed escape plans to

the Germans.[3] Generally, the small commandos, dominated by West Africans and Indochinese prisoners, were in good shape. In Gray (Haute-Saône), a work commando of six Indochinese produced artistic paper flowers during their free time and sold them to the local population. In Pesmes (Jura), 10 Indochinese prisoners had established a vegetable garden to supplement their own food supply. In many cases, civilians supported the prisoners despite the occasional complaints of farmers about the prisoners' excessive pay. In some cases, the inspector warned that the prisoners' housing was not fit for the cold season, but the Germans often withdrew the small commandos to the large camps during the winter.[4] Guard duty in the small commandos of Frontstalag 141 was very lax, probably because the German army knew that black and Indochinese prisoners were least likely to escape. In some villages in the Jura Mountains, a single guard made a tour of farms on his bicycle every day just to make sure that all the prisoners (usually one or two per farm) were still there.[5]

In September 1941, the main camp in Vesoul held 249 prisoners (175 North Africans, 36 Frenchmen, 28 Indochinese, 6 West Africans, 2 Madagascans as well as 1 Russian and 1 Pole captured in French uniform). The conditions were still very good, and the inspector noted that the camp was well prepared to accommodate prisoners who would be withdrawn from the agricultural commandos during the winter. The inspector only bemoaned that the tobacco supplies were low and that there were no Christian religious services even though the Muslims had several Imams and a room reserved for worship.[6]

A new round of inspections of the work commandos in December 1941 revealed that many small commandos had been consolidated into larger ones for the winter, and it also reflected the seasonal shift of focus from agriculture to forestry. Religious services for Muslims were available everywhere, but there was a lack of clothing in a few commandos and a problem with delays in the payments of the prisoners. A large forestry commando in the Chaux forest near Dole (Jura) seemed to offer the worst conditions: the 153 prisoners (133

West Africans, 16 Algerians, 2 Moroccans, and 2 Tunisians) lived in cramped barracks and had no access to fresh water (they collected and drank rain water). Their health was not good, and

they needed shoes, socks, gloves, soap, and lamps. In another forestry commando, in Auberive (Haute-Marne), conditions for the 100 West African and 15 Indochinese prisoners were very good; nevertheless, 11 West Africans had escaped from the camp the day preceding the inspection. In nearby Arc-en-Barrois (Haute-Marne), a forestry commando of 104 West Africans and 3 Martinicans occupied an idyllic château.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) began transferring almost all Indochinese prisoners to the Frontstalag in Vesoul. The French authorities had pressed the Germans for some time to concentrate prisoners from the same colony in the same camps, so as to facilitate their supply with food that fit their cooking habits (e.g., rice for the Indochinese and couscous for the North Africans). But why the OKW chose the region of Vesoul for the Indochinese prisoners remains unclear. Perhaps the OKW considered the fact that in April 1942 Frontstalag 141 already had more Indochinese prisoners than any other Frontstalag and that it would be easiest to bring all the Indochinese there.[8] It is obvious from the documents that German and French officials believed that Indochinese men were physically weaker than Africans and could not do hard labor, and an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) report of November 1942 mentioned this argument as the reason for the concentration of Indochinese prisoners in Frontstalag 141.[9] This was counterintuitive, however, because Vesoul had many forestry work detachments, and forestry was the hardest form of physical labor in the Frontstalag. Moreover, the climate in parts of the region, particularly along the Jura Mountains, was one of the coldest of German-occupied France. Still, by July 1942, 2,355 of a total 2,553 Indochinese prisoners in France were sent to Frontstalag 141.[10] They constituted the majority of the prisoners in this Frontstalag (approximately 80%), sharing it with several hundred West and North Africans and some “white” prisoners.

The transfer of the Indochinese prisoners led to a tragic incident on May 20, 1942, when 350 prisoners en route from Rennes to Vesoul took advantage of a sleeping guard and tried to escape. Other guards, however, opened fire, killing seven prisoners and severely wounding three others before recapturing most of the escaped prisoners. According to witnesses, the prisoners believed

that they were being brought to Germany and decided that they would rather die.[11]

Conditions in Frontstalag 141 remained stable in 1942, as a six-day inspection of the commandos by René Scapini in October 1942 demonstrated. Only one commando, in Montarlot (Côte d'Or), was poorly supplied with food.[12] An ICRC team visiting the Frontstalag in November 1942 confirmed the good impressions of the physical conditions and the supply of this camp.[13] As René Scapini pointed out, however, the insecurity of postal connections with the colonies lowered the morale of most prisoners in Frontstalag 141. This difficulty tended to affect the prisoners from the more distant colonies the hardest; most Indochinese prisoners never heard from their families for the entire duration of the war. Another inspection tour by Dr. Bonnaud from February 3 through February 7, 1943, revealed that the Indochinese were treated particularly well by the Germans. They had good food supplies and relatively light work. The Germans even decreed a three-day holiday so that the Indochinese could celebrate Tet, the Vietnamese New Year. By contrast, the inspector found that the Germans treated the North Africans with more severity.[14]

The archives of the Yonne Département in Auxerre offer a close look at the labor deployment of prisoners in this area, formerly controlled by Frontstalag 124. While the German authorities urged French employers (farmers, businessmen, and town mayors) to hire POWs, many employers balked because they argued that the POWs, especially the Indochinese, were not as useful as the peacetime laborers and because they hated having to pay the prisoners during periods of low-intensity labor, especially during the winter. The mayor of Gisy-les-Nobles complained to the prefect of the department that the Indochinese prisoners "do not satisfy the farmers. They leave work whenever they please and even threaten employers who ask them to stay." The mayor of Pont-sur-Yonne complained to a colleague: "These men are good for nothing. The farmers need to employ all sorts of pressure short of physical violence to make them work. It is pointless; they are gourmets and lazybones, incapable of all work. This is a nuisance that is setting a bad example because the unwillingness of the prisoners to work affects the other workers as well."[15]

In late 1942 and early 1943, two new developments affected

Frontstalag 141. First, a section of the camp in Vesoul became a detention center for prisoners of color who were subject to disciplinary measures, and second, the Frontstalag became one of the first camps in which commandos of colonial prisoners received French cadres instead of German guards.

The disciplinary section of the camp included a group of 250 prisoners who had initially been held in Stalags in Germany. Most of them were punished for repeated escapes, and a few of them were noncommissioned officers (NCOs) who had refused to work (the Germans did not recognize the French NCOs as officers, whom the Geneva Convention exempted from labor, and thus required them to work). The Germans considered many of the Frontstalag's new prisoners to be of mixed race (mostly North African and French) and had interned them for a few months in the harsh reprisal camp in Rawa Ruska near Lemberg (Polish: Lwów; today, L'viv, Ukraine) in German-occupied Poland, but the OKW sent them back to France in November 1942 because the climate in Poland was too harsh for them. The Scapini Mission tried to learn as much as possible about these prisoners and to help them, but the Germans kept them under particularly strict guard and allowed access to them only with severe restrictions. These prisoners suffered a harsher regimen than the majority of prisoners in Frontstalag 141, who continued to work under relatively good conditions and lax guarding.[16]

The program that replaced German guards with French officers and NCOs, to which the Germans agreed in January 1943, started in the Frontstalags of Vesoul and Nancy in March. By September, 1,117 colonial prisoners in Vesoul were under French cadres (887 Indochinese and 230 North Africans).[17] The prisoners' reaction was mixed. Even before the arrival of French cadres, some prisoners in Frontstalag 141 had complained about the attitude of the white officers in captivity with them. For example, in February 1943, some North Africans complained to a POW organization in Paris that their French officers were fraternizing with German officers and enjoying a leisurely time in the spa town of Vittel, while treating the African prisoners with contempt.[18] The arrival of other white officers guarding colonial soldiers on behalf of the enemy deepened the animosity of these prisoners toward white French officers. Other prisoners, however, appreciated their French

guards because they felt even freer than before and because being guarded by officers and NCOs from their own army made them feel less homesick.[19]

There is no doubt, however, that the presence of French guards for colonial prisoners triggered hostility from the local population, particularly in Vesoul. When the French cadres arrived, pamphlets circulated in town saying: "Hold tight: The bootlickers of the debacle have arrived." When a French NCO hit a colonial prisoner at the train station, townspeople yelled at the French cadres: "You bunch of lazybones, what are you doing here? You will all be hanged." In a restaurant, French cadres triggered a fistfight with the locals when they complained about the high prices, and civilians insulted them as cowards who had done nothing to defend France in 1940. The French officer in charge of the cadres in Vesoul defended their behavior and argued that the public hostility was merely the result of Communist propaganda.[20]

In 1943, more prisoners in Frontstalag 141 began working in industrial facilities and, therefore, became more vulnerable to bombing attacks. Several work detachments of Frontstalag 141 were employed by the Peugeot car company. Although this company had ties to the French Resistance and British agents and was therefore rarely bombed, one prisoner in a work unit of 156 North Africans deployed in the Peugeot factory in Montbéliard was killed by bombs on June 16, 1943.[21]

Sometime in the second half of 1943, Frontstalag 194 took over the administration of Frontstalag 141. The work detachments, the disciplinary section of the Vesoul camp, and the French cadres remained.

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NOTES

1. "Comité de la Croix-Rouge de Vesoul; Activité du Comité," August 8, 1940, in AN, F9, 2353; Inspection report of Frontstalag 141, by Dr. Bonnaud, March 21, 1941, AN, F9, 2353; Inspection report of Frontstalag 141, by René Scapini, May 13, 1941, AN, F9, 2353 (French), and PAAA, R 40770 (German).

2. Inspection reports of work detachments belonging to Frontstalag 141, by Jean Detroyat, September 12–13, 1941, PAAA, R 40990.

3. "Compte rendu," March 1942, AN, F9, 2353.

4. Inspection reports of work detachments belonging to Frontstalag 141, by Jean Detroyat, September 12–13, 1941, PAAA, R 40990.

5. Feldkommandantur 560 to Kreiskommandanturen, February 22, 1941, AN, AJ 40, 954.

6. Inspection report of Frontstalag 141, by Jean Detroyat, September 11, 1941, PAAA, R 40990.

7. Inspection reports of work detachments belonging to Frontstalag 141, by René Scapini, December 16, 1941, PAAA, R 40991.

8. An incomplete list of April 20, 1942, shows 547 Indochinese prisoners in Frontstalag 141: "Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des frontstalags," AN, F9, 2351.

9. Inspection report of Frontstalag 141, by ICRC, November 12–13, 1942, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, Service des Camps, F (-D) 141, 24.06.41-13.11.42.

10. Amicale des Annamites, états des commandos indochinois, July 31, 1942, AN, F9, 2345.

11. Note pour le cabinet, Bonnaud, May 28, 1942, AN, F9, 2345.

12. Service de l'inspection des camps. Notes pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur, December 5, 1942, AN, F9, 2345.

13. Inspection reports of Frontstalag 141, by ICRC, November 12–13, 1942, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, Service des Camps, F (-D) 141, 24.06.41-13.11.42, and AN, F9, 2353.

14. "Service de l'inspection des Camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," March 24, 1943, AN, F9, 2345,

15. Correspondence with town mayors, June 16 and 17, 1942, Archives départementales de l'Yonne, Auxerre, 1 W 655.

16. Information about the prisoners from Rawa Ruska is fragmentary and inconsistent because the Germans kept them under a veil of secrecy. For a list of these prisoners, see "Frontstalag 141 Vesoul," AN, F9, 2353; see also "Service de l'inspection des camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," March 24, 1943, AN, F9, 2345, Scapini to Président du Comité algérien, April 6, 1943, AN, F9, 2276, and the inspection reports of Frontstalag 194 in AN, F9, 2354, which also mention the detainees from Rawa Ruska.

17. "Nombre de prisonniers de guerre indigènes encadrés par des militaires français, travaillant pour le compte des Allemands," September 15, 1943, AN, F9, 2951.

18. Raffael Scheck, "French Colonial Soldiers in German Prisoner of War Camps, 1940–1945," *French History* 24, no. 3 (2010): 443.

19. Raffael Scheck, "Des officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats? Les prisonniers de guerre « indigènes » sous encadrement français, 1943–1944," *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle: Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (Paris: Armand Colin/Ministère de la Défense, 2012); Armelle Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes": Visages oubliés de la France occupée* (Paris: La Découverte, 2010), pp. 137–152.

20. Martinoty to Colonel Mermet (Commissaire régional in Besançon), Vesoul, May 6, 1943; Adj. Lacroix to Cpt. Ribillard, Vesoul, May 12, 1943; Ribillard to Col. Mermet, May 5, 1943, SHD, 3 P 84. See also, Scheck, "Des officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats?"

21. Inspection report, Frontstalag 194 Vesoul, by Dantan Merlin, September 18, 1943, AN, F9, 2354. For the Peugeot company during World War II, see François Marcot, "La Direction de Peugeot sous l'Occupation. Pétainisme, réticence, opposition et résistance," *Mouvement Social* 189 (1999): 27–46.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 142

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 142 on July 26, 1940, and disbanded the camp on August 13, 1941. Frontstalag 142 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 999 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

There is some uncertainty concerning the camp's history. The Wehrmacht installed Frontstalag 142 in the town of Besançon (map 2), where the numerous fortresses provided the Germans with quarters for the large numbers of French prisoners of war (POWs) captured along the Maginot Line and near the Swiss border. One of the buildings the Germans used was the Vauban Barracks (*Caserne Vauban*) in Besançon, near the train station. This building complex later became an internment center for British civilians in occupied France. Approximately 3,900 British women, some with babies, arrived in Besançon in December 1940. One of them described very poor sanitary conditions and piles of trash and dirt in the camp.[1] The POWs had already been transferred to permanent camps in Germany, but the camp was apparently still designated as a Frontstalag.

Little is known about conditions in Frontstalag 142, but they were apparently very poor early on, as was the case in most Frontstalags before the departure of most metropolitan French prisoners for camps in Germany. A summary report by a French official from September 1940 pointed out that the prisoners in Besançon screamed to passersby that they were starving and urgently needed bread.[2]

The Germans apparently placed some work commandos under the administration of Frontstalag 141 in Vesoul, even though they continued operating in Besançon. One commando with 18 North Africans and 11 West Africans was quartered in the Fort des Justices in September 1941 and performed forestry work outside

of the town for a private company.[3]

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NOTES

1. Katherine Lack, *Frontstalag 142: The Internment Diary of an English Lady* (Stroud: Amberly, 2010).

2. "Note transmise par le Lt. Colonel Chauvin," September 14, 1940, AN, F9, 2177.

3. Inspection report, Frontstalag 141, commando *Fort des Justices*, by Jean Detroyat, September 13, 1941, PAAA, R 40990. The same commando had 34 West Africans and 12 North Africans in December: Inspection report, Frontstalag 141, commando *Fort des Justices*, by René Scapini, December 16, 1941, PAAA, R 40991.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 150

The Germans established Frontstalag 150 on July 20, 1940, and dissolved it on April 1, 1941. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 25 628 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 150 held French prisoners of war (POWs). It was located in the Yonne Département, southeast of Paris. Its headquarters was in Auxerre in September and in Saint-Florentin in October 1940 (map 2), with subcamps in Auxerre, Sens, Cravant, Saint-Florentin, Joigny, and Clamecy (Nièvre). Some of its camps were dissolved after the departure of most metropolitan French prisoners for Germany, and the others were absorbed by Frontstalag 124 in Joigny and later by Frontstalag 141 in Vesoul.

Little information exists on the history of Frontstalag 150. Some prisoners whom the Germans transferred to Joigny from the camp in Cravant, which had belonged to Frontstalag 150, on March 14, 1941, mentioned that they liked their old camp better even though it occasionally flooded in the winter and suffered from mosquitoes in the summer. The camp in Cravant permitted many escapes, which may explain why the Germans closed it and perhaps also why it was more popular with the prisoners than the camp in Joigny.[1] The camp site in Auxerre, together with a nearby hospital, continued to operate under the direction of Frontstalag 124, as did a work detachment in Saint-Florentin.[2] The camp in Saint-Florentin received a visit from Lt. Colonel Johannes Gutschmidt, commander of Frontstalags in the region of Central France, in July 1940. Gutschmidt found the camp severely overcrowded, with 15,000 prisoners, and in poor shape. Many prisoners lived in tents and shacks they had built themselves, although barracks were under construction. Gutschmidt found equally deficient conditions in Auxerre and Clamecy.[3]

About a month before the establishment of Frontstalag 150, when there was a collection point (*Sammelstelle*) operating in Clamecy, a massacre took place. On June 18, in reaction to a prisoner attacking a German officer, the guards lined up the attacker together with 20 randomly chosen African prisoners (West Africans and some North Africans) for execution. The Germans also shot 20 other African prisoners when they refused to dig graves for the group that had been executed. A few days later, German guards shot two African prisoners in Clamecy after finding razor blades on them.[4] The massacre of Clamecy inspired a French documentary film seeking to trace the origins of some victims, *Les 43 tirailleurs* (*The 43 Sharpshooters*) by Mireille Hannon (2010). The townspeople in Clamecy knew of the massacre, and there are indications that the guards at the site remained quite nervous about it for some time thereafter, probably extending into Frontstalag 150's tenure.

The majority of the metropolitan French prisoners from Frontstalag 150 worked in farms and forestry from July to December 1940. A detailed dossier with correspondence concerning their placement and payment for their needs can be found in the Archives of the Yonne Département in Auxerre.[5]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 150 is located in AN; AD-Y; BA-MA; and PAAA.

Additional information about Frontstalag 150 can be found in the following publication: Raffael Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims: The German Army Massacres of Black French Soldiers in 1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 36, 44.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Inspection report, Frontstalag 124, Joigny, by Dr. Bonnaud, March 19, 1941, PAAA, R 40769.

2. Ibid., and Capt. Payrière to General, commandant le Groupe des Camps du Sud-Est, January 19, 1942, AN, F9, 2892

(regarding the commando in Saint-Florentin).

3. Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," BA-MA, MSG 1: 257, entry July 5, 1940.

4. Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims*, pp. 36, 44.

5. Dossier "Frontstalag 150," in AD-Y, Auxerre, 1 W 651.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 151

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 151 on July 22, 1940, in Aachen, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] From the fall of 1940 until January 1942, the camp was deployed in Montargis (map 2).[2] In January 1942, the camp was redeployed to occupied Poland, where it remained until April 1942 because of a typhus epidemic at its intended deployment site in occupied Ukraine; during this period it did not hold prisoners. On April 24, 1942, the camp was disbanded and converted into Dulag 151. Frontstalag 151 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 26 047 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

Frontstalag 151 held French prisoners of war (POWs). The Wehrmacht took a very large number of prisoners in the last days of the French campaign (June 15–22, 1940) in the region near Montargis, covering the area south of Paris around the Loire bend up to the demarcation line. Its main camps were in Montargis, Orléans, and Bourges. In these cities, the Germans took over French military barracks and used them as POW camps. Frontstalag 151 also had work commandos covering the Loiret, Cher, and Loire-et-Cher Départements.

An unusual source exists for some camps of Frontstalag 151 as well as for some neighboring camps: the diary of the Prisoner of War District Commandant (*Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandant*), Oberstleutnant Johannes Gutschmidt, who commanded all of the POW camps in the region of Orléans. Gutschmidt was stationed in Montargis and Orléans from July to September 1940 before he was transferred to Frontstalag 133 in Rennes. He provides detailed information on some camps belonging to Frontstalag 151 as well as neigh-boring areas. His diary conveys a fairly typical impression of the POW camps in France during the first months of their existence.

Gutschmidt, who was a monarchist and had contact with the exiled Kaiser Wilhelm II, reports about some generous measures in his contacts with members of the French elites. For example, he knew the famous actor Louis Jouvet and made sure that Jouvet could visit his son, who was a POW. Gutschmidt also fostered contacts with French aristocratic ladies who organized aid for the prisoners. He very much enjoyed his life in France, reporting frequently about wonderful culinary experiences, and dreaded being reassigned to Germany.[3]

Gutschmidt reports chaotic conditions in Frontstalag 151 and its subcamps in July and August 1940, including overcrowding, deficient lodging (self-made huts, shacks, and tents), poor hygiene (with many cases of dysentery), lack of toilets and running water, and insufficient food. He reflects on the complicated transfer of metropolitan French prisoners to Germany and the return of prisoners of color to France in August, which caused many administrative headaches because some of the metropolitan French prisoners living in the area had been allowed to work at home for a while and were difficult to reassemble when Gutschmidt received orders to transfer them to Germany. Gutschmidt expressed a high opinion of the black prisoners: "The cleanest, most compliant, and best-mannered prisoners are the Blacks. They are extraordinarily thankful if one gives them a friendly word or a cigarette. They are the only ones who perform the correct military salute in every camp." By contrast, Gutschmidt had a low opinion of the North Africans, calling Moroccans "the laziest riff-raff." He was unhappy when he received orders from Hitler to give North Africans the best treatment, for propaganda reasons.[4] Gutschmidt frequently encountered drunken, lazy, and sloppy guards. He complained about the lack of guards and on their poor military training and discipline, a problem that haunted the German military administration in France.[5]

Frontstalag 151 in Montargis was one of the camps that the personnel of the American Embassy in Berlin were allowed to visit in September 1940. Gutschmidt had already left, and the camp was under the command of Major von Dorst. Conditions were not very good when the Americans arrived on September 19. The camp was no longer overcrowded (it had fewer than 8,000 prisoners, with a capacity of 10,000) and was not as dirty as prisoners reported it to

have been at first, but the food supply was still insufficient, and the prisoners seemed not to be cared for adequately. Many colonial prisoners had recently arrived from camps in Pomerania, as part of the return of colonial prisoners from German camps to Frontstalags in France. Interestingly, the American inspectors, Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance, also reflected Gutschmidt's prejudices about the prisoners: "At this camp Moroccans were described as the most troublesome of the colored troops, these being combative and quick with their knives. The Anamites [Indochinese] were pictured as great gamblers, and the Senegalese [West Africans] were viewed as being cleanly, industrious and chivalrous."[6] Patter-son and Murray noticed the usual discrimination in the housing of the colonial prisoners, who lived in the stables and riding halls of the barracks, while the metropolitan French prisoners occupied the more comfortable dormitories. The camp inspectors noticed that diarrhea and other symptoms were widespread, particularly among the colonial prisoners. They noted that "in the course of the visit, a number of colored men were seen in dejected attitudes as if they might be ill. It seems likely that these prisoners are the most likely to be neglected and their language not understood, which would favor such neglect."[7]

The American inspectors also observed a number of Alsatian prisoners held in the camp in Montargis. Apparently, these men had received permission to return home but had insulted the Wehrmacht personnel and were therefore condemned to stay in confinement for a year. Patterson and Murray also observed that the Muslim prisoners had facilities for worship and that they had formed an orchestra. The prisoners were allowed to play soccer on a large courtyard inside the camp, and they received support from local civilians. The mayor of Montargis spearheaded these aid efforts.[8]

A prisoner testimony exists from one of the other camps belonging to Frontstalag 151: the French sergeant Boyer, deployed in a work commando on the airport of Bourges, sent a detailed report about the camp to the French authorities after his escape. Boyer singled out a particularly brutal German guard, a noncommissioned officer (NCO) named Spieth. Spieth had the habit of hitting prisoners with a stick. Once, he hit a Frenchman so

hard that he severed his ear. Spieth and other guards also randomly shot into the camp during morning assembly to accelerate the roll call; they killed or severely wounded several North African prisoners. Once, Spieth hit a French prisoner in the face because the prisoner had asked a civilian for bed sheets. Spieth was also known to beat up recaptured prisoners after an escape. Another German NCO, named Rath, was not brutal but corrupt. He robbed aid packages and sold their contents in town. Boyer further mentioned a Czech prisoner named Eduard Yendrisiak who had served in French uniform and acted as a translator. According to Boyer, Yendrisiak was a spy who betrayed escape plans to the Germans and beat up North African prisoners. As a reward, Yendrisiak was released in March 1941. According to Boyer, the camp commander, an Oberleutnant Heinz, was aware of all the problems but did not interfere. Boyer did note a drastic change, however, after a new commander, Oberleutnant Dr. Stenernagel, arrived on March 1, 1941, and stopped the abuses at once.[9]

Frontstalag 151 was the first camp in France visited by the Scapini Mission, right after procedures for French camp visits had been worked out. On February 12–13, 1941, Ambassador Georges Scapini himself led an inspection team to the camp of Montargis. Some high-ranking German officials accompanied them. At this time, the Frontstalag had 6,200 colonial prisoners, mostly North Africans and West Africans, and 800 metropolitan Frenchmen. Most prisoners did not yet work outside of the camps, but their men of confidence expressed their wish to do so as soon as possible. Scapini noted that he found the camp in far better shape than expected. It was much less crowded than during Gutschmidt's time, when the barracks in Montargis alone had housed 13,000 prisoners.[10] In some work commandos, the prisoners complained about not receiving any pay in March 1941, and this led to a high-level intervention by the French minister of war Charles Huntziger, apparently to the satisfaction of the prisoners.[11]

Another round of inspections by the Scapini Mission took place in June 1941. The mission had a very good impression of the camp of Orléans: "The organization of the camp is perfect in all respects. The German officers are very benevolent and just; the prisoners are treated well." The camp held 641 Algerians, 435 Tunisians, 165 Moroccans, 124 Indochinese, and 102 West Africans. Religious

services were available for Muslims and Christians.[12] In the camp in Montargis, which housed 560 North Africans and 120 metropolitan Frenchmen, the inspectors found the ventilation of the prisoners' quarters to be insufficient and bemoaned that Muslim services were not available. Still, they concluded that "the prisoners are treated well and do not complain about their way of life."

The work commandos were mostly employed in agricultural labor. In Amilly, outside of Montargis, 1,010 West Africans worked in the vineyards and fields. In La Chaussée-Saint-Victor and Saint-Gervais-la-Forêt, both near Blois, commandos worked in quarries (200 Moroccans in the former, 180 Madagascans and 18 prisoners from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion in the latter). In Bourges, the prisoners still worked on the local airport, which was a base for the Luftwaffe. The other commandos were small (around 20 prisoners). Most camps and commandos seemed to be in excellent condition.[13] An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection a few days later came to a similarly positive conclusion, although they did note that approximately 9 percent of the prisoners in Montargis showed some symptoms of tuberculosis. The ICRC inspectors also noted that many West Africans had not received any news from their families.[14]

In June 1941, some North African prisoners arrived in Montargis from Stalag II D, accompanied by a German officer who spoke Arabic with a Syrian accent and who was very close to the recently arrived prisoners. These prisoners talked about a German victory in the war and predicted the collapse of Britain. They ate with the guards and enjoyed special freedoms.[15]

In the summer of 1941, after the dismissal of the last metropolitan French prisoners, Frontstalag 151 held 5,025 colonial prisoners, predominantly North Africans (3,139) and West Africans (1,744) as well as 124 Indochinese, and 18 Martinicans.[16] The last news from Frontstalag 151 is a complaint about corruption in the camp in Hanneman, near Salbris, where a French man of confidence robbed Red Cross packages and sold their contents to the prisoners (245 West Africans). The problem seems to have stopped when the German camp command agreed to distribute the content of the packages itself and when the guilty prisoner was sent to a camp in Germany.[17] Many of the subcamps

and work commandos of Frontstalag 151 continued to operate under the direction of Frontstalag 153.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 151 is located in AN, BA-MA, BNF, CNIP, ICRC Archives, NACP, and PAAA.

Additional information about Frontstalag 151 can be found in the following publications: Christian Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung? Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im 'Unternehmen Barbarossa.' Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Lagerkommandanten," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 49, no. 1 (2001): 97–158; Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477; Raffael Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft? Die Behandlung der schwarzen französischen Kriegsgefangenen durch die deutsche Wehrmacht, 1940–1945," *Afrika im Blick. Afrikabilder im deutschsprachigen Europa, 1870–1970*, ed. Manuel Menrath (Zürich: Chronos, 2012), pp. 151–168; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 79.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 79.

2. CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 11 Octobre 1940, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 85 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 24 Mars 1941, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 100 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 15 Juin 1941, p. 32) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

3. Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," BA-MA, MSG 1:257, entries of August 8, 20–22, 27, 30, October 23 and 26, 1940. For a discussion of Gutschmidt and his diary as far as it pertains to his later deployment in the Soviet Union, see Hartmann, "Massensterben oder Massenvernichtung," 97–

158.

4. Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," BA-MA, MSG 1: 257, entries of July 20 and August 15, 20, and 21, 1940; Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda," 453.

5. Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft," 151, 161–162.

6. Inspection report, Frontstalag Montargis, Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance, September 19, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

7. Inspection report, Frontstalag Montargis, Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance, September 19, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

8. Inspection report, Frontstalag Montargis, Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance, September 19, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

9. "Extrait du rapport du Sergent BOYER du 57ème RICMS évadé du Frontstalag 151," AN, F9, 2345.

10. Inspection report of Frontstalag 151 Montargis, by Georges Scapini and Jean Desbons, [February 12, 1941], AN, F9, 2353 and PAAA, R 145077; "Aufzeichnung über die Besichtigung des Front-Stalag 151 bei Montargis durch Botschafter Scapini am 12.2.1941," by von Nostiz, PAAA, R 67010; Abbé Robert Crespin, "La guerre à Châlette et aux environs de Montargis, 1939–1944."

11. The prisoners sent a collective letter to the War Ministry: "Vos enfants prisonniers à Montargis" to Ministre de Guerre, March 22, 1941. See also Huntziger to Scapini, May 9, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.

12. Inspection report, Frontstalag 151 Orléans, by Scapini, June 11, 1941, PAAA, R 40989a.

13. Inspection reports of work commandos, Frontstalag 151, Scapini, June 9–11, 1941, PAAA, R 40989a.

14. Inspection report, Frontstalag 151 Montargis, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, June 18, 1941, ICRC, Geneva, Services

camps, F (-D) 151, 18.6.41.

15. “Note de renseignement,” Vichy, June 28, 1941, AN, F9, 2892; Scheck, “Nazi Propaganda,” 455.

16. “Effectifs des indigènes prisonniers au Frontstalag 151,” AN, F9, 2959.

17. Scapini to Bigard, August 1, 1941, in AN, F9, 2959, and Robert to Croix Rouge de Vichy, February 14, 1941, AN, F9, 2351.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 152

The Wehrmacht founded Frontstalag 152 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 21, 1941. Frontstalag 152 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 26 714 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

Frontstalag 152 held French prisoners of war (POWs). It was located in a zone where large numbers of POWs were taken during the last days of the French campaign in June 1940. There were two main sites, the first in Pithiviers and the second in Beaune-la-Rolande (map 2), which later became notorious as internment camps for Jews and political prisoners. Little is known about the time during which these camps held POWs, however.

In July 1940, Oberstleutnant Johannes Gutschmidt, who commanded a number of camps in this region, visited both camps and found that they each had approximately 13,000 prisoners and were vastly overcrowded. Gutschmidt made efforts to transfer some prisoners to less crowded camps. The guard units in Pithiviers were the 450th and 451st Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*). Gutschmidt noted that a prisoner was shot while trying to escape on August 23, 1940.[1]

A woman working for a French aid organization visited Pithiviers on July 26, 1940, and found 18,000 prisoners distributed over three different campsites. All the prisoners seemed to be hungry, although many prisoners were working on farms in the countryside and were better nourished than the prisoners confined to the big camps (probably mostly colonial soldiers, who were not yet allowed to work outside the main camps at this time). In Beaune-la-Rolande, she found 14,000 prisoners, many with dysentery. As she wrote, “Here, they [the prisoners] lack everything. Some prisoners tell me with a sad voice that they have a little too much for dying but not enough for living.” In addition

to food, the camp urgently needed medicine.[2]

Other information collected by the French authorities confirms that the prisoners in Beaune-la-Rolande, mostly Algerians and Moroccans, were near starvation in the late summer of 1940.[3] The colonial prisoners in Frontstalag 152 were likely transferred to neighboring Frontstalags 151 and 153; most of the metropolitan French prisoners were transferred to camps in Germany.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 152 is located in AN and BA-MA.

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NOTES

1. Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," in BA-MA, MSG 1: 257, entries of July 20 and August 23, 1940.
2. "Rapport sur la mission du 26 Juillet 1940," in AN, F9, 2810.
3. "Note transmise par le Lt. Colonel Chauvin," September 14, 1940, in AN, F9, 2177.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 153

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 153 (see map 2) on July 20, 1940. It was headquartered in the city of Chartres (Eure-et-Loir Département), southwest of Paris. It absorbed Frontstalags 200 and 151 in the second half of 1941 and existed until August 12, 1943, when it was taken over by Frontstalag 133 (Rennes Département).

The main camps and commandos of Frontstalag 153 were located in Chartres and nearby Morancez; it also controlled three additional subcamps in Orléans, Salbris, and Bourges, which were inherited from Frontstalag 151.

Frontstalag 153 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 278 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The branch field post number (*Sammelfeldpostnummer*) for Chartres, 18 129 E, issued between May 1 and October 19, 1942, and struck between January 10 and September 26, 1943, was also applicable.

Little is known about the first months of Frontstalag 153. The first round of inspections by the Scapini Mission occurred in March 1941 and revealed several problems. The camp in Morancez then held 1,112 North Africans and 267 Frenchmen working in agriculture and construction. Although the prisoners' wooden barracks were in good shape, the camp had poor hygiene and insufficient food supplies, especially for the Frenchmen. The fact that the North Africans were receiving more aid packages created jealousy, and the inspector was alarmed by the strong tensions between the two groups. The morale of the North African prisoners was good, but the Frenchmen were unhappy.[1] A letter from a former man of confidence in Morancez, Sergeant-chef Durieux, offered more detail on the situation inside the camp. Durieux pointed out that the prisoners had no dishes and needed to eat their soup either out of metal boxes or out of the bowls that they also used as urinals. He confirmed that hygiene was very bad

and that the barracks and sleeping bags urgently needed disinfection. Durieux put a different light on the animosity between French and North African prisoners by pointing out that the latter resented the fact that Frenchmen who were fathers of "children-rich" families were obtaining dismissal under the Agreement of November 16, 1940, whereas North Africans generally did not.[2]

Frontstalag 153 at Chartres. Camp entrance, May, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Further south, in Voves (Eure-et-Loir Département), a commando of 2,700 North Africans complained about insufficient food and tobacco deliveries. The camp inspector told the prisoners that their rations were not worse than in other camps and that they had no right to free tobacco (which was correct because Article 11 of the Geneva Convention of 1929 only stipulated that the use of tobacco must be allowed, not that the detaining power was responsible for providing it). The inspector acknowledged that the German camp authorities were highly committed to improving the

prisoners' situation.[3] In general, the French camp inspectors were impressed by the Frontstalag commander, Major Schwabe, who received much praise for his efforts to improve the conditions in the Frontstalag.[4] Another aspect noted by the inspector of Morancez and confirmed later on was the fact that the high school (*lycée*) of Chartres was exceptionally helpful with the prisoners in Morancez and Chartres by sending them shipments of food and books.[5]

In May 1941, Frontstalag 153 received a transport of 800 prisoners from Montargis. The German administration felt overwhelmed because the ambiguous spelling of many prisoners' names made their registration difficult. This was a frequent problem with colonial prisoners because most of them were illiterate and were registered under different spellings of their last names. The Frontstalag command suspected that the colonial prisoners deliberately used different spellings and names in order to fool the authorities and prevent potential punishments.[6] A transport of 500 prisoners from Frontstalag 135 (Quimper) arrived a few weeks later, revealing that the German authorities perceived a major need for labor in the region of Chartres.[7]

An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection on May 21, 1941, noted that the Frontstalag had 3,375 prisoners, predominantly Algerians and some West Africans (144) and Madagascans (10). The ICRC inspectors noted that there were only 185 Frenchmen still in the camp. They did not work outside the camps but were mostly serving as cadres for the colonial prisoners.[8] The next round of inspections by the Scapini Mission revealed that the number of prisoners in Frontstalag 153 was significantly higher, however (4,666 in July 1941, with 4,495 North Africans and 110 West Africans and a few prisoners from Madagascar, Indochina, and Martinique). The number of prisoners increased to 6,734 after the takeover of Frontstalag 151 in April 1942, including 2,885 Algerians, 1,350 West Africans, 1,137 Moroccans, 973 Tunisians, 214 Indochinese, and 113 Martinicans, but declined to 5,037 on December 1, 1942.[9]

By October 1941, the conditions in this Frontstalag had greatly improved, not least because of the efforts of Major Schwabe. The Frontstalag now controlled a vast number of small rural commandos (15–25 prisoners each) in the regions around Chartres,

with some commandos up to 130 kilometers (81 miles) away. Conditions were good. Prisoners worked mostly for farmers, who also fed them. Sleeping quarters were in most cases simple but decent. The inspector noted the need for new shirts, underwear, socks, and sometimes shoes, and he heard many complaints from prisoners coming from the more distant areas of the French Empire about the lack of postal contact with their families. Only from one place (not visited in October) was the news not good. In Laverdines (Cher Département), a woman wrote to the Scapini Mission that the 28 West Africans in the local work unit had to do very hard work (tearing beets out of the ground) and were receiving too little food. The Scapini Mission started an inquiry, and conditions improved quickly.[10] A large work detachment (1,000 prisoners, including 865 North Africans and 110 West Africans) existed in Chateaudun, a town northwest of Orléans that had a Luftwaffe base, but this work unit did not receive an inspection.[11]

The camps in Orléans and Bourges, formerly part of Frontstalag 151, offered good conditions by the fall of 1941. In November, Orléans had 1,426 prisoners, including 541 Moroccans, 312 West Africans, 206 Tunisians, 143 Algerians, 132 Indochinese, 59 Madagascans, and 15 Martinicans, who were working partly on the local airport, a major Luftwaffe base, or at a local silk factory. The barracks in which the prisoners slept were outdated but still serviceable. Religious services were available to Muslims and Christians. In Bourges, there were 985 prisoners, including 321 West Africans, 320 Algerians, 292 Tunisians, 32 Moroccans, 7 Frenchmen, 6 Martinicans, 5 Madagascans, and 2 people from Guadeloupe, working in agriculture around the town or in factories.[12] A fairly large commando existed also in Salbris (Loir-et-Cher Département). A woman driving trucks for an aid organization for African prisoners noted that the prisoners (149 Madagascans, 156 West Africans, 28 Martinicans, 13 Indochinese, and 1 Frenchman) had very good relations with their guards but seemed vulnerable to the cold and to diseases.[13]

A new round of inspections, in February 1942, revealed stable conditions but showed that the prisoners' shoes were deteriorating rapidly and that replacements were urgently needed. The diet of the prisoners working for farmers remained excellent. In some

places, the prisoners received meat three times a day at a time when the average meat ration of French civilians was less than 30 grams (1 ounce) a day.[14] A few prisoners who were involved in drainage projects had a much poorer food supply, however, because they were not fed daily by the farmers and were dependent on less regular food shipments from the German army and from aid organizations. In the military hospitals of Orléans and Chartres, the inspectors also noted an alarming reduction in the food rations for sick prisoners.[15] In Morancez, which held only 546 prisoners at this time (mostly North Africans as well as 10 Frenchmen and 5 West Africans), the food supply was still bad. The inspectors reported also that the prisoners received Arabic newspapers printed in Berlin.[16] The food supply had improved in the camp of Orléans by January 1943, but it was still bad in Chartres as a consequence of the arrival of 800 prisoners from a camp in Charleville.[17] In the course of a reorganization of camps aiming to concentrate prisoners from the same territories in the same camps (among other reasons to facilitate food supplies fit for certain ethnic cooking habits), the Germans assembled 1,165 Madagascans in Frontstalag 153 in June 1942. It is not clear whether the arrival of the prisoners from Charleville had anything to do with this effort. In any case, Frontstalag 153 never included all of the Madagascans in German captivity.[18]

A unique collection of German headquarters (*Kommandantur)* orders for the region of Chartres offers a glimpse into the lives of the guards in this Frontstalag in 1942 and 1943. Major Schwabe, who became military commander of the entire district, became increasingly irritated by the guards' laxness. In many cases, guards either did not shoot at prisoners trying to escape or missed them from a short distance— perhaps deliberately. Schwabe repeatedly pointed out that regulations demanded that guards shoot immediately during escape attempts, and he punished several negligent guards and ordered exercises to improve the guards' poor marksmanship. In one case, a guard allowed five prisoners to urinate behind some bushes and thereby let them escape. Schwabe's orders reveal countless problems with guards who drank too much and liked to play pranks. For example, several guards of Frontstalag 153 made a joke of putting fleas from POW camps into the letters to their families, causing alarm about the

transfer of infectious diseases to Germany.[19]

Some orders offer insight into the guards' leisure activities, such as going to the cinema and singing in a chorale, which were activities that also involved German women stationed in France (*Fronthelferinnen*). Orders even included advice on where to bathe and a warning not to eat bird eggs found in the wilderness; instead, the order in all seriousness suggested that one should send dubious eggs by mail to the Wehrmacht veterinary services in Paris for examination before consuming them.[20]

In 1943, two changes affected Frontstalag 153. First, prisoners were performing significantly more war-related work than before; second, several work detachments came under the guard of French officers or noncommissioned officers (NCOs). While prisoners in the war-related commandos, as elsewhere, received much higher pay and were fed well, especially if they worked for the Luftwaffe, their tasks were more dangerous than other types of work. In Salbris, for example, a Madagascan prisoner work detachment was loading and unloading ammunition in early 1943. Their food supply was unusually good, but they slept in barracks close to an ammunition depot. One prisoner was killed during a bombing attack later, at a time when the camp belonged to Frontstalag 133.[21] In Salbris and in La-Guerche-sur-l'Aubois, some prisoners under French guards were also working in factories producing pieces for cannons and tanks.[22] In Bourges, a work detail had to handle mines at the local airport. Conditions were good, apart from the dangers associated with the work. The archival files contain several photos from this detail depicting prisoners with soccer balls, apparently playing for a camp championship.[23] In La Ferté-Saint-Aubin (Loiret Département), a detail of 24 Algerians worked in an ammunition factory. They had two French officers and one German officer as cadres. The prisoners were allowed to go to town unaccompanied after work. In Bourges, another commando of 35 West Africans also worked in an ammunition factory. They were "guarded" by one German NCO but were allowed to go to town on their own after work and on Sundays. The factory fed the prisoners well. In Vierzon (Cher Département), a work detail under French cadres also worked in an ammunition factory.[24]

In several cases, the camp inspectors criticized the French cadres for being indifferent and for having no understanding of the

needs and mentalities of the colonial prisoners. The inspectors often compared the French cadres unfavorably to the German guards. In several places, the presence of French cadres for the colonial prisoners triggered public hostility because of immoral behavior. In Guérigny (Nièvre Département), for example, civilians accused two French officers of exploiting and abusing the prisoners and of withholding tobacco from them. Possibly encouraged by outraged civilians, the prisoners went on strike, prompting the two French officers to arrest the suspected strike leaders and to call the Frontstalag command. Surprisingly, the Germans carefully investigated the case and, as a result, dismissed the French officers, sent German guards to the work detail, and restored order and propriety. Hearing about similar abuses in other work details, the Germans dismissed more French guards and replaced them with their own soldiers, much to the satisfaction of the prisoners and civilians. These cases were highly embarrassing for the reputation of the French army and caused concerns for the future of the French colonial empire.[25]

The most notorious case of abuse by a French cadre happened in Salbris in the fall of 1943, when a French NCO named Desbois shot a prisoner named Abderhaman ben Amor. Desbois declared that he had felt threatened by the prisoner and that ben Amor had tried to escape. Desbois and another French NCO watched the wounded prisoner and then walked away, while ben Amor bled to death. The incident triggered an investigation during which the German authorities—as in similar cases involving German guards — supported Desbois, arguing that he had been right in suspecting an escape attempt and that he had warned ben Amor before firing. The Scapini Mission was outraged by Desbois's behavior and tried to punish him, apparently without success.[26]

In 1943, Frontstalag 153 also received some British colonial prisoners transferred from Italy. In the hospital of Orléans, the French inspectors found a large number of undernourished South African soldiers having just arrived from Italy. They were treated together with sick French colonial prisoners, with whom they established good relations. An officer camp in Orléans also housed some British colonial officers alongside French officers. The French officers were jealous, however, because the British received far more letters and aid packages from home than they

did.[27]

Frontstalag 153 was administratively dissolved on August 12, 1943. Frontstalag 133, formerly based in Rennes, took over the camps and work detachments of Frontstalag 153 and moved its headquarters to Chartres and Orléans.

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NOTES

1. Inspection report of Frontstalag Chartres (Morancez), by René Scapini, March 28, 1941, PAAA, R 40769, and AN, F9, 2353.
2. "Rapport du Sergeant Chef Durieux, ancien homme de confiance du Frontstalag 153 Chartres," AN, F9, 2353; see also Raffael Scheck, "The Prisoner of War Question and the Beginnings of Collaboration: The Franco-German Agreement of 16 November 1940," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 2 (2010): 364–388.
3. Inspection report, camp de Voves, by René Scapini, March 28, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.
4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 153 Chartres, by René Scapini, June 12, 1941, and "Observations générales," by Henri Dantan Merlin, October 6–12, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.
5. Inspection report of Frontstalag Chartres (Morancez), by René Scapini, March 28, 1941, PAAA, R 40769, and AN, F9, 2353, as well as Inspection report, Frontstalag 153 Chartres, by René Scapini, June 12, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.
6. "An die Gruppe I, 15.5.1941. Betrifft: Lagebericht," AN, F9, 3657.
7. "Lagebericht für die Zeit vom 15.6. bis 12.7.1941," AN, F9, 3657.
8. Inspection report of Frontstalag 153, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, May 21, 1941, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, Service des inspections des camps, F (-D) 153 21.5. 41-22.10.42.

9. Inspection report, Chartres, by René Scapini, June 12, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.

10. Inspection reports, Frontstalag 153 and commandos, October 6–10, 1941, by Henri Dantan Merlin, PAAA, R 40990; "Front-Stalag 153, Chartres, Arbeitskommando de Laverdines," by Jean Detroyat, November 11, 1941, AN, F9, 2353.

11. This work detachment figures on the list of detachments belonging to Frontstalag 153, AN, F9, 2959 [undated, but likely the summer of 1941].

12. Inspection reports, Orléans and Bourges, by Jean Detroyat, November 7 and 8, 1941, PAAA, R 40991.

13. "Section de Vichy; Tournée du 9 Septembre 1941," Camp de Salbris, AN, F9, 2965.

14. Inspection of detachment Maisons (Frontstalag 153, Chartres-Orléans), by René Scapini, February 10, 1942, AN, F9, 2353; Leleu, Passera, and Quellien, eds., *La France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, (Paris: Ministère de la défense, 2010) pp. 144–145.

15. Inspection reports, hospitals of Chartres and Orléans, February 9 and 10, 1942, PAAA, R 40992.

16. Inspection report, Camp de Chartres (Morancez), Frontstalag 153, by René Scapini, February 6, 1942, AN, F9, 2353.

17. "Service de l'Inspection des Camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," February 26, 1943, AN, F9, 2345.

18. Kommandanturbefehl 70/42, June 23, 1942, AN, F9, 3657.

19. Kommandanturbefehl 39/42, May 4, 1942, and other orders of the *Kommandantur* Chartres 1942–43, AN, F9, 3657.

20. "Ordres de la Kommandantur," 1942–43, AN, F9, 3657. See also Raffael Scheck, "Vom Massaker zur Kameradschaft? Die Behandlung der schwarzen französischen Kriegsgefangenen durch die deutsche Wehrmacht, 1940–1945," in *Afrika im Blick: Afrikabilder im deutschsprachigen Europa, 1870–1970*, ed. Manuel Menrath (Zürich: Chronos, 2012), pp. 151–

168.

21. “Service de l’Inspection des camps. Note pour Mr. l’Ambassadeur,” February 26, 1943, AN, F9, 2345; Inspection report, camp Salbris, by René Scapini, January 7, 1943, AN, F9, 2353. For the bombing attack, see “Section de Romorantin (Frontstalag 133 Orléans),” Détachement de Salbris [June or July 1944], AN, F9, 2966.

22. Service de l’Inspection des Camps. Note pour Mr. l’Ambassadeur, May 18, 1943, AN, F9, 2345.

23. Inspection report, detachment Aéroport de Bourges, April 22, 1943, by René Scapini, AN, F9, 2353.

24. Inspection reports of detachments Bourges and Vierzon, by René Scapini, November 5, 1943, AN, F9, 2353.

25. “Note pour le secrétariat d’état aux colonies,” October 14, 1943, AN, F9, 2276. See also “Note pour le cabinet. A l’attention de Mr. le Cpt. Segond,” December 16, 1943, and Zaouche to Bonnaud, December 6, 1943, AN, F9, 2345.

26. Scapini to Chef du Gouvernement, August 12, 1943, and Note by Daveau, Paris, July 29, 1943, SHD, 2 P 78; “Rapport confidentiel du Cpt. Detroyat sur l’encadrement des prisonniers Indigènes des Frontstalags par des Militaires Français dépendant du Ministère des Colonies,” December 9, 1943, AN, F9, 2276. See also “Note pour l’Ambassadeur,” by Jean Detroyat, April 18, 1944, and Rosenberg to Scapini Mission, March 28, 1943, AN, F9, 2305.

27. Dr. Koenig to Contrôleur de l’Armée Bigard, May 3, 1943, AN, F9, 2353.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 154

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 154 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 31, 1941. Frontstalag 154 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 513 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 16 and July 18, 1941.

Frontstalag 154 was a short-lived camp in Fourchambault (map 2). Little information about this camp exists. According to Oberstleutnant Johannes Gutschmidt, Fourchambault was the best camp in his district, which covered camps in much of central France including parts of Frontstalags 132, 133, 151, 152, and 153. Gutschmidt had an embarrassing moment, however, when he visited the camp of Fourchambault together with his superior officer, Generalleutnant Teschner, on August 3, 1940. To their surprise, they found the camp flooded with 600 to 700 civilians because the camp commander had generously allowed the relatives of the metropolitan French prisoners to visit them, leading Teschner into a fit of rage.[1]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 154 is located in BA-MA.

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NOTE

1. Johannes Gutschmidt, "Kriegstagebuch 1940–1944," in BA-MA, MSG 1: 257, entry of August 3, 1940.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 155

The Wehrmacht created Frontstalag 155 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on April 4, 1941. Frontstalag 155 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 27 986 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1941.

Frontstalag 155 held French prisoners of war. It was located in a former aviation school at the Dijon-Longvic airport (map 2). It was one of the camps that the Germans allowed Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Murray Vance to visit as representatives of the protecting power in September 1940. A local French initiative has collected and posted photos from Frontstalag 155 online.[1]

The buildings of Frontstalag 155 were fairly modern but had suffered severe damage in June 1940, first from German bombings and then from a French attempt to destroy the facility before it fell into German hands. The commander of the Frontstalag was Major von Treuenfels. Until August 1940, Frontstalag 155 was severely overcrowded. With a maximum capacity of 12,000 soldiers, the camp at one point held between 20,000 and 43,000 prisoners, the lower number being given by the German command, the higher number coming from the men of confidence *(hommes de confiance*) in the camp (a French woman who visited the camp in July 1940 claimed that there were 35,000 prisoners, most of them camping outside and protecting themselves against the scorching sun with self-made tents).[2] Some pictures from the collection of the German Federal Archives, taken in August 1940, show black French prisoners in front of shaggy huts in a very depressing environment.[3]

During the American inspection, on September 17, 1940, the camp still housed 6,790 metropolitan French prisoners and 5,300 people of color, but 1,400 of the metropolitan French prisoners and 1,300 of the prisoners of color were assigned to work commandos

outside the camp. The colonial prisoners were allowed to cook their own food, and they had access to Muslim worship services. The man of confidence of the camp told Patterson that the guards had killed two colonial prisoners during a dispute about the quality of the food at the time when the camp was severely overcrowded. The German camp officers admitted that there had been an incident but claimed "that no brutality had occurred." They pointed out that it had been very difficult to keep order with so many prisoners in the camp.[4]

The American inspection team bemoaned the poor water quality of the camp and noticed that the metropolitan French prisoners had superior accommodations, but they believed that colonial prisoners needed less comfort than European prisoners: "The camp left something to be desired, but it should be taken into consideration … that most of the men confined were colored troops."[5]

Several former prisoners reported that the Germans made intensive propaganda efforts among the colonial prisoners in Dijon and apparently took the prisoners with a French education (*évolués*) to a special camp for propaganda purposes. One prisoner observed during a prisoner transfer from Épinal to Dijon that a German noncommissioned officer (NCO) talked to two North African NCOs and told them that Germany would never tolerate the discrimination they had to suffer in the French army. The two North African NCOs then obtained privileged positions in the camp and belonged to a group of colonial prisoners whom the Germans trained in the use of wireless transmitters and prepared to work as spies after their release.[6] There is evidence that the secret service of the Wehrmacht, the *Abwehr*, operated a training facility in Dijon for North African prisoners willing to work for Germany. Some of these prisoners were later sent to North Africa via Spain and Spanish Morocco with instructions to report about troop movements, the situation of Jews, and the situation of Muslims in North Africa.[7] This facility was probably not part of Frontstalag 155, but it is likely that the "*évolués*" from Frontstalag 155 mentioned by the former prisoner were among the prisoners sent to this facility.

Given the difficult conditions in the camp of Dijon, German propaganda certainly faced an uphill battle in the first months. As

several prisoners confirmed, the guards in the camp of Dijon-Longvic were brutal; they frequently hit the prisoners, including the officers. British officers, housed in Dijon at the beginning, were apparently singled out for particularly harsh treatment. According to the NCO Mamadou Aliou, the Germans killed three West Africans, one Madagascan, and one Moroccan in December 1940 after a series of successful escapes, possibly as a reprisal. Prisoners agreed that conditions in Dijon became much better when the Germans launched a "wave of kindness" for propaganda purposes.[8]

Frontstalag 155 was administratively deactivated after the transfer of most of the metropolitan French prisoners to Germany.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 155 is located in AN; BBA; and NACP.

Additional information about Frontstalag 155 can be found in the following publication: Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. "Histoire de la base aérienne de Dijon. Le Frontstalag 155, "www.histavia21.net/Ba102/LIEUX-HISTOIRE/BA-102/Frontstalag%20155.htm.

2. Testimony of Germaine l'Herbier-Montagnon, in "Histoire de la base aérienne de Dijon. Le Frontstalag 155," www.histavia21.net/Ba102/LIEUX-HISTOIRE/BA-102/Frontstalag%20155.htm.

3. BBA, images 146-2003-0020 to 146-2003-0023 and 146-2000-005-03.

4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 155, by Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Vance Murray, September 17, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

5. Inspection report, Frontstalag 155, by Jefferson Patterson and

Dr. Vance Murray, September 17, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

6. “Rapport du capt. Campan, Commandant la Section, Bone,” February 12, 1941, and “Note de renseignement,” Vichy, April 19, 1941, AN, F9, 2892.

7. Scheck, “Nazi Propaganda,” 455.

8. This information comes from a summary report based on interviews with escaped or dismissed colonial prisoners organized by the Vichy police and secret service: Capt. Payrière to General, cmdt. le Groupe des Camps du Sud-Est, January 19, 1942, AN, F9, 2892.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 160

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 160 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 15, 1941. Frontstalag 160 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 322 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 160 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war in Lunéville, in northeastern France (map 2). It was one of the camps that the American inspection team visited in September 1940. The Frontstalag occupied three sites in Lunéville and another campsite in a neighboring town. In Lunéville, the Frontstalag occupied the Dragoons' Barracks (*Caserne des Dragons*), the Infantry Quarters (*Quartier de l'Infanterie*), and a military hospital. Lunéville was in an area close to the pre-1914 Franco-German border. Like several other cities in this area, it was a logical place for a Frontstalag because it had many military buildings constructed between 1871 and 1914 and also because it was ideally placed to serve as a transit camp for the masses of metropolitan French prisoners transferred to camps in Germany.

The conditions in the camps in Lunéville were terrible during the first months after the French capitulation. A woman working for a French aid organization sent a report to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva on August 8, 1940, which mentioned starving prisoners in the camp.[1] The American inspectors, who visited the camp on September 15, 1940, heard that 14,000 prisoners had at one point been at the Caserne des Dragons, which was designed for a maximum occupancy of 1,500. Prisoners had to sleep in the stables and the garages. At the time of the visit, however, only 1,200 prisoners occupied this campsite; 700 of them worked in the town during the day. The food supply and the accommodations were good, but the inspectors heard from prisoners that the improvements had only happened after August 1

and that the conditions had been very bad in the beginning. The inspectors praised the commander, Leutnant Seeger, for his efforts to improve the situation and concluded: "The camp, like all others visited in France, had apparently suffered from both overcrowding and inadequate food for two months but since August 1 had been reduced to manageable size under experienced camp management…. Camp made good impression. The commandant being apparently interested in his work and in the conditions of the men, no complaint could be made regarding their treatment."[2]

Some subcamps of Frontstalag 160 were closed at the end of the summer of 1940, after more metropolitan French prisoners had been transferred to Germany. The remaining facilities of Frontstalag 160 were integrated into Frontstalag 161 in nearby Nancy.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 160 is located in AN; ICRC Archives; and NACP.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Report of Madame Benech, ICRC, B, G 3/20 Courrier. See also "Rapport de Madame Benech sur sa visite aux camps de Toul—Lunéville—Saverne—Strasbourg—Sarrebourg—Baccarat," AN, F9, 2810.

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 160, by Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Vance Murray, September 15, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 161

The Germans founded Frontstalag 161 on July 19, 1940, and disbanded the camp in September 1941. Frontstalag 161 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 462 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

At first, Frontstalag 161 comprised several camps for French prisoners of war (POWs) in and near Nancy (map 2). This area was close to the pre–World War I Franco-German border, and the Germans made use of the numerous military camps built there between 1871 and 1914. Given the proximity of Nancy to Germany, Frontstalag 161 initially served to a large extent as a transit camp for the masses of French POWs on their way to camps in Germany in the summer of 1940. Unlike most other camps in this zone, however, Frontstalag 161 remained in operation after the metropolitan French prisoners had left, and it absorbed Frontstalags 160 and 162.

A woman working for French aid organizations noted in August 1940 that the camps in and around Nancy were being quickly emptied, as many prisoners were transferred to Germany or obtained dismissal. She was not allowed to enter the rank-and-file camps, however, because of diseases among the prisoners. She did gain access to some officers in a separate building, and they seemed to enjoy good conditions.[1]

The Frontstalag at Nancy was one of the first camps that the American inspection team visited in September 1940. They inspected a camp installed in a former French military barracks in a suburb of Nancy (for reasons of military secrecy, the Wehrmacht did not allow the Americans to use place names in their inspection reports). The camp commander was Oberst von Poschinger. The buildings were in bad shape because of damage done by retreating French troops in June 1940; the latrines and sewer system were

largely nonoperational, causing serious sanitation problems. The camp had only 2,400 metropolitan French prisoners, including 200 officers, at the time of the visit, even though the maximum capacity of the camp in peacetime had been 10,000. In addition, 500 prisoners were working in commandos in Nancy or on nearby farms. Colonial prisoners had been present at this camp, but they had all been sent to camps further south before the inspection. The camp offered religious services for Christians, and prisoners could play soccer. The library was undersupplied, however. The prisoners did not complain about the food rations. Overall, the inspectors were confident that the camp commander, who made a very interested and engaged impression, would complete the necessary repairs and improve the physical plant in short order.[2]

Frontstalag 161 at Nancy. POWs at work at the Four Winds Farm, June, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The population of Frontstalag 161 had changed significantly at the time of the Scapini Mission's first inspection in March 1941.

The camp now had 3,298 colonial prisoners and 261 metropolitan Frenchmen. Most prisoners were dispersed into work commandos in the countryside. Some prisoners were performing undisclosed work for the Wehrmacht (110 colonial soldiers and 108 metropolitan Frenchmen). Only 48 prisoners worked in industry. The Frontstalag received complementary food deliveries paid for by a wealthy local noblewoman, Countess Komornicka. The camp inspector found special praise for the German camp command, including the commander, Oberstleutnant Daniel, and his representative, Hauptmann von Favre du Faur.[3]

When the Scapini Mission came back to the camp in May, only 173 prisoners remained in the main camp (153 North Africans and 20 Martinicans), while the rest worked in approximately 50 commandos in northern Lorraine. The inspector bemoaned the poor condition of the shoes many prisoners were wearing, and he found that the Frontstalag did not have enough reserve clothing. In a few places, prisoners had no access to religious services and were lodged in buildings that were impossible to heat. The food supply was decent, although the inspector wished for more food deliveries matching the ethnic cuisines of the prisoners. In one commando with 38 Algerians and 2 Moroccans, in Romagnes-sous-les-Côtes, the inspector noted strong tensions between the Arbas and the Kabyles among the Algerian prisoners. He suggested separating them.[4]

An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection at the end of June 1941 did not add much information, but it noted that the camp was in very good shape and one of the best the inspectors had so far seen in France. The ICRC inspectors listed 968 black and 391 metropolitan French prisoners, with 3,578 men of color (probably North Africans and people from colonies other than French West Africa).[5]

Frontstalag 161 was integrated into Frontstalag 194 in Châlons-sur-Marne in September 1941.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 161 is located in AN; ICRC Archives; NACP; and PAAA.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. “Rapport voyage de mesdames Benech et Deschiseaux du 9 août au 11 août 1940,” AN, F9, 2810.

2. Inspection report, Frontstalag 161, by Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Vance Murray, September 15, 1940, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

3. Inspection report, Frontstalag 161, by Jean Detroyat, March 26, 1941, PAAA, R 70769 (also in AN, F9, 2354).

4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 161 and commandos, by Jean Detroyat, May 26–27, 1941, PAAA, R 40989a (also AN, F9, 2354).

5. Inspection report, CICR, June 25, 1941, ICRC, Geneva, Service inspection des camps, F (-D) 161 25.6.1941.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 162

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 162 on July 23, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 26, 1941. Frontstalag 162 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 536 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 162 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war that occupied four sites in or near Toul (map 2) in northeastern France, not far from Nancy. In this region close to the pre–World War I Franco-German border, the Germans made use of the numerous military facilities built between 1871 and 1914. Frontstalag 162 used mostly former barracks from the French army, including the Luxembourg Barracks (*Caserne du Luxembourg*) and the Joan of Arc Barracks (*Caserne Jeanne d'Arc*), as well as a camp at the airport of Toul and one in the western suburb of Écrouves. Because of the proximity of Toul to Germany, the local Frontstalag served mainly as a transit camp for the masses of French prisoners on their way to camps in Germany in the summer of 1940.

The Frontstalag, like most others, was overcrowded and poorly supplied in the first few months. A woman organizing relief efforts visited Toul in the end of July 1940 and noted that the local population was hungry itself and could do little to help the prisoners. Still, she felt this Frontstalag was in better shape than most others she had visited.[1]

Propaganda efforts in this camp seem to have been well developed. Prisoners noticed that several German officers and soldiers who had been to the French colonies talked to the colonial prisoners in a very friendly tone. The Germans apparently exploited tensions between colonial prisoners and metropolitan French officers in one of the camps of Toul. They posed as friends

of the colonial soldiers and tried to blame the French for the German atrocities against black soldiers during the campaign. A prisoner reported that a German lieutenant stood up to a Frenchman who said that the prisoners from the colonies would only work if they received beatings. The same lieutenant also criticized an Alsatian translator who told the Germans that the blacks among the prisoners were cannibals. Another prisoner, from Mali, reported that the Germans initially believed these stories told by some French men of confidence but that the treatment of black prisoners improved markedly when the Germans stopped believing the French. Apparently, the German guards told the black prisoners that French officers had told them that the blacks had mutilated German soldiers with their bush knives (*coupe-coupes*). Interestingly, these allegations were widespread during the campaign of May–June 1940 and often served as a "justification" for German massacres of black prisoners.[2]

Some of the camps in Toul were closed already in August 1940, as many metropolitan French prisoners had been sent to Germany. The remainder of Frontstalag 162 was absorbed by Frontstalag 161.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 162 is located in AN and ICRC Archives.

Additional information about Frontstalag 162 can be found in the following publication: Raffael Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims: The German Army Massacres of Black French Soldiers in 1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 126–131.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Report of Madame Benech, ICRC, B, G 3/20 Courrier. See also "Rapport de Madame Benech sur sa visite aux camps de Toul—Lunéville—Saverne—Strasbourg—Sarrebourg—Baccarat," and "Rapport de Mme. Benech sur la visite au camp de prisonniers à Toul," both AN, F9, 2810.

2. Capt. Payrière to General, cmdt. le Groupe des Camps du Sud-Est, January 19, 1942, AN, F9, 2892. See also Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims*, pp. 126–131.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 170, 171, 172

In the Somme and Oise region in northern France, the German army operated a series of Frontstalags after the campaign of May–June 1940. Several Frontstalags used military installations (barracks and forts) in the cities of Amiens, La Fère, Compiègne, and Doullens (all in map 2). The numbering of these Frontstalags was inconsistent and changed rapidly, and the same camp sites appear to have been listed under different numbers. Some of the sites may also have operated earlier as collection sites (*Sammelstellen*).

Frontstalag 170 (July 21, 1940–March 21, 1941) seems to have moved from Pont-Saint-Maxence to Compiègne and later to La Fère. Frontstalag 171 (July 21, 1940–March 22, 1941) existed in Rouen and Amiens, and the camp in Doullens seems to have been designated as Frontstalag 172 in the late summer of 1940. Yet, the site in Doullens was closed before the end of the year, and Frontstalag 172 briefly continued to exist in Amiens.[1] Some of these camps functioned primarily as transit camps after the start of the German offensive on the Somme on June 5, 1940, and very large numbers of French and British prisoners passed through these camps. Amiens also housed several other Frontstalags, such as 100, 102, 130, and 204, but only 204 seems to have existed for more than a few months. The site in La Fère operated later as Frontstalag 191 and 192.

The field post numbers (*Feldpostnummer*) for these camps were as follows: Frontstalag 170: 04 443, issued between April 28 and September 14, 1940, and struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. Frontstalag 171: 05 476, same dates. Frontstalag 172: 06 066, issued between January 2 and April 27, 1940, and struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Little is known about these camps. A report by Édouard Ouédraogo, a soldier from Upper Volta (today: Burkina Faso),

who barely survived a massacre of West African soldiers by the German army on June 5–6, 1940, mentioned massive abuses against black prisoners and extreme overcrowding in Doullens. Prisoners were pushed into small rooms and literally had to sleep on top of each other; some prisoners died after being crushed by those sleeping on top of them. Prisoners had no food and no drink. The guards were extremely brutal, especially toward black prisoners.[2]

The French prisoner Paul Mansire spent two weeks in the same camp in August 1940. He, too, reported miserable conditions. At this time, the camp held "white" French prisoners and many Algerians, who apparently stole frequently and started many fights, and some black prisoners. To maintain order, the Germans had entrusted a giant black prisoner with a stick, and this prisoner used to brutally hit Algerian prisoners whenever a fight broke out. While some civilians were indifferent to the prisoners, others purchased bread for the prisoners who threw money across the camp fence, and some agreed to mail letters written by the prisoners. Mansire complained to the German authorities about the conditions in this camp, but the Germans answered that the site was only meant to be a short-lived transit camp.[3]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 170, 171, 172 is located in AN (72 AJ 291) and SHD (5 H 16). See also: Moosburg at www.moosburg.org/info/stalag/laglist.html#frankreich.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. "Kriegsgefangenenlager: Liste," at www.moosburg.org/info/stalag/laglist.html#frankreich.
2. Édouard Ouédraogo, "Composition française," SHD, 5 H 16, p. 2.
3. Report of Paul Mansire, AN, 72 AJ 291—4C Frontstalags témoignages.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 180

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 180 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 26, 1941. Frontstalag 180 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 082 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 180 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war in Tours and Amboise in the Loire valley (map 1). Little information is known about the camp, except for a few informal reports by aid agency members. A woman working for the French Red Cross, for example, visited Amboise on July 26, 1940, and found four camp sites in and around the town. The German commander was very strict and requested a thorough examination of the aid packages, explaining to her that, previously, packages for the prisoners had contained arms, alcohol, and civilian clothing (to facilitate escapes). She estimated that the camps held approximately 14,000 prisoners. The conditions were very bad. The prisoners lacked food, clothing, shoes, and bed linens. The camps were infested with lice. The campgrounds were in poor condition; the high humidity in the area turned much of the ground into mud.

In December 1940, after the departure of most metropolitan French prisoners for Germany, another aid worker reported about a camp in Amboise that held 2,093 prisoners: 1,427 North Africans, 550 Indochinese, 85 prisoners defined as "blacks" (West Africans), 21 Antilleans, and 10 Madagascans. The prisoners were suffering from the cold and urgently requested a transfer to the warmer south of France.[1] In early 1941, Frontstalag 181 headquartered in Saumur, 70 kilometers (44 miles) west of Tours, took over what remained of the campsites belonging to Frontstalag 180.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 180 is

located in AN.

Raffael Scheck

NOTE

1. “Rapport sur ma mission du 26 juillet 1940,” and “Note pour Mr. Caron. Camp d’Amboise (No. 180),” December 16, 1940, AN, F9, 2810.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 181

The Germans created Frontstalag 181 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on June 12, 1942. Frontstalag 181 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 894 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 181 held French prisoners of war (POWs). It was located in the city of Saumur (map 1), which had been the site of heroic resistance by French officer cadets to superior numbers of German troops during the last days of the French campaign, and the surviving defenders were among the first prisoners interned in Frontstalag 181. As a sign of respect for their heroic fight, the first German commander, whose name was Eschig, released them after a few days. For several months thereafter, the camp then became a center for prisoners from France and from the empire.

The main camp of Frontstalag 181 occupied various locations, including the cavalry school in Saumur. Attached to it were two hospitals, the Hôpital Mixte and the Hôpital Desjardins. A note from an aid worker from the late summer of 1940 stated that the camp housed 3,700 metropolitan French and 1,500 colonial prisoners. Conditions were tolerable, thanks to the generous efforts of the local Red Cross, boy scout troops, and other organizations.[1] The sub-prefect of the department stated on January 2, 1941, that the prisoners were treated well, although the winter cold was hard to take for many soldiers from tropical regions. The German authorities allowed the families of the French prisoners and the war godmothers (*marraines de guerre*; women who corresponded particularly with colonial soldiers in order to replace to some extent their distant family) to visit them in the camp. In early January 1941, however, 3,700 metropolitan French prisoners were loaded onto cattle cars and sent to Germany in three convoys, and the camp population, henceforth, consisted mostly of colonial

prisoners as well as a few French Jews.[2]

At the time of the Scapini Mission's first formal inspections, on April 2, 1941, Frontstalag 181 had 3,992 colonial prisoners and 238 Frenchmen and was under the command of Oberst Freiherr von Gall. The 600 prisoners remaining in the main camp were working on improving the grounds. Religious services were well organized. The camp had several marabouts and priests. There were 30 colonial officers in the camp who enjoyed some privileges, such as having personal servants and private rooms with washing facilities, although they were not housed separately from the rank-and-file troops, as the Geneva Convention required. For their entertainment, the prisoners organized variety shows. They requested pictures of Marshal Pétain, soccer balls, Arabic books, and teaching materials for French language courses. The inspector heard that tensions existed among the prisoners because the Moroccans, as in most other camps, received more generous aid packages than the others. The inspector found out, however, that supplies sent from Vichy were still in storage and had not been distributed to the needier prisoners. Most of the prisoners in the Frontstalag were deployed in small agriculture and road construction commandos outside the main camp. The inspector heard that there were larger commandos with 200 prisoners each in Tours and Amboise, likely the remnants of Frontstalag 180.[3]

Frontstalag 181 at Saumur. Former cavalry barracks, May, 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visiting the camp on May 30, 1941, confirmed these impressions and found that conditions in the main camp were fairly good. The ICRC inspectors estimated the rate of tuberculosis to be 3–4 percent, which was comparatively low. The main camp housed 235 West Africans, 54 Antilleans, 27 Madagascans, and 30 Jews (it is unclear whether these were residents of France or North Africa).[4]

The Scapini Mission organized a more detailed inspection in July 1941, for the first time including a number of commandos. Most of the prisoners in these commandos worked for farmers, often at the request of the local mayor, and they enjoyed fairly good conditions. In the village of Thilouze, east of Saumur, the 14 Tunisians of the local commando ate lunch in a public restaurant and received four liters of wine every day, all at the expense of the local mayor. In nearby Azay-le-Rideau, another generous mayor paid for restaurant lunches for 37 Tunisians (although there is no mention of wine). In another small commando, the prisoners were

housed in the local rectory and cared for by a woman paid by the town who cooked for them every day. In Angers, a commando of 230 West Africans existed, but the inspector made no comment on their work. In some places, the inspector criticized mayors or individual farmers who did not adequately care for the prisoners. Sometimes the rations provided by French employers were significantly smaller than the ones previously distributed by the Germans, a fact that alarmed the French authorities because they feared that such experiences would help German propaganda and loosen the ties of the colonial prisoners to France.[5]

In Saumur itself, the camp had far more prisoners in July than in the spring: 2,526 prisoners, among them 1,825 people from the French Antilles, North Africa, and Indochina as well as 615 West Africans and 86 metropolitan French. Conditions in Saumur were very good, even though the inspectors noted strong tensions among the prisoners from different territories (or "races," as they said). Everywhere in the Frontstalag, the colonial prisoners resented the recently announced dismissal of metropolitan French prisoners in the Frontstalags. People from the empire who had French citizenship were particularly outraged about not being considered Frenchmen.[6]

German propaganda toward North Africans was very active in Frontstalag 181. Escaped prisoners reported that the Germans used North African collaborators as camp police to prevent escapes and showed films about the successes of the Wehrmacht, which apparently left a vivid impression on many prisoners. German-edited Arabic newspapers were widely distributed, and German agents told North African prisoners that the Germans would pay them more and treat them better than the French. Escaped pro-French prisoners asked the Vichy police and secret service to closely monitor all prisoners dismissed or escaped from Saumur because German propaganda there had been quite successful among the Algerians and Tunisians, though apparently not among the Moroccans.[7]

From the beginning, Frontstalag 181 faced a major problem with escapes. In the first months, it was mostly the metropolitan French prisoners who ran away, especially once they understood that they might be transported to Germany. Later, colonial prisoners also escaped in large numbers. In September 1941, for

example, 60 colonial prisoners dug a tunnel beneath the barbed wire in Saumur and escaped.[8] Altogether, 1,500 prisoners appear to have fled from the camp from July 1940 to January 1942. The proximity of the demarcation line made escapes particularly attractive (the Germans did not insist on a return of POWs having reached the "free zone"). An early resistance network in Saumur, assisted by French Red Cross drivers, hid escaped prisoners and guided them across the demarcation line.[9] German guards killed several prisoners during escape attempts, and Freiherr von Gall protested repeatedly to the mayors of Saumur and other towns, demanding that they suppress solidarity networks and prevent civilians from talking to the prisoners. In March 1941, the German *Ortskommandantur* of Saumur even forced the towns Saumur and Saint-Hilaire-Saint-Florent to pay a large sum (500,000 francs for the former, 100,000 francs for the latter) as a fine for allegedly supporting prisoner escapes, but the Germans returned the money in August after having been unable to prove any official complicity in prisoner escapes.[10]

In the second half of 1941, Frontstalag 181 was absorbed by Frontstalag 232 in Savenay. The camp in Saumur and many work commandos continued operating under Frontstalag 232 for a few months, but the German authorities closed the camp in January 1942, probably because of the large number of escapes. Many prisoners from the former Frontstalag 181 were transferred to Frontstalag 133 in Rennes, and others were sent to Frontstalag 195 in Onesse-et-Laharie.[11]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 181 is located in AN, ICRC Archives, and PAAA.

Additional information about Frontstalag 181 can be found in the following publications: Armelle Mabon, "Solidarité nationale et captivité colonial," *French Colonial History* 12 (2011): 193–207; and Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. "Maine and Loire," Camp Saumur, AN, F9, 2810. See also "Le Front Stalag 181," saumur-jadis.pagesperso-orange.fr/recit/ch47/r47d2frontstalag.htm.

2. Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre, ed., *Frontstalag 181: Un camp de prisonniers de guerre français à Saumur* (Angers: Direction Départementale de Maine-et-Loir, n. d.); and "Le Front Stalag 181," saumur-jadis.pagesperso-orange.fr/recit/ch47/r47d2frontstalag.htm).

3. Inspection report, camp of Saumur, by Dr. Bonnaud, April 2, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.

4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 181, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, May 30, 1941, ICRC, Geneva, Service des camps, F (-D) 181. Oddly, the French authorities noted a large number of tuberculosis cases in Saumur, but the timing is unclear: "Relève des observations nécessitant une solution urgente," n.d. [probably 1941], AN, F9, 2345.

5. For this aspect, see "Service de l'Inspection des camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," November 24, 1941, AN, F9, 2345.

6. Inspections of commandos, Frontstalag 181, by René Scapini, July 15, 1941, PAAA, R 40989, and inspection reports, Frontstalag 181, by René Scapini, July 14 and 15, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.

7. "Rapport du maréchal des logis-chef Laveugle," October 3, 1941, "Note de renseignements," Vichy, May 16, 1941, and January 5, 1942, all in AN, F9, 2892. For Frontstalag propaganda in general, see Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda," 447–477.

8. "Note de renseignements," September 15, 1941, AN, F9, 2892 and 2345.

9. On resistance networks specializing in hiding colonial prisoners, see Mabon, "Solidarité nationale et captivité colonial," 193–207.

10. Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de

Guerre, ed., *Frontstalag 181: Un camp de prisonniers de guerre français à Saumur* (Angers: Direction Départementale de Maine-et-Loir, n. d.).

11. Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre, ed., *Frontstalag 181: Un camp de prisonniers de guerre français à Saumur* (Angers: Direction Départementale de Maine-et-Loir, n. d.).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 182

The Germans established Frontstalag 182 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on April 2, 1941. Frontstalag 182 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 265 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 182 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war in the lower Loire valley, based in the towns Savenay and Nantes (map 1). In the area of Savenay, two camps existed: one in a racecourse for horses called "Touchelais" northeast of the town and one in a village called La Berthelais, belonging to the town La Chapelle-Launay just west of Savenay. British troops had used both camps in 1939 and 1940. Both camps were severely overcrowded during the summer of 1940, with Touchelais holding 13,000 to 15,000 prisoners and La Berthelais holding approximately 14,000. The majority of these prisoners were Frenchmen, but there were also many colonial soldiers. The camps offered religious services for Muslims and Christians. The food supply was bad, there were no adequate washing facilities, and lice spread quickly. As a French aid worker noted, the prisoners in Savenay lived "in inhuman conditions," with many prisoners suffering from dysentery.[1] In September 1940, the first convoys of metropolitan French prisoners left for Germany, while many colonial prisoners were sent to the southwest of France. The remaining prisoners worked partly outside the camps; one work commando existed in Saint-Nazaire on the Atlantic Coast. Escapes were frequent, and the Germans at one point executed recaptured prisoners in a quarry located in the Vallée des Soupirs section of Savenay, at the southeastern edge of the town.[2]

Frontstalag 182 closed in early 1941, but the campsites of Savenay and some other camps became part of Frontstalag 232, formerly based in Luçon and La-Roche-sur-Yon. Frontstalag 232

closed in early 1942, and most of the prisoners were transferred to Frontstalag 133 (Rennes).[3]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 182 is located in AN and SHD.

Additional information about Frontstalag 182 can be found in the following publication: Jean Rolland, *Histoire illustrée de Savenay* (Paris: Veritas, 1976), pp. 118–122, 136.

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NOTES

1. Camps, Savenay, AN, F9, 2810.
2. Rolland, *Histoire illustrée de Savenay*, pp. 118–122, 136.
3. "Note: Regroupement des frontstalags," April 7, 1942, SHD, 2 P 78.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 183

The Germans established Frontstalag 183 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on April 8, 1941. Frontstalag 183 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 457 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck on October 5, 1943.

Frontstalag 183 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war in the southern part of Brittany. It was based in Vannes, Chateaubriant, and Hennebont, with branches in some smaller towns in the Morbihan Département (map 1). Little is known about this camp, which was deactivated before regular camp inspections started.

A summary report from a French aid worker mentioned that the camp in Chateaubriant had 14,000 prisoners in the summer of 1940, housed in barracks and tents.[1] In Vannes, 992 prisoners stayed in the Caserne des Trente, and there were camps in Saint-Avé (405 prisoners), Hennebont (700 prisoners), Camp de Coëtquidan (605 prisoners), and Meucon (290 prisoners).[2] Two women working for the French Red Cross visited Camp de Coëtquidan on August 12, 1940, and found 800 prisoners in relatively good condition, except that they needed new clothing.[3] The same women drove to the camps of Vannes, Redon, and Saint-Avé, concluding that "in this entire region, the soldiers are not in too bad shape, but, like everywhere, they do not have enough food, and they request clothing and complementary food rations."[4]

Frontstalag 183 was dissolved following the departure of the metropolitan French prisoners to Germany. The campsite in Vannes became part of Frontstalag 135 and later Frontstalag 133, while the camp in Chateaubriant operated as a part of Frontstalag 232 in the second half of 1941.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 183 is located in AN.

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NOTES

1. Ille-et-Villaine, camps, AN, F9, 2810.
2. Morbihan, camps, AN, F9, 2810.
3. Rapport voyage de Paris à Coétquidan, Mesdames Aurousseau et Gallet, AN, F9, 2810.
4. Paris-Vannes et retour, Mesdames Gallet et Aurousseau, August 20, 1940, AN, F9, 2810.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 184

The Germans established Frontstalag 184 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on November 23, 1941. Frontstalag 184 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 603 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

Frontstalag 184 held French prisoners of war. It was located in Angoulême (map 1). For unknown reasons, many of the work commandos of this Frontstalag were deployed much farther to the south, in the Gironde and Landes Départements, about 250 kilometers (155 miles) south of Angoulême. In this region, the subcamp of Frontstalag 184 (sometimes listed as Frontstalag 184A) with several commandos existed in Mont-de-Marsan and later in Sore (Landes).[1] This region, the southwestern tip of France, was considered warmer and healthier for prisoners from tropical climates, and it therefore became overcrowded with colonial prisoners.

Little is known about the early history of the camp. On November 30, 1940, the prefect of the Charente Département reported that there were 2,600 prisoners in Angoulême in a camp that could house 10,000. The prefect supplied complementary rations including meat, fish, and fresh vegetables to the prisoners.[2] The first inspection by the Scapini Mission occurred on April 19, 1941. At this time, the Frontstalag held 1,700 Algerians, 1,500 West Africans, 1,100 Tunisians, 850 Moroccans, and 400 Madagascans. The metropolitan French-men had all been transferred out. The Frontstalag commander was Major Schuren. The housing of the prisoners was less than satisfactory, and the inspector suggested various improvements. He also noted that the prisoners had no tobacco rations and needed to buy cigarettes in the canteen. He urged French aid agencies to include cigarettes in their deliveries.[3]

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Angoulême in June 1941 and found that there were only 814 prisoners in the main camp, mostly Moroccans, as well as 46 West Africans, 27 Madagascans, and 27 Antilleans. The inspectors learned that many prisoners were concerned because they could not yet transfer payments to their families. The ICRC inspectors promised that they would try to make sure that such money transfers would become possible. As in other camps, the inspectors noted animosity toward the Moroccans, who received better supplies than the other prisoners.[4]

A round of inspections of work commandos in August 1941 revealed that most prisoners of Frontstalag 184 were working in forestry in the Landes and Gironde Départements. Many commandos suffered from insufficient supplies, and their accommodations were not prepared for the winter. As often was the case in isolated forestry commandos, no religious services and no entertainment activities were available in most places. In Lugos, a forestry commando of 234 Moroccans, 222 Algerians, 22 West Africans, 6 Tunisians, 5 Madagascans, and 3 Antilleans complained that they had no work insurance, no sports equipment, and no mosque. Their mail had not arrived since they had left Angoulême in July. One prisoner was an Algerian art student from Paris who had completed an elaborate portrait of Marshal Pétain and requested a 48-hour leave so that he could bring it to Ambassador Scapini in Paris.

In nearby Hostens, the commando of 124 Moroccans, 49 Algerians, 19 Madagascans, 13 West Africans, 5 Tunisians, and 1 Antillean lived under similar conditions. This commando had bad drinking water, which caused various diseases. The Tunisian man of confidence, Mohamed Brahim, appeared to be lethargic. In Daugnague (Landes), a commando of 212 Moroccans and 2 Algerians also suffered from bad water quality. The commando of Le Barp, consisting of 241 Algerians, 29 Moroccans, 23 Tunisians, as well as 2 doctors and a medical helper, urgently needed new clothing and shoes and had no shower facilities and a deficient sewer system. However, the prisoners had to work only from 7:00 a.m. until noon, an unusually short workday. The inspectors mentioned a French doctor named Tallec, who had been released by the Germans but had decided to stay in the commando to ensure

the medical care for the prisoners. Tallec, however, was himself severely ill, and the inspector thought that he should leave the camp or else he might infect the prisoners. All the work commandos in this region received aid deliveries from the French Red Cross sections of Périgueux (in the unoccupied zone) and, to a lesser extent, Bordeaux. Almost everywhere, the housing seemed to be insufficient for the winter cold.[5]

The Frontstalag of Angoulême, holding a majority of North Africans, also became a platform for German pro-Islamic propaganda. In September 1941, the Vichy secret service reported that the German guards in Frontstalag 184 were talking openly about Germany soon expanding to French North Africa, and German agents tried to recruit North Africans for the campaign against the Soviet Union, apparently without success.[6]

Frontstalag 184 was dissolved in November 1941. Frontstalag 195 in Onesse-et-Laharie took over most of its work commandos. This made sense geographically, as most work commandos of Frontstalag 184 were much closer to Onesseet-Laharie than to Angoulême. Most forestry commandos in the Gironde and Landes Départements continued to operate as part of Frontstalag 195 and were later integrated into Frontstalags 221 and 222.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 184 is located in AN, ICRC Archives, and PAAA.

Additional information about Frontstalag 184 can be found in the following publications: François Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux dans les Frontstalags landais et leurs Kommandos 1940–1944*, AERI 40 (Bordeaux: Les Dossiers d'Aquitaine, 2013), p. 34; and Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 451.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux*, p. 34.

2. "Extrait d'un rapport du Préfet de la Charente en date du 30

Novembre 1940," AN, F9, 2810.

3. Inspection of Frontstalag 184, by Jean Detroyat, April 19, 1941, PAAA, R 40770 and AN, F9, 2354.

4. Inspection of Frontstalag 184, Angoulême, by Drs. Marti and de Morsier, June 9, 1941, in ICRC, Geneva, Service des camps, F (-D) 184 and 184a.

5. Inspection of Frontstalag 184, commandos, by Jean Detroyat, PAAA, R 40989 and AN, F9, 2354.

6. "Note de renseignement," Vichy, September 29, 1941, in AN, F9, 2892. See also Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda," 451.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 185

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 185 on August 22, 1940, in Tourcoing (map 2). It was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 427 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 185 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war. Little is known about the conditions in the camp.

Frontstalag 185 was closed on March 14, 1941. The metropolitan French and British prisoners were sent to Germany, and the French colonial prisoners to Frontstalags further south.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 185 is located in AN.

Raffael Scheck

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 186

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 186 on August 22, 1940, in Lille (map 2). It was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 558 between April 28 and September 14, 1940; the number was struck between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

Frontstalag 186 was a short-lived camp for French prisoners of war. Little is known about the camp. A note prepared for the French authorities mentions "horrible" conditions in Lille, with brutal guards, strict discipline, hard work, and insufficient food.[1]

Frontstalag 186 was closed in March 1941 and converted into AGSSt 11. The metropolitan French and British prisoners were sent to Germany, and the French colonial prisoners to Frontstalags further south.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 186 is located in AN.

Raffael Scheck

NOTE

1. "Kriegsgefangenenlager in Deutschland," AN, F9, 2810.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 190

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 190 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on June 27, 1942. Frontstalag 190 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 32 147 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Headquartered in Charleville-Mézières (map 2), Frontstalag 190 held French prisoners of war. The camp became one of the most important providers of labor for the German Ostland Organization, which managed farms in northeastern France from which many farmers had fled in May and June 1940. The Ardennes Département was the region with the heaviest engagement in the Ostland, and the need for labor in this region was always very high, not least because the rightful owners of the farms were often not allowed to return until after a major delay. Prisoners working in the Ostland were generally treated more harshly than other Frontstalag prisoners because the guards were constantly under the watch of German civilian officials (many of them eager Nazis) who made sure that the rules about strict treatment of the prisoners were enforced.

Little is known about the first months of the Frontstalag. When an inspector from the Scapini Mission inspected it for the first time, in March 1941, he noted that most metropolitan French prisoners were held in the barracks of the city Charleville-Mézières, whereas the colonial prisoners had been sent to commandos in the countryside. The metropolitan French prisoners had to work on the damaged citadel of Charleville. This involved dangerous work, such as handling ammunition and unexploded shells. The guards were very harsh and nervous because many prisoners had escaped in the previous weeks.[1] Later information revealed that the escape problem had continued and that the camp commander had allegedly threatened to execute recaptured

prisoners. He also ended the deployment of metropolitan French prisoners outside the main camp and limited their daily walks to a small area surrounded by barbed wire.[2] French protests triggered an inquiry involving the German Foreign Office and the OKW, which denied all allegations.[3]

The rural work commandos were inspected in May 1941. Most of them performed farmwork on lands administered by the Ostland, while a few commandos were still removing barbed wire that the French army had rolled out on farmlands as part of its defensive preparations in 1940. Escapes were frequent, especially in commandos with "white" French prisoners. Most prisoners needed new clothing and new shoes. Medical care was difficult to get, especially in the countryside, and religious services were often not available. In some places, the prisoners had not been paid for their labor. The guards belonged to the 583rd, 817th, and 907th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) and the commandant was Major Meiweg. In the rural commandos, prisoners were usually housed in abandoned schools, farmhouses, and, in a few cases, military barracks or castles. While the food supply and the accommodations were generally adequate, there were some commandos with serious problems. In Banogne, near Rethel, a commando of 202 North Africans was very poorly supplied. The prisoners, although working on the land, were famished. In Mouzon, a commando of 82 prisoners removing barbed wire from fields also received insufficient food supplies.[4]

Meanwhile, many metropolitan French prisoners in Frontstalag 190 had signed private contracts with the Ostland or with French farmers. To the annoyance of the French government, who saw the Ostland's presence (probably correctly) as an underhanded German attempt to colonize or annex French territory, these prisoners were excluded from the order of July 3, 1941, liberating all remaining metropolitan French prisoners in the Frontstalags. Despite repeated protests by the Scapini Mission, most of these metropolitan French prisoners had to keep serving out their contracts. This was likely not a great hardship, however, given that they were relatively free, did not have to wear uniforms, and were treated well. Some even worked for local French farmers.[5] Some colonial prisoners also had to work under these contracts, and it seems that their situation was less enviable. In early 1942, the

prefect of the Meurthe-et-Moselle Département visited some groups of colonial contract laborers and noted that the colonial soldiers among the "free" laborers, although no longer guarded by German soldiers, felt abandoned and lonely. They apparently were happy to see a French official; the West African prisoners declared that they would still be willing to die for France.[6] Another round of inspections in September 1941 revealed that the clothing of the prisoners in this Frontstalag was deteriorating quickly and that the Germans were not providing replacements. Overall, however, the food supply seemed to have improved.[7]

According to the documents of the Scapini Mission, Frontstalag 190 held approximately 4,245 prisoners in July 1941, not counting the metropolitan French prisoners still working under labor contracts. The largest group were the North Africans (2,400), followed by the West Africans (1,300), Madagascans (295), and Indochinese (250). The round figures for the two most numerous categories suggest that these were estimates, but they were probably fairly close. An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection team in June 1941 had found 4,371 prisoners of color in the Frontstalag, together with 745 metropolitan Frenchmen.[8] Frontstalag 190 had subcamps in the cities Rethel and Sedan, but little is known about them.

The archives of the Ardennes Département in Charleville-Mézières hold uniquely rich materials about the camp and its work commandos, from both German and French officials. The German army gathered information on the mood of the prisoners and recorded many conversations between guards and colonial prisoners in the commandos, where many prisoners expressed admiration for Germany and veneration for Pétain and gave examples of "chivalrous" behavior; for example, by not taking advantage of the absence of a German guard to escape. Detailed lists with the number of prisoners in each work commando, the supplies sent to them, and their pay exist for certain periods. French documents about the camp include various decrees of the prefect and town mayors regarding the employment and lodging of the prisoners.[9]

Frontstalag 190 became part of Frontstalag 204 in Saint-Quentin in the second half of 1941. Most of the camp's work commandos continued operating under Ostland control, with most of the

locally produced food going to Germany.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 190 is located in AD-Ans, AN, ICRC Archives, and PAAA.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Inspection report, Frontstalag 190, by Henri Dantan Merlin, March 19, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.
2. "Relève des observations nécessitant une solution urgente," Frontstalag 190, Charleville, AN, F9, 2345.
3. OKW to Auswärtiges Amt, July 15, 1941, PAAA, R 40987.
4. Inspection reports, Frontstalag 190, work commandos, by Dantan Merlin, May 19–21, 1941, PAAA, R 40987. The inspector visited 25 out of 40 commandos.
5. Scapini to Abetz, October 27, 1941, in AN, F9, 2147, and "Note pour l'OKW," December 11, 1941, AN, F9, 2176.
6. "Extrait du rapport du Préfet de Meurthe and Moselle," February 1, 1942, AN, F9, 2354.
7. Inspection reports, Frontstalag 190, work commandos, September 7, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.
8. Bureau de l'inspection des camps: Prisonniers indigènes, AN, F9, 2351, and inspection report of Frontstalag 190, by ICRC, Geneva, Service des camps, F (-D) 190.
9. AD-Ans, Charleville-Mézières, 1 W 146, 11 R 251–258 PG, 12 R 56 and 57.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 191

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 191 on July 18, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 22, 1941. Frontstalag 191 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 32 768 between April 28 and September 19, 1940; the number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The Wehrmacht operated the camp in La Fère (map 2), a small town on the Oise River where a French army barracks was located. At the time of the first official inspection, the camp in La Fère held only metropolitan French prisoners. The inspector from the Scapini Mission, Henri Dantan Merlin, reserved special praise for the camp commander, Oberstleutnant Ritter. According to the prisoners, Ritter did his utmost to improve the situation in the camp.[1] Frontstalag 191 was dissolved after the transfer of the metropolitan French prisoners to Germany, and its camps and commandos became part of Frontstalag 192, in Laon.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 191 is located in AN.

Raffael Scheck

NOTE

1. Summary report of visit to camps in La Fère, by Dantan Merlin, March 18, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 192

On July 18, 1940, the Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 192 in Laon (map 2). In March 1941, the Germans consolidated Frontstalags 191 and 192 under the direction of Frontstalag 192, although both main camps and many work commandos continued to exist. In March 1942, the Germans dissolved Frontstalag 192 and placed its camps under Frontstalag 204, which was headquartered in Saint-Quentin, in the same department. Many camps, including the one in La Fère and the camp in the citadel of Laon, continued to operate. Frontstalag 192 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 063 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Frontstalag 192 at La Fère. Delegate of ICRC with camp authorities, June, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

At the time of their first official inspections, the camps of La Fère and Laon held only metropolitan French prisoners. The inspector from the Scapini Mission, Henri Dantan Merlin, found 2,901 French prisoners as well as a few Belgians and Spaniards (probably from the Foreign Legion) in the citadel of Laon.[1] In May 1941, when Dantan Merlin returned to Frontstalag 192, the Frontstalag still seemed to hold many French prisoners. Dantan Merlin visited several work commandos and noted the lack of shoes, clothing, soap, tobacco, and games. In June, the first International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection noted, however, that colonial prisoners now predominated in Frontstalag 192. The sub-camp of Saint-Quentin, for example, held 84 West Africans and 35 Madagascans.[2] The summary of prisoners created by the Scapini Mission in July 1941 counted 3,634 prisoners in Frontstalag 192, of which the majority (2,650) were North Africans. The West Africans (740) were, as usual, the second largest group. In addition, the camp held 124 Madagascans and 120 Indochinese.[3]

The most detailed inspection of the Frontstalag occurred in early September 1941. Inspector René Scapini found the prisoners dispersed mostly into rural commandos covering the entire Aisne Département. French farmers employed most of them, but a few prisoners worked for the Ostland, which had taken over a number of abandoned farms in the northern half of the department. René Scapini stressed again the poor state of the prisoners' clothing and pointed out that the tobacco rations they were receiving were too small. He was particularly concerned about differences in the supplies that the prisoners received from the farmers and the mayors of the small villages where they worked.

In Besny-et-Loizy just north of Laon, a farmer who employed 48 Indochinese prisoners received special praise because he gave the prisoners extra pay, extra food, and one package of tobacco every five days. In the village Clermontles-Fermes, northeast of Laon, the farmer took such good care of his prisoners that Scapini went out of his way to thank him. In several villages, the German Ostland official also supplied the prisoners with extra rations. Yet,

Scapini was alarmed by the number of farmers and town mayors who did not adequately care for the prisoners. In several commandos, he concluded that the prisoners were not receiving enough ration cards to buy food and that they had no tobacco supplies, to which Scapini paid special attention. These problems prompted Scapini to visit the prefect of the department and the representative of a committee for assistance to the prisoners in Saint-Quentin, urging them to write to mayors asking them to improve the supplies to prisoners in their villages.[4]

In a few places, complaints went beyond insufficient supplies. In a commando in Fresnes-en-Tardenois, Scapini noted severe tensions between the 15 prisoners (14 West Africans and 1 Algerian) and the farmer. The prisoners complained about having to work much too hard. The farmer, in turn, claimed that they did poor work and requested that they be withdrawn.[5]

Little is known about the main camp in La Fère at this time. A prisoner letter to the president of the Paris section of the Red Cross from October 22, 1941, claimed that a corruption network existed in La Fère, led by two Moroccan non-commissioned officers and a marabout. The letter accused these prisoners of being German spies, of withholding aid packages from the other prisoners, and of occasionally beating prisoners. The letter threatened that the prisoners would start a "revolution" if the Red Cross did not investigate the abuses.[6] The archival documents do not disclose whether the Red Cross or the Scapini Mission took action.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 192 is located in AN and ICRC Archives.

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NOTES

1. Summary report of visit to camps in La Fère and Laon, by Dantan Merlin, March 18, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.

2. Inspection of Frontstalag 192, by Dantan Merlin, May 15, 1941, AN, F9, 2354, and ICRC inspection, June 6, 1941, ICRC, Geneva, Service des camps, F (-D) 192.

3. Dossier “Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des frontstalags,” AN, F9, 2351.

4. “Observations,” and inspection reports of work commandos from Frontstalag 192, by René Scapini, September 3–5, 1941, AN, F9, 2354.

5. Inspection reports of work commandos from Frontstalag 192, by René Scapini, September 3–5, 1941, here Arbeitskommando Fresnes-en-Tardenois, AN, F9, 2354.

6. Prisoners to Madame la Directrice de la Croix-rouge de Paris, October 22, 1941, AN, F9, 2951.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 193

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 193 on July 19, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X and, in August 1940, deployed it in Sainte-Menehould, France (map 2).[1] Starting in September 1940, it was in Brussels.[2] In February 1941, the headquarters redeployed to Defense District X.[3] On March 20, 1941, the Germans disbanded the camp and used the personnel to create AGSSt 13, 14, 15, and 16.[4] Frontstalag 193 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 609 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. It was struck between February 28 and July 29, 1941. While deployed in France and Belgium, the camp was under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander, France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*).

Frontstalag 193 held French prisoners of war. The conditions were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 193 is located in BA-MA (RW6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and AN (file 619/MI/81–83).

Additional information about Frontstalag 193 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 85; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 268.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 268.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 85.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 268.
4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 85.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 194

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 194 on July 22, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X.[1] Frontstalag 194 first deployed to Châlons-sur-Marne (today: Châlons-en-Champagne) (map 2), a town east of Paris in the upper Marne valley. Châlonssur-Marne had been an important military center for some time, so it and the surrounding areas had many barracks and military installations that could accommodate large numbers of prisoners. Châlons became a transit center for prisoners on their way to Germany in the summer of 1940, and later it was the dismissal point for French prisoners released from German Stalags. In the second half of 1941, Frontstalag 194 absorbed Frontstalag 161. By 1943, Frontstalag 194, now headquartered in Nancy (2), was the largest of the remaining Frontstalags in France and covered the entire northeastern part of France. As one of the first camps to receive French cadres for colonial prisoners in early 1943, it attracted much attention from French prisoner of war (POW) agencies. In early 1944, Frontstalag 194 also housed several hundred British Indian prisoners, all Muslims. In the summer of 1944, the larger sites of Frontstalag 194 again became transit centers for colonial and Allied prisoners on their way to Germany during the German retreat from most of France. Some commandos of Frontstalag 194, under the name "Stalag 194," continued to operate in Southwestern Germany (Defense District V) in early 1945.

The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 34 154 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. That number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1943, but a series of other numbers were also associated with the unit: 07 244 AC (issued October 11, 1943, struck November 3, 1944); 19 375 AB (issued March 3, 1944, struck November 3, 1944); 22 151 B (issued October 10, 1943, struck November 3, 1944); and 64 737 (issued November 3, 1944).

While deployed in France, the camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander, France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*).

Very little is known about the first months of Frontstalag 194. A report from the Central Assistance Committee for POWs in February 1941 mentioned that the Chanzy barracks in Châlons held 1,200 colonial soldiers and 150 Frenchmen. The camp was overcrowded, and many prisoners were in poor health. Over 500 of them were hospitalized. Among the Indochinese prisoners, tuberculosis was rampant.[2] A note from an unnamed aid worker claimed that the camp housed a large number of colonial prisoners on May 6, 1941, and that many of these prisoners were in poor health after having suffered through a severe winter. The prisoners stayed overnight in the barracks of Mourmelon-le-Grand, a village north of Châlons with large barracks. The wake-up call was at 5:00 a.m., and the prisoners were then driven in trucks to the train station of Châlons, where they worked from approximately 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 or 6:00 p.m.—sometimes to 8:30 p.m. The prisoners received soup for lunch and dinner at their workplace. The guards threatened prisoners weakened by disease with revolvers and kicked them. Few prisoners received complementary supplies from their families, and the packages that did arrive were often partially empty.[3]

The most detailed inspection of the Frontstalag occurred in August 1941. The commander at the time was Major Boetticher, and the guard units belonged to the 885th and 886th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*). The work commandos were mostly rural and spread over an area of up to 120 kilometers (75 miles) around Châlons-sur-Marne. Aside from the usual complaints regarding the lack of new clothing, shoes, and soap, most commandos were in good shape. Farmers provided enough fresh food, and the living quarters of the prisoners were decent. Even in remote villages, religious services for Muslims were often available through a room set aside for worship. The commandos that were in the many military camps of the region and assigned to work on the upkeep of the camps fared worse. They lacked fresh vegetables, and hygiene was sometimes bad. This was true for the commando housed in the Chanzy barracks of Châlons (167 Algerians, 55 West Africans, 46 Moroccans, 27 Madagascans, 11

Indochinese), where the prisoners seemed to be unusually unhealthy. Similar conditions existed in the camp of Mailly-le-Camp (Aube Département), south of Châlons, which housed 33 Tunisians, 28 Moroccans, and 5 Algerians, and in the camp of Suippes, which housed 32 Tunisians, 28 Algerians, and 22 Moroccans.[4]

A new round of inspections in January 1942 revealed that many prisoners in Frontstalag 194 lacked adequate protection against the cold weather. Most prisoners were idle because there was not much agricultural work in this season. The cold and the lack of news from their homes had created a depressed mood among the prisoners despite the dismissal of 593 North African and 250 Madagascan prisoners in December 1941 (for propaganda reasons, the inspector of the Scapini Mission made sure to mention to the prisoners that this dismissal was the result of diplomatic efforts by Ambassador Georges Scapini and the French government). The main camp in Châlons at this time held 458 prisoners, mostly North Africans (168 Moroccans, 122 Algerians, and 25 Tunisians) as well as 67 West Africans, 64 Indochinese, 11 Frenchmen, and 1 Martinican. The newly integrated camp of Nancy, formerly part of Frontstalag 161, housed 284 Algerians, 78 Moroccans, 47 Indochinese, 27 West Africans, 9 Tunisians, 2 Martinicans, 1 Guadeloupean, and 1 Haitian. In Nancy, a noncommissioned officer (NCO) offered French classes. Most prisoners worked in or near the camp in a variety of jobs, including the gathering and shelving of ammunition for the Wehrmacht. For lack of gasoline, inspector Jean Detroyat could not visit more than a few rural work commandos. He observed insufficient shelter and poor medical care in some of them. The commander of the Frontstalag now was Major Krebs, and the Frontstalag had a total of 5,017 prisoners.[5]

When the Scapini Mission was again able to visit the Frontstalag—after the enforced hiatus in the wake of the Giraud crisis—the general situation seemed to have further deteriorated. Clothing and shoes were in miserable condition, and there were widespread allegations of aid packages being plundered either en route to the camps or upon arrival. In a commando with 33 Algerians in Seicheprey (near Nancy), the German guards had taken for themselves the most precious contents of the aid packages (*colis du maréchal*) sent from Vichy. The affair was

brought to the attention of the German officer accompanying the inspector. The German officer identified one guard who was most responsible for the corruption and made sure that he was punished and transferred. In the region of Nancy, many prisoners now worked for the Ostland and suffered from strict, sometimes abusive, guards and officials.[6]

Several reports of abuses and neglect by German guards reached the French POW authorities in the second half of 1941. In some commandos, the abuses came not from the guards but from other prisoners. The frequent abuses reported from Frontstalag 194 may have to do with the fact that many of its commandos worked for Ostland, particularly in the region west of Nancy, which was previously under the command of Frontstalag 161. This meant that the prisoners— and their guards—were under the stricter supervision of somewhat more dedicated Nazis working for the Ostland and had less contact with French civilians. Guards were often more nervous under these conditions and under more pressure to enforce the regulations. Although there were important exceptions, prisoners working for the Ostland generally experienced a harsher regimen than others.

From February 1943 to June 1944, many commandos belonging to Frontstalag 194 received French cadres, including commandos working for the Ostland. The usual problems with the French cadres haunted the Frontstalag—unclear regulations in case of escape attempts by prisoners; incompetent cadres; corruption and mistreatment—and made it a showcase for what could go wrong with this arrangement. One glaring example came from a commando with French cadres in Vraux (Marne), where West African prisoners complained vividly about a French NCO who abused them and told everybody that they were cannibals and should not be treated well. The local civilians and town mayor apparently shared this hostile attitude.[7] One particularly vocal NCO from the French Antilles, Jean Gernet, was held as a common rank-and-file prisoner in Frontstalag 194. In early 1943, he sent a letter to the French government complaining about being held back in a Frontstalag despite his French citizenship (the Germans, however, considered him a man of color and therefore did not let him go with the white French prisoners in July 1941) and about suffering the humiliation of being guarded by white

French cadres. Gernet's letter served as ammunition for the Scapini Mission and those in the French war ministry who opposed the deployment of French cadres in the Frontstalags, although Scapini did manage to get Gernet released discreetly.[8]

Yet there are also reports about prisoners being upset about losing their French cadres when the Germans sent them home after D-Day. Prisoners in Talmay (Côte d'Or) and Dijon, for example, expressed great appreciation for the French cadres who apparently had done their utmost to mitigate the hardship of captivity. In Talmay, civilians seemed to have formed bonds of friendship with the prisoners and their French cadres.[9] Letters of prisoners intercepted by Free French police in North Africa also occasionally made positive comments about the French cadres in Frontstalag 194. The prisoner Omar ben Ahmed, for example, wrote to a friend in Mauritania: "I am in a tiny village where the civilians are very nice to us. For six months already, we have been with French cadres who know us well and really like us; they have been doing all they can to make things as good as possible for us."[10] Some of the friendly attention by civilians, however, alarmed the Scapini Mission. In a large commando of Neuves-Maisons (outside of Nancy), the inspectors reported that the French cadres were barely able to protect the 212 prisoners from Mali from the "raids undertaken by women belonging to the lowest categories of prostitution."[11]

Camps belonging to Frontstalag 194 suffered intense bombardments in 1944. In the night of May 3–4, 1944, Allied bombers attacked Mailly-le-Camp, killing at least 35 prisoners and severely wounding 17. According to an aid organization, the German camp authorities were not very helpful in transporting wounded prisoners to hospitals. Civilians stepped in and brought some of the wounded to the hospital of Troyes, 50 kilometers (over 30 miles) away. Some of the hospitalized prisoners died of their wounds. Seventeen prisoners used the chaos of the bombing to escape. The surviving prisoners were kept in barracks without a roof and windows.[12] Repeated bombings of the Peugeot motor factories in Montbéliard and other places also killed an unknown number of prisoners.[13] A severe attack on the train station of Hirson (Aisne), near the Belgian border, killed 7 North African prisoners and wounded 15. The French railroad employees had

been sent to shelters when the alarm went off, but the prisoners and their guards had stayed outside. During the funeral for the victims, the surviving prisoners expressed anger at the guards for not bringing them to shelters in time.[14] In several places, the German army deployed colonial prisoners in clearing work after bombing attacks; this led to protests by the Scapini Mission to the military commander in France, as this deployment clearly violated Article 31 (war-related work) and 32 (dangerous work conditions) of the Geneva Convention.[15]

By the fall of 1943, Frontstalag 194 had absorbed almost all other camps in the northeastern quarter of France, including the sites of the former Frontstalags in Vesoul (141) and Dijon (122 and 151). It held 8,600 prisoners in September 1943.[16] Inspections during this period generally revealed good conditions in the larger camps but major differences among the work commandos. In a commando in the village Eix near Verdun, German guards were accused of beating prisoners, plundering packages, and excessively restricting the freedom of prisoners to go out in the evenings and on weekends. The medical care of the 117 Madagascan prisoners was also a lacuna because the local doctor, although living just a few kilo-meters away, refused to treat the prisoners.[17]

In the first months of 1944, Frontstalag 194 housed some British colonial prisoners in addition to the French colonial soldiers. In March, a group of 257 Indian Muslim prisoners stayed in Nancy and performed construction work for the town. They had come from Stalag 315 in Épinal, a camp set up specifically for Indian prisoners that was overcrowded. Their man of confidence was Sargent Ismail Khan. They slept in the same facilities and used the same mosque as French colonial prisoners but kept very much to themselves. The Indians requested English books and a medical examination before being sent to work. The German doctor dismissed their concerns: “It must be kept in mind that the coloured prisoners are much more sensitive than Europeans and that they always have a lot of complaints about the state of their health, mostly unfounded.”[18] An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) inspection of Frontstalag 194 in June 1944 also reported the presence of British colonial prisoners. The Frontstalag now had 893 British Indian and 369 South African prisoners (the

latter probably from the Beauvais branch camp of Frontstalag 133), although the inspector pointed out that the Indians normally belonged to Stalag 315 near Belfort and would soon return there.[19] Many Indian prisoners had been sent to Nancy after the heavy bombing of Stalag 315 on May 11, 1944. Given the slow pace of repairs in Stalag 315, however, it is unlikely that these prisoners ever returned.

In the summer of 1944, the Germans sent the majority of the prisoners of Frontstalag 194 to Germany, and the camps in Châlons and Nancy became transit centers for newly captured Allied prisoners and for prisoners from other Frontstalags on their way to German Stalags. Men were held in the camp on average less than 10 days before they were sent to more permanent POW camps typically within Germany. On July 26, 1944, there were 1,037 British and American POWs at the camp in the morning, and, by afternoon, 230 had left for other camps.[20] The camp was a major transit center, with POWs sent there from other smaller camps prior to their transfer to Germany.[21] It is likely that a large percentage of the 13,000–15,000 French colonial prisoners transferred to the Reich in 1944 came from here. Because of the short duration, the camp did not segregate prisoners according to nationality as was customary. Instead, the camp designated one compound for officers, and the other two for NCOs and privates. International observers regarded the facilities and hygiene as "excellent."[22]

The transport was dangerous. In the station of Belfort, for example, a bombing attack killed 16 prisoners on a train. In this case, the German guards had apparently allowed the prisoners to leave the train after hearing the alarm, but not all prisoners had managed to get to safety.[23]

The last record showing Frontstalag 194 in operation dates from April 15, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 194 is located in AN, F9; PAAA, R 40989; TNA, WO 224/58; BAMA, RW 6; ICRC, Geneva, CSC, Service des camps, France; and NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

Additional information about Frontstalag 194 can be found in

the following publications: Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7, Die Landstreitkräfte 131-200* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 271; Raffael Scheck, "Des officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats? Les prisonniers de guerre 'indigènes' sous encadrement français, 1943–1944," in *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle: Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (Paris: Armand Colin/Ministère de la Défense, 2012), pp. 251–262.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 271.

2. Comité central d'Assistance aux prisonniers de guerre, Châlons-sur-Marne, rapport no. 22, February 4 and March 3, 1941, in AN, F9, 2966.

3. Handwritten note: "Frontstalag 194," n.d., in AN, F9, 2810 (dossier "Rapports de diverses provenances").

4. Inspection report, Frontstalag 194, work commandos, by Dantan Merlin, August 8–10, 1941, in PAAA, R 40989.

5. Inspection report, Frontstalag 194, Châlons-sur-Marne, by Detroyat, January 22, 1942 [the document is dated 1941, but that must be a misprint because the first Frontstalag inspections occurred later than January 1941, and the report refers to a recent dismissal, which indicates the dismissal of North Africans in December 1941], and inspection report, Frontstalag 194, camp de Nancy and work commandos, by Detroyat, January 23–24, 1942, in AN, F9, 2354.

6. Inspection reports, Frontstalag 194, October 2–10, 1942, by Henri Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2354.

7. Letter of six prisoners to Scapini, August 9, 1943, in AN, F9, 2351 (dossier "Lettres de prisonniers à Mr. Scapini"). For the problems with the cadres, see Raffael Scheck, "Des officiers

français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats? Les prisonniers de guerre 'indigènes' sous encadrement français, 1943–1944," in *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle: Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (Paris: Armand Colin/Ministère de la Défense, 2012), pp. 251–262.

8. "Extrait de la lettre de l'Adjudant-Chef Gernet," June 25, 1944, and "Note de Service au sujet des kommandos de prisonniers de guerre sous surveillance française," February 15, 1943, both in SHD, 2 P 78.

9. See, for example, "Section d'Aisny s/Armentson (Yonne), Détachement de Talmay," (June–July 1944), and "Rapport du 1er au 15 juillet 1944, Section de Dijon," both in AN, F9, 2966 (Rapports d'activité des sections d'assistance aux P. G. coloniaux.).

10. Omar ben Ahmed to Izza Bent Larbi ben Mohamed, May 15, 1944, in AN, F9, 3115.

11. Inspection report, commando of Neuves-Maisons, January 25, 1944, in AN, F9, 2354.

12. "Amitiés africains—Section de l'Aube—Détachement de Mailly le Camp," inspection visit May 6–7, 1944, in AN, F9, 2959.

13. Inspection report, commando of Montbéliard, September 18, 1943, by Henri Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2354.

14. "Obsèque des prisonniers de guerre Nord-Africains tués dans le bombardement d'Hirson," April 5, 1944, in AN, F9, 2959.

15. Guion to Militärbefehlshaber, July 24, 1944, in AN, F9, 2148.

16. Lists September 1, 1943, and October 1, 1943, in BAMA, RW 6: 451.

17. "Objet: Mauvais traitements infligés aux prisonniers d'un Frontstalag," September 24, 1943, and inspection report, commando Eix (117 Madagascans), January 25, 1944, by Guion and R. Scapini, both in AN, F9, 2354.

18. Inspection, Frontstalag 194, March 16, 1944, in TNA, WO 224/58.

19. Inspection "Stalag 194" [*sic*], June 22, 1944, in ICRC, Geneva, CSC, Service des camps, France, F (-D) Gén., 24.06.44.

20. Report by the International Red Cross (26 July 1944), NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

21. Report by the International Red Cross (19 July 1944), NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

22. Report by the International Red Cross (26 July 1944), NARA II, RG389, Box 2143.

23. Inspection report, Stalag 194, Gottenheim, January 12, 1945, by Mayer and de Cocatrix, in ICRC, Geneva, CSC, Service des camps, Wehrkreis V.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 195

The Germans established Frontstalag 195 on August 22, 1940, probably in Saint-Omer in the northernmost region of France (map 2). Given the pressure of the Scapini Mission and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on the German army to send colonial prisoners to regions with a mild climate, the Germans transferred Frontstalag 195 to the Landes Département in the southwest of France, near the Atlantic coast, probably in December 1940. The camp headquarters was located in the village of Onesse-et-Laharie (1), near the road from Bordeaux to Bayonne, and work commandos performed predominantly forestry work in the surrounding region.[1] The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 656 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

As the history of Frontstalag 195 shows, the transfer of colonial prisoners to the three major camps located in southwestern France (Frontstalags 195, 221, and 222), although well intended, was not beneficial for the prisoners. The winters in this area, though milder than in northern France, were still harsh for people from tropical climates, as the Scapini Mission pointed out from the start. In addition, the transfer of colonial prisoners to the southwest created overcrowding and overburdened the local food supply. The German occupation zone in this region was narrow, and the demarcation line interrupted regional trade and supply lines. Throughout 1941, the French Red Cross section of Périgueux, in the unoccupied zone, gradually built up an efficient supply system for the three major camps in the southwest that complemented and at times replaced the meager German rations. This source of supply dried up, however, when the German secret service found out that the drivers had smuggled letters and persons across the demarcation line and engaged in resistance activities. The Red Cross trucks for a while lost permission to pass the demarcation

line. As a consequence, the food supply of the prisoners in the three southwestern camps was often unsatisfactory from 1942 to 1944.

Generally, conditions in Frontstalag 195 were difficult. The guards, who with a few notable exceptions seemed to be generally correct and well intended (many of them received special praise from inspectors and prisoners), were not primarily responsible for the difficulties but rather the labor conditions. Forestry commandos required the hardest physical labor imposed on any Frontstalag prisoners. Prisoners in forestry commandos had less contact with French civilians, poorer medical care, and worse accommodations than prisoners in agriculture or public works. Food shortages had particularly harsh consequences on prisoners performing hard work, and the lack of decent clothing, including shoes and mittens, was particularly painful in forestry, where the work was most intense in the winter. The labor-intensive harvesting, cutting, and transporting of lumber required a large workforce. Work commandos in this part of France were, therefore, unusually large: an ICRC inspection of October 1942 mentioned an average size of 300 prisoners per commando, and one commando at one time had 574 prisoners. The conditions in the commandos of Frontstalag 195 created a very different atmosphere than the small work commandos of less than 20 prisoners assigned to individual farms that were common in other Frontstalags.

No information is available about the first phase of Frontstalag 195 in Saint-Omer. This region was incorporated into the German military district of Belgium, and the prisoners from Saint-Omer likely went to Germany in the fall of 1940. The first inspection of Frontstalag 195 occurred in April 1941, after the move to Onesse-et-Laharie. Ambassador Georges Scapini himself visited the camp in the company of inspector Jean Desbons and two German officers, including Major von Rosenberg, the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) representative in Paris. The main camp was located in the Laharie section of the village and held 560 colonial prisoners, including 42 North African officers. The inspectors criticized that the barracks were built on sandy soil and provided insufficient shelter from the wind, which tended to blow sand across the plains. The food supply was bad, the clothing of the

prisoners was in poor shape, and washing facilities did not exist. The guards were fairly strict. In sum, the inspectors found Laharie "a very bad camp." They also noted in a later summary of camp visits that many prisoners were in poor health, possibly as a result of bad hygiene caused by the lack of washing facilities. No visit of work commandos took place in April 1941.[2]

Conditions in the main camp improved quickly, however. In July, shower facilities were made available, and the camp was less crowded because more prisoners were assigned to commandos, but the inspector, Dr. Bonnaud, still criticized that some commandos did not offer satisfactory sanitary conditions. Bonnaud reiterated that the 30 wooden barracks in Laharie did not protect the prisoners from the clouds of dust and sand created by the wind. The food supply had improved, largely thanks to the Red Cross of Périgueux. Religious services for Muslims were well set up, even in the remote work commandos, but the prisoners often requested copies of the Quran, and some Christian prisoners complained about not having Catholic services in their camp or commando.

Major work commandos visited by Bonnaud were located in Escource, Sainte-Eulalie, Mimizan, Lue, Moncenx, Labouheyre, Solferino, Daugnague, and Ychoux. All of them performed forestry work. The commando in Mimizan had a dysfunctional sewer system and was too exposed to the wind. In Sainte-Eulalie, the 478 prisoners, mostly West Africans, were plagued by vermin. The commando of Daugnague (with 212 Moroccans and 2 Algerians) was in particularly bad shape: it had too little food, drinking water, and medicine. A German foreign ministry official, after reviewing the inspection reports, dismissed the problems as trivial, however.[3]

Conditions in the Frontstalag remained rather different from one commando to the other. In the fall of 1941, inspectors still noted the lack of food and warm winter clothing and commented on strict discipline in some commandos. In the main camp in Laharie, some prisoners had dug a tunnel under the fence surrounding the camp, but a prisoner had betrayed the project to the Germans. As a punishment, the Germans canceled Ramadan festivities and withheld letters and packages for four days.[4] A woman working for the French Red Cross noted that several commandos had incompetent or corrupt men of confidence, and she confirmed that

the German guards were very strict in some places (often in response to escapes), but, in other commandos, she specifically praised the German commanders and guards for their caring and friendliness (as in Arengosse, Mont-de-Marsan, Labouheyre, and Mimizan). The food supply was insufficient in several commandos (now reflecting the consequences of the sanctions against the Red Cross of Périgueux), and the prisoners often did not have enough blankets for the cold nights.[5] In the commando of Solferino, an outraged North African prisoner denounced the Algerian man of confidence, whom he accused of corruption, exploitation of prisoners, and an unpatriotic attitude. Apparently, this man had pointed at the other prisoners and said to the guards (in German), "They are all swine."[6]

The prisoner population of Frontstalag 195 declined from the summer of 1941 to the spring of 1942. In July 1941, Frontstalag 195 was the second largest in France (after Frontstalag 135, with 5,518 prisoners), with a total of 5,420 prisoners (3,522 North Africans, 1,090 West Africans, 693 Madagascans, and 115 Martinicans), reflecting both the compliance of the Germans with French and ICRC requests for the transfer of colonial prisoners to a milder climate and the strong interest of the German military command in France in lumber production for construction projects and fuel. For lack of tools, carriage animals, and truck fuel, however, the lumber harvest lagged far behind expectations. As a consequence, occupancy of Frontstalag 195 declined due to reassignments of prisoners from this overcrowded camp to neighboring Frontstalags (221 and 222) and in part due to the dismissal of the 10,000 North Africans from the Frontstalags in December 1941. In April 1942, Frontstalag 195 held only 2,865 prisoners (943 Algerians, 709 West Africans, 414 Moroccans, 411 Tunisians, 288 Madagascans, 71 Indochinese, and 29 Martinicans) —even though it had just absorbed Frontstalag 184 in Angoulême. By contrast, Frontstalag 221 still had approximately the same number of prisoners, while Frontstalag 222 had nearly doubled in size.[7]

The reduced occupancy of the Frontstalag did not resolve its most prominent problems. The food supply, in particular, remained poor. In the work commando of Lue, for example, the 201 prisoners were on their feet for nine hours daily while

receiving nothing but a piece of bread and a cup of tea. In Ychoux (330 prisoners), the sanitary conditions were precarious, and an abusive guard named Sudau had injured two prisoners who had claimed to be too sick for work. The German officer accompanying the camp inspector interrogated Sudau, who admitted everything, and started disciplinary procedures against him, but the outcome is unknown. In the commando of Sore (574 prisoners), the German guards had withheld the bulk of some rice deliveries sent to the Indochinese prisoners for the Tet holiday. After being confronted by the German officer and the French inspector, the guards handed the remaining rice to the prisoners. Reflecting the widespread veneration of Marshal Pétain among the colonial prisoners, the Indochinese prisoners in this commando had handcrafted an elaborate carpet that they had sent to Pétain.[8]

Information on the camp is sparse for the period after 1941. A renewed commitment of the German military command to intensifying the lumber harvest prompted new transfers of prisoners to Frontstalag 195, whose occupancy increased in the fall of 1942. An ICRC inspection in October 1942 found Frontstalag 195 to be in very good shape. The food supply had become "very good" thanks to deliveries from local French Red Cross sections (albeit the inspectors noticed that the section of Périgueux was no longer involved in the supply system). As elsewhere, the prisoners needed new shoes, but, overall, the ICRC rated the conditions as "good" and suggested that they would be "very good" after a few minor improvements. According to the ICRC report, the number of prisoners in the Frontstalag had increased to 5,800 (including commandos). The camp in Laharie alone housed 2,181 prisoners. Religious services were considered good for Muslims but less good for Catholics.[9]

Hardly any information exists for the last period of the Frontstalag, except for some correspondence regarding a corrupt man of confidence named Allah Akobabd in the commando of Solferino. This man, with a few accomplices among the prisoners, allegedly tempted others to engage in gambling and made much money in the process.[10]

The Germans disbanded the camp on August 12, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 195 is located in AN and PAAA.

Additional information about Frontstalag 195 can be found in the following publication: François Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux dans les Frontstalags landais et leurs Kommandos 1940–1944*, AERI 40 (Bordeaux: Les Dossiers d'Aquitaine, 2013), pp. 64–107.

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NOTES

1. Historian François Campa has gathered information on the location and size of several work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 195, often enriched by witness statements: Campa, *Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux*, pp. 64–107.

2. Inspection of Frontstalag 195, camp of Laharie, April 10, 1941, by Georges Scapini and Jean Desbons, AN, F9, 2355, and PAAA, R 40770. See also document "Frontstalags" [approximately April 1941] AN, F9, 2343; "Relève des observations nécessitant une solution urgente," in AN, F9, 2345; and Madame Duhau (French Red Cross) to Scapini, May 2, 1941, AN, F9, 2355. The last letter indicates the urgent need for washing facilities.

3. Inspection of Frontstalag 195 and commandos, July 4 and 5, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, AN, F9, 2355, and PAAA, R 40989; Inspection of commando Daugnague, August 21, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, AN, F9, 2355; "Notiz," by Dr. Sethe, October 17, 1941, PAAA, R 40989.

4. Inspection of Frontstalag 195 and work commandos, October 20–21, 1941, by René Scapini, AN, F9, 2355.

5. "Frontstalags: A signaler aux inspecteurs," undated, but most plausibly November 1941, AN, F9, 2351.

6. Benahssen el Mouldi to Madame la présidente du comité de la Croix-rouge française, May 17, 1942, AN, F9, 2351.

7. "Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des frontstalags," lists of

May–July 1941 and April 1942, AN, F9, 2351.

8. Inspection report, commandos of Frontstalag 195, March 2, 1942, by Henri Dantan Merlin, AN, F9, 2355.

9. Inspection report, Frontstalag 195, by Schirmer and de Morsier, October 28, 1942, AN, F9, 2351.

10. Fournier to General Laurent, January 23, 1943, AN, F9, 2959, and notes for Ambassador Scapini regarding Frontstalag 195, AN, F9, 2356.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 200

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 200 on July 22, 1940, and disbanded the camp on August 23, 1941. They installed it first in Évreux and then in the small town of Verneuil-sur-Avre (map 1). It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 28 846 between April 28 and September 24, 1940; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 200 held French prisoners of war. The prisoners were almost all assigned to work commandos that performed mostly agricultural labor in the Eure Département. The first major count of prisoners by the Scapini Mission from May to July 1941 revealed that Frontstalag 200 had 3,002 prisoners (2,400 North Africans, 452 West Africans, 100 Madagascans, and 50 Indochinese), but the camp was dissolved not much later. The guard unit was the 846th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) from Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. Some campsites and commandos, such as the camp of Verneuil-Cherbourg, were part of Frontstalag 153 in Chartres in 1942.[1]

Little is known about the early history of Frontstalag 200, except that it held for several months a number of metropolitan French prisoners who were transferred to Germany before July 1941. The main camp in Verneuil-sur-Avre was installed on an isolated school campus west of the town, the École des Roches. The Germans surrounded several buildings on the school with barbed wire and used them to house the prisoners. A second location of the Frontstalag was in Cherbourg, an eastern suburb of Verneuil. An unofficial report claimed that approximately 7,000 prisoners had fled from the camps and commandos of Frontstalag 200 in the first months; the vast majority were probably metropolitan French prisoners (escape figures for French prisoners held in France for a few months were extremely high), but the

report mentioned that some colonial prisoners had also fled, including Moroccans. The German guards were not concerned about the escapes and often closed both eyes when a prisoner tried to escape. In one of the camps in Verneuil, the prisoners had in the first months even dug a tunnel under the fence and reproduced keys to the weapons depot of the guards; they were planning a mass escape, possibly with arms. Luckily, in the eyes of the inspector, this potentially dangerous escape never came to fruition because a prisoner shared the plan with the Germans.[2]

The farmers in the department had initially refused to employ prisoners, but when it became clear that the Germans would not release French prisoners soon, the local prisoners were suddenly in high demand. A number of farmers appear to have enriched themselves at the expense of the prisoners by keeping some of the money, food, and soap sent for them by the French authorities and aid organizations. The German personnel, too, seem to have seized supplies and aid shipments sent for the prisoners. Once, the Germans requisitioned an entire truckload of chocolate from the French Red Cross and gave the prisoners only two boxes. It seems that the first inspections in the spring of 1941 reined in these abuses.[3]

When the Scapini Mission visited Frontstalag 200 for the first time, on March 29, 1941, the camp had 261 metropolitan Frenchmen and an estimated 2,000 colonial prisoners. Most of the prisoners were already assigned to farms. The inspector stressed that the food supply of the prisoners in the main camp was insufficient, but the largest problem in the eyes of the prisoners was the lack of tobacco. The prisoners in one of the camps of Verneuil-sur-Avre (likely the metropolitan French prisoners) had formed a mutual aid society to support the poorest prisoners.[4]

As elsewhere, prisoners complained about the lack of mail, but, in the case of Frontstalag 200, the German army investigating the complaints found that this problem was exacerbated by a paralysis of the postal office in Verneuil, which in the spring of 1941 still had packages in storage that had been deposited in July 1940.[5]

The conditions in the camp and the commandos had significantly improved in June 1941, when the second round of inspections occurred, this time with visits to many rural work

commandos. As in some other regions, a wealthy woman, the generous Countess de Choiselle, had volunteered to send the prisoners tobacco, soap, and other items twice per month, and this made a big difference. Some commandos still suffered from inadequate food rations, but the inspector usually talked to the mayor or individual farmers and requested improved rations. Most commandos were small (20 to 25 prisoners) and worked on local farms. In Étrépagny, a commando of 33 Algerians worked in two sugar factories, and, in Breteuil, a commando of 25 Moroccans was employed in a quarry. The main camp in Verneuil (probably the camp in the school) at this time had 97 North Africans and 82 Frenchmen. As a punishment for an escape attempt—although the planned mass escape mentioned above is not noted—the Germans had closed down the canteen for a couple of days. The Catholic French-men had access to religious services, but the Muslim North Africans apparently had no religious services. Still, the inspector noted that the camp was now very well installed and supplied; he rated the conditions as "excellent." The camp commander, Oberst Woeltge, was friendly to the prisoners and highly respected by them.[6]

Frontstalag 200 was dissolved before the consolidation of numerous Frontstalags in late 1941. Many of its work commandos became part of Frontstalag 153 in Chartres, the closest major camp, in October 1941.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 200 is located in AN and PAAA.

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NOTES

1. Inspection of Frontstalag 153, Chartres-Morancez, February 6, 1942, by René Scapini, PAAA, R 40992. The commando in Cherbourg at this time had 1,024 prisoners. It was the largest commando in France.

2. "Frontstalag 200 Verneuil," no date, but obviously written shortly after May 1941, AN, F9, 2810.

3. "Frontstalag 200 Verneuil," AN, F9, 2810. German secret

service officials, in a meeting in Paris on October 27, 1940, mentioned an escape problem in Frontstalag 200 and urgently requested tougher surveillance and more thorough investigations after successful escapes: "Besondere Anordnungen, no. 74," October 27, 1940, AN, F9, 3657.

4. Inspection of Frontstalag 200, camp of Verneuil, March 29, 1941, by René Scapini, AN, F9, 2355.

5. OKW to Auswärtiges Amt, July 7, 1941, PAAA, R 40987.

6. Inspection of Frontstalag 200 with work commandos, June 14, 1941, by René Scapini, PAAA, R 40987, and AN, F9, 2355.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 201

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 201 on July 23, 1940. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 176 between April 28 and September 24, 1940; the unit disbanded, and the number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

Frontstalag 201 was located in Alençon (map 1). It existed only for a few months in the late summer and fall of 1940 and functioned as an assembly and transit camp for French prisoners of war who would be sent to Germany. The camp was redesignated as Dulag 201 in March 1941.[1]

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 201 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 87.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen*, p. 87.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 202

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 202 on July 22, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 28, 1941. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 29 731 between April 28 and September 24, 1940; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

The camp was located in Chartres (Eure-et-Loire Département), in north-central France (map 2). It existed most likely as an assembly and transit camp for French prisoners of war sent to permanent camps in Germany. The camp was redesignated as Dulag 202 in March 1941.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 203

The Germans established Frontstalag 203 on July 23, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 14, 1941. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 30 439 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

This camp, located in Le Mans (map 1), served as an assembly and transit camp for French prisoners of war sent to permanent camps in Germany in the late summer and fall of 1940. The camp was redesignated as Dulag 203 in March 1941.

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FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 204

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 204 on July 15, 1940, and disbanded the camp on August 12, 1943. It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 503 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. It received a second number, 11 750, between May 1 and October 19, 1942; it was struck between January 10 and September 26, 1943.

The Germans originally located Frontstalag 204 in Péronne and a little later in Amiens (Somme Département) (both map 2). In the second half of 1941, it absorbed Frontstalags 190 and 192, making it the key camp network in northern France. Frontstalag 204 was one of the eight Frontstalags that survived the reduction of camps in late 1941 and early 1942. The seat of its administration moved steadily east from Amiens to Saint-Quentin (spring of 1942), Laon (fall 1942), and, later, Charleville (1943) (all 2). The camp administration covered an area that lay largely within the so-called forbidden zone, a strip of territory in northern and northeastern France into which civilians who had left their homes during the fighting in 1940 could not easily return. Many of the prisoners of Frontstalag 204 worked for the Ostland, the German organization that exploited farms and lands abandoned in May 1940.

Very little is known about Frontstalag 204 before the first inspection on March 20, 1941. At that time, the campsite of Amiens served as a transit camp housing 800–1,000 French prisoners of war (POWs), who were either slated for dismissal (some wounded soldiers and people in particularly important professions) or awaiting transfer to Germany. Five hundred prisoners had obtained dismissal before the inspection. As usual for the early camps with French POWs in France itself, there had been many escapes (350 since the camp opened). Inspector Henri Dantan Merlin found the camp in good condition. The prisoners

had no complaints. Between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners, including colonial POWs, were assigned to work commandos in the area surrounding Amiens, but Dantan Merlin did not have time to visit them.[1]

Independent information reached the Scapini Mission from the work commando in Combles, approximately 45 kilo-meters (28 miles) northeast of Amiens. This commando was under the command of an abusive German noncommissioned officer (NCO), who was promptly dismissed and punished by the camp's leadership.[2]

An inspection of the work commandos finally took place May 5–7, 1941. Dantan Merlin found problems in the commando of Péronne (64 prisoners), which had an abusive German guard, and in Devise (40 prisoners), where the commander locked up the prisoners in halls without bathrooms at night and where the Ostland officials for whom the prisoners were working did not provide adequate food. In several places, Dantan Merlin also criticized French farmers and local mayors for not ensuring decent supplies of food and cigarettes. Only in Cartigny did the inspector praise the mayor. At this time, the inspector counted 1,949 prisoners in the Frontstalag, predominantly North Africans (1,600) and "Senegalese" (300) as well as 49 Madagascan prisoners, although this does not account for the French prisoners awaiting release or transfer to Germany.[3]

The situation in Frontstalag 204 appears to have been relatively harsh in the winter of 1941–1942. The mayor of Sainghin-en-Weppes (Nord Département), approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) north of Amiens, wrote to Scapini that a sizable local commando with Algerians, Tunisians, and "Senegalese" was suffering greatly from the cold. The Germans had turned down their request to return to Amiens, where they had been better installed. Moreover, a group of prisoners complained anonymously about corruption networks, which were allegedly dominated by Jews who worked as translators and plundered aid packages.[4] The West African prisoner René Camara also complained that only the white French soldiers and the North Africans were receiving aid packages in the Frontstalag; interestingly, his letter indicated an outrageously rebellious mind to the French authorities, who decided to watch him closely and to

seek ways to discipline him.[5] A new inspection in January 1942 noted that the mood of the prisoners was bad, particularly among the West Africans and the Indochinese, because of the dismissals of white prisoners (July 1941) and of North Africans (December 1941). The Scapini Mission also learned that German propaganda efforts were very active—with the help of men of confidence among the prisoners, who seemed to receive special benefits. Dantan Merlin, who also conducted this inspection, found that tuberculosis was rapidly spreading among the black prisoners. He did consider the food supply sufficient except in the fortress of Laon, one of the branch camps. An undated report from a doctor (probably written in the winter of 1941–1942) also noted a very unhygienic situation and strong tensions among prisoners belonging to different ethnic groups in Laon.[6] Dantan Merlin, when visiting Laon, found out that the new German guard battalion that had taken over the camp on December 15, 1941, was much harsher than its predecessor and had antagonized the prisoners. Escape attempts had risen sharply, and the Germans had reacted by surrounding the camp with barbed wire outside the fortress walls.[7] Alarmed about the situation in Laon, the Scapini Mission requested testing for tuberculosis and found that 31 of 250 West Africans had the disease. Most of the ill prisoners were released immediately.[8]

Conditions in Frontstalag 204 were not uniformly bad, however. In the village of Beuvraignes (Picardie Département), 534 North Africans were working on an airfield for the German air force in early 1942. The prisoners lived and worked under good conditions and had excellent relations with the German unit supervising them.[9] In another fortress camp, in Amiens, the situation was much better than in Laon. Dantan Merlin found 700 North Africans, 40 blacks, and 28 French-men here; he praised the initiative of one French soldier who was offering a literacy course to the other prisoners and had 80 students.[10] In Saint-Quentin, also a fortress camp, conditions had improved since the last inspection because many prisoners had been transferred elsewhere, so that the camp in March 1942 only had 335 prisoners (289 West Africans, 27 Madagascans, 10 Indochinese, 7 Martinicans, and 2 French officers). After the transfer of the prisoners, mostly North Africans, the escape attempts had almost completely stopped. As a consequence, the guard regime had also relaxed. The inspector

noted that the Indochinese prisoners were employed as adjutants of the German officers in the camp.[11] In the city of Charleville (Ardennes Département), site of the former Frontstalag 190, a subcamp installed in the military barracks of the town held 946 prisoners, predominantly North Africans. The inspector found a penal company of 15 men who had made escape attempts, and he also took note of a special company of Jewish prisoners. Both of these companies were made to work inside the camp, but there was no information on their conditions being harsher than those for other prisoners. Five hundred and forty-four colonial prisoners had been dismissed from Charleville, almost exclusively North Africans benefiting from the German decision to free 10,000 North Africans for propaganda reasons. Interestingly, the inspection report also notes the dismissal of 10 West African prisoners according to the agreement on the dismissal of world war veterans (black prisoners rarely benefited from the Franco-German diplomatic agreements).[12]

By early 1942, Frontstalag 204 had changed its focus eastward into a region where many work commandos were employed by the Ostland, including Charleville and the surrounding communities of the Ardennes Département, the region of the heaviest Ostland engagement. As was common in commandos serving the Ostland, discipline was harsher than elsewhere. The guards were under constant watch of Ostland officials, many of them rigid Nazis, and they tended to open fire quickly during escape attempts. An inspection in May 1942 found that four Moroccan prisoners had been killed near Sedan after an escape attempt. Local witnesses mentioned that a furious German NCO had shot two of the prisoners through the head after they had surrendered. The case triggered an investigation that remained inconclusive because the civilian witnesses were afraid to testify in court.[13] In Saint-Quentin, the inspector also noted that one prisoner had been killed during an escape attempt. The mood among the prisoners (108 Algerians, 45 Moroccans, 25 Tunisians, 20 Indochinese, 6 Frenchmen and 1 soldier each from Guadeloupe and Madagascar) was bad because of the length of captivity.[14] In this phase, Frontstalag 204 was the second-largest camp in France among the eight camps that had survived the reduction of such camps in late 1941. According to the Scapini Mission, which admitted that its numbers were incomplete and therefore a bit too low, the complex

held 7,556 prisoners, including 1,716 Algerians, 1,322 Moroccans, 819 "Senegalese," 441 Tunisians, 157 Indochinese, 32 Martinicans, and 27 Madagascans, in April 1942.[15]

When the Scapini Mission returned to Frontstalag 204 in September 1942, the situation had not changed very much. Inspector Jean Detroyat found deteriorated clothing, overcrowding in some locations, and insufficient food supplies, and he noted that the prisoners seemed upset because of the harsh reaction of the guards to escape attempts.[16] In the commando of Barby (Ardennes Département), a guard had shot to death the prisoner Ahmed Bouadju during an escape attempt even though Bouadju had stopped running as soon as the guards called him. In the commando of Sedan (204 Algerians, 115 Moroccans, 71 Tunisians, and 3 French medical personnel), the inspector observed that the prisoners were intimidated by the harshness of the guards during escape attempts (including the deadly episode mentioned above). The prisoners apparently directed much of their anger at the Scapini Mission for not protecting them better; one of the prisoners so vehemently criticized the Scapini Mission that the inspector called him to order. In Sévigny-Waleppe, north of Reims, another work commando (86 Algerians, 34 Tunisians, and 3 Moroccans) complained about the brutality of some guards, although they did praise the German NCO in charge of the commando.[17] Some prisoners in Frontstalag 204 even claimed that the Germans had randomly shot some prisoners as a collective punishment for escape attempts, but the German authorities vehemently denied this charge and the Scapini Mission itself considered it dubious.[18]

The camp in Charleville (in the Dubois-Crancé barracks) was apparently in better condition than the others. Its commander was Oberst von Dresky. It housed 519 Algerians, 404 Moroccans, 280 Tunisians, 19 "Senegalese," 5 Madagascans, and 1 Armenian serving in French uniform. In addition, it had 40 Frenchmen who were mostly prisoners recaptured after an escape or arrested because they had "broken" their work contracts with the Ostland. The soldier in charge of the camp treasury had fled and taken 7,000 francs with him. The prisoners appeared calm but resigned. There were no courses available because of the recent movements of prisoners, but the commander was planning to organize courses

in the winter. The inspector noted that most work commandos around Charleville did not have a single literate prisoner, which complicated communications. Ironically, the inspector agreed to let the German guards in the commandos communicate prisoner demands and complaints to the man of confidence in the camp of Charleville, who was literate.[19]

An inspection team of the International Committee of the Red Cross visiting Charleville in November 1942 also pointed out that the prisoners urgently needed new clothing and shoes. The inspectors found good discipline in the camp and noted that religious services for Muslims were well installed (there was a mosque in the camp). Many prisoners played volleyball and handball. The food situation was satisfactory, thanks to regular deliveries from the French Red Cross and the city of Charleville.[20]

When the Scapini Mission returned to Frontstalag 204 in January 1943, the situation had further improved, probably due to the efforts of the new commander, Oberst von Schierbrandt. The camp of Charleville, now the headquarters of the Frontstalag, housed 598 Algerians, 290 Tunisians, and 274 Moroccans. The prisoners were better clothed and had access to a theater and a cinema. Courses were still not being offered because von Schierbrandt was waiting for the prisoners to take the initiative. Most prisoners worked for the Ostland on farms outside the town (they slept in the camp of Charleville and marched to work every day). Some prisoners were employed by the Luftwaffe. Others had to load and unload animals for a local veterinary clinic administered by the German army. Despite widespread illiteracy, the prisoners requested the delivery of books in French and Arabic (in particular adventure novels).[21] Documents from the departmental archives in Charleville-Mézières show an increase in service contracts for camp improvements and provide detailed lists of prisoners in the commandos, including their pay and menus.[22]

A tour of subcamps and work commandos from January 12 to January 21, 1943, still showed problems with respect to clothing and, in some cases, housing. In several places, the inspector also noted tense relations between the prisoners and Ostland officials as well as among the prisoners from different ethnic groups. The camp of Laon at this time housed 1,881 prisoners (1,038 Algerians, 367 Moroccans, 319 Tunisians, 141 “Senegalese,” 9

Madagascans, and a few Frenchmen and people from Martinique). Nearly 500 prisoners worked outside the fortress every day, but the others were fairly idle despite the availability of a prisoner theater and a cinema. The situation in Laon seemed to have improved significantly under von Schierbrandt's leadership, but the Scapini Mission considered the camp to be overcrowded.[23]

The overcrowding in the camps of northeastern France was probably due to increased German military activities in this strategically important region relatively close to the German border. In Laon, for example, many of the prisoners working outside the fortress were employed by the German air force. The German authorities repeatedly requested prisoner transfers to provide workers on military sites such as airports in this area.[24] The Organisation Todt (OT), which conducted many military construction projects, also became more heavily engaged in this region. As the German secret service observed, the more rigid supervision of the prisoners by OT officials increased escape rates. When the OT staff was partly replaced by French NCOs and German Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 503 and 581, the latter coming from Silesia, escape attempts sharply decreased. The German secret service appreciated this fact but worried about the risks of insufficient supervision of prisoners in this area, where many foreign forced laborers were deployed (including Jews, Poles, Dutchmen, and Belgians) and the underground Communist movement seemed well organized.[25]

The pressure on the prisoners from the Ostland and OT officials seems also to have heightened the tensions among them, leading to complaints and denunciations. A French NCO, for example, criticized a Tunisian NCO in the camp of Laon for having frequently denounced West African prisoners to the Germans. Apparently, this Tunisian prisoner had already made life miserable for his West African coprisoners in the fortress of Saint-Quentin, where he was housed before coming to Laon. His denunciations had initially triggered some punishments, but the Germans had at some point stopped believing him. Other prisoners in the camps of Laon and in Margival (Aisne Département) also complained to French POW agencies about abusive French or North African NCOs.[26]

NOTES

1. Inspection of camp of Amiens, Frontstalag 204, by Dantan Merlin, March 20, 1941, in AN, F9, 2355.

2. "Frontstalags, Secteur A, 204, Amiens," and "Relève des observations necessitant une solution urgente," both in AN, F9, 2345.

3. "Frontstalag No. 204—Amiens. Inspection du 5 au 7 Mai 1941," by Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2355, and numbers according to the list of Frontstalags in AN, F9, 2351.

4. M. Chevreux to Scapini, December 5, 1941, and Vos enfants en Kommando to President of the French Red Cross, December 1, 1941, both in AN, F9, 2355.

5. René Camara to Centre d'Entr'aide Paris, November 25, 1941, and General Andlauer to Dr. Bonnaud, December 2, 1941, both in AN, F9, 2355.

6. Inspection report of Frontstalag 204, January 26–30, 1942, by Dantan Merlin, "Rapport Special," and "Rapport du docteur Chaduc, Citadelle de Laon, Frontstalag 204," all in AN, F9, 2355.

7. Inspection of camp Laon-Citadelle, January 26–29, 1942, by Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2355.

8. "Note pour le Directeur du cabinet," Paris, April 16, 1942, in AN, F9, 2355.

9. Inspection report, camp Beuvraignes (Frontstalag 204), January 27, 1942, in PAAA, R 40992.

10. Inspection of camp Amien-Citadelle, January 26–29, 1942, by Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2355.

11. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, camp of Saint-Quentin, March 17, 1942, by Dr. Bonnaud, in PAAA, R 40992.

12. Inspection, Frontstalag 204, camp of Charleville, January 27, 1942, in PAAA, R 40992.

13. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, camp Charleville, May 6, 1942,

by René Scapini, in AN, F9, 2355; "Service de l'Inspection des Camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," June 5, 1942, in AN, F9, 2345; Desbons to German Embassy in Paris, July 27, 1942, in AN, F9, 2152; "Note pour le cabinet," June, 30, 1942, in AN, F9, 2345; and "Note pour le cabinet," by Detroyat, October 19, 1942, in AN, F9, 2305.

14. Inspection of camp Saint-Quentin, May 4, 1942, by René Scapini, in AN, F9, 2355.

15. List of April 20, 1942, in AN, F9, 2351.

16. "Service de l'inspection des camps, note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," December 5, 1942, in AN, F9, 2345.

17. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, Laon, September 17– 25, 1942, by Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2355.

18. "Note pour le cabinet," by Detroyat, October 19, 1942, in AN, F9, 2305.

19. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, camp Charleville, September 16, 1942, by Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2355.

20. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, Charleville, November 11, 1942, by de Morsier and Schirmer, in AN, F9, 2351.

21. Inspection of Frontstalag 204, camp Charleville, January 18, 1943, by Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2355.

22. Archives départementales des Ardennes, Charleville-Mézières, 11 R 255 and 12 R 58–77.

23. Inspection of camp Laon, January 20, 1943, by Detroyat, and inspection of work commandos, Frontstalag 204, January 12–21, 1943, by Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2355; "Service de l'Inspection des camp, Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur," March 24, 1943, in AN, F9, 2345.

24. "Arbeitseinsatz von Kriegsgefangenen im Nebenlager Laon," February 2, 1943, in AN, F9, 3657.

25. "Tätigkeitsbericht des Abwehr-Oberkommandos für die Zeit vom 11.5. bis 10.6.1943," and "Tätigkeitsbericht des Abwehr-

Oberkommandos für die Zeit vom 11.6. bis 10.7.1943," both in AN, F9, 3657.

26. Jean Oualai to Président du Comité d'assistance aux troupes noires, June 29, 1943; Mohamed Mahdani to General Besson, April 1943; Collective letter of prisoners from Laon-Citadelle, July 2, 1943, all in AN, F9, 2351.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 205

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 205 on August 21, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI;[1] in December 1940, it was deployed to Donges, France (map 1).[2] On March 18, 1941, it was redesignated as Dulag 205. Frontstalag 205 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 18 305 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

While deployed in France, the camp was under the Armed Forces Commander, France/Administrative District B (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich/Verwaltungsbezirk* B).

The camp commandant from September 1940 to May 1942 was Oberst Hans Jauch (1883–1965). The deputy camp commandant was Hauptmann der Reserve Schwenke; the adjutant was Oberleutnant d. R. zur Verfügung Eckhoff; the camp doctor was Oberarzt d. R. Braun; the head of the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) group was Oberleutnant d. R. zur Verfügung Stieghorst; the 1st Ordonnanzoffizier (aide-de-camp) was Oberleutnant d. R. Richter; the 2nd Ordonnanzoffizier was Oberleutnant d. R. Ebert; and the 3rd Ordonnanzoffizier was Oberleutnant zur Verfügung Schulz.[3]

Specific information about the conditions in this camp is unavailable.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 205 is located in BA-MA (RW6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens) and BArch B 162/28294.

Additional information about Frontstalag 205 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und*

Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 88; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 22.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 22.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 88.
3. BArch B 162/28294.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 210

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 210 on July 20, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. From September 1940, the camp was located in Strassburg (today: Strasbourg) (map 4f). Frontstalag 210 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 691 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commander Alsace-Lorraine (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant Elsass-Lothringen*).

Frontstalag 210 held French prisoners of war (POWs). It served as a transit camp for prisoners who were subsequently transferred to permanent POW camps (Stalags) in Defense District XII. No specific information about the conditions in this camp is available. While the Germans generally observed the terms of the Geneva Convention of 1929 in their treatment of French POWs, conditions in the Frontstalags were often worse than those in permanent camps for Western Allied prisoners.

On November 29, 1940, the camp was converted into Stalag V D.[1]

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 210 is located in BA-MA (RW 6), AN (file 619/MI/67), and BNF.

Additional information about Frontstalag 210 can also be found in the following publications: N. de la Mort, *Vie des prissoniers du Frontstalag 210 au Stalag XII* (Paris: Grasset, 1941); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertеneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 88; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen*

Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 44.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 44; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen*, p. 88; CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 11 octobre 1940, p. 64); Liste officielle No. 72 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, le 6 Février 1941, p. 61) (BNF).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 211

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 211 on August 7, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. Starting in September 1940, the unit deployed to Saarburg (today: Sarrebourg, in France) (map 4d). On November 15, 1940, the camp was converted into Stalag XII F Saarburg.[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 082 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commander Alsace-Lorraine (*Kriegsgefangenen Bezirkskommandant Elsass-Lothringen*).

Frontstalag 211 held French prisoners of war. No specific information on conditions in this camp is available.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 211 is located in BA-MA (RW 6), BNF, CNIP, and AN (file 619/MI/64).

Additional information about Frontstalag 211 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 88; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 51.

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 51; Mattiello and Vogt,

Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen, p. 88; CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 11 October 1940), 64; Liste officielle No. 72 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 6 February 1941), 61 (BNF).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 212

The Wehrmacht formed Frontstalag 212 on August 8, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. As of September 1940, the unit was located in Metz, France (map 4d). On December 3, the Germans converted the camp into Stalag XII E Metz.[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 655 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commander Alsace-Lorraine (*Kriegsgefangenen Bezirkskommandant Elsass-Lothringen*).

Frontstalag 212 held French prisoners of war. Specific information on conditions in the camp is not available.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 212 is located in BA-MA (RW 6), BNF, CNIP, and AN (file 619/MI/89–90).

Additional information about Frontstalag 212 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 88; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 57.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 57; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 88; CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 11 October 1940), 64; Liste officielle No. 72 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 6 February 1941), 64 (BNF).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 213

The Germans formed Frontstalag 213 on August 7, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis)* XII. Starting in September 1940, the camp was deployed in Mühlhausen (today: Mulhouse, France) (map 4f). On December 1, 1940, the Germans reorganized the camp as Stalag V E.[1] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 463 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 12, 1942, and January 26, 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commander Alsace-Lorraine (*Kriegsgefangenen Bezirkskommandant Elsass-Lothringen*).

Frontstalag 212 held French prisoners of war. Specific information on conditions in the camp is not available.

SOURCES Primary source material about Frontstalag 213 is located in BA-MA (RW 6), BNF, CNIP, and AN (file 619/MI/89–90).

Additional information about Frontstalag 213 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interneterteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 89; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 64.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 64; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Interniertenеinrichtungen*, p. 89; CNIP: Liste officielle No. 30 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 11 October 1940), 64; Liste officielle No. 72 de Prisonniers Français (Paris, 6 February 1941), 61 (BNF).

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 220

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 220 on July 18, 1940. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 813 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

This camp, located in Saint-Denis (map 2), in the northern suburbs of Paris, served as an assembly and transit camp for French prisoners of war sent to permanent camps in Germany in the late summer and fall of 1940. The camp was disbanded on August 17, 1941, and moved to Poland, where it was renamed Dulag 220.[1]

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 220 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 89.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 89.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 221

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 221 on July 17, 1940, and ordered its dissolution on March 8, 1944 (although it was not completely disbanded until July 7). The unit received three field post numbers (*Feldpostnummer*): 02 604, issued between April 28 and September 14, 1940 (struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943); 17 427 A, issued between January 10 and September 26, 1943 (struck on January 30, 1945); and 20 275 A, also issued between January 10 and September 26, 1943 (struck on January 30, 1945).

Frontstalag 221 included a series of camps in the area of Bordeaux in southwestern France. It was centered on land belonging to the town of Saint-Médard-en-Jalles and some neighboring communities, where a series of camps had been constructed over the years (map 1). The camp also controlled work commandos mostly devoted to forestry in the area around Bordeaux. It was often overpopulated, because the Scapini Mission and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) pressed the Germans to house colonial prisoners in the south of France, although the German occupation zone included only a small strip of land along France's southern Atlantic coast; the proximity of the demarcation line stifled economic exchange, exacerbating the supply situation in the three southwestern Frontstalags (195, 221, and 222).

Frontstalag 221 took over Frontstalag 230 and some prisoners from Frontstalag 135 in November 1941. It oversaw work commandos in many towns and villages, mostly in the Gironde Département, including Lugos, Saint-Symphorien, Lacanau, Langas, Saucats, Hourtin, Lanton, Moutchic, Lège, Andernos, Brach, and Carcans. In December 1942, Frontstalag 221 had 7,470 prisoners and was the largest of the eight camp complexes in France. The vast majority (75%) of the prisoners were North

Africans; the second largest group were the "Senegalese" (i.e., West Africans; approximately 20%).[1] In the second half of 1943, the two sections of Frontstalag 221 in the region of Bordeaux and in Rennes together held almost 11,000 prisoners, making this Frontstalag by far the largest in France, with nearly a third of all remaining French colonial prisoners.[2]

In Saint-Médard, Frontstalag 221 included the Camp des As along the Jalles River. Other subcamps were the nearby Camp des Annamites, called after Indochinese civilian workers who had worked nearby, and various other sites around Saint-Médard and neighboring towns, such as the Camp de Souge to the west and the Camp de Germignan in Le-Taillan-Médoc, to the northeast.

Little documentation exists for the first months of Frontstalag 221's existence. Like most other camps during this early period, it appears to have been overpopulated and undersupplied. The French army physician Dr. Hollecker, who had witnessed some massacres of black French prisoners in June 1940 and worked in the camp hospital from January to November 1941, noted that the initial occupancy of the camp complex was 8,000 but that it was reduced to 4,000 in March 1941.[3]

The physical structure of the camps belonging to Frontstalag 221 underwent significant improvements. In the period of December 1940 to October 1941, sewer systems were installed or upgraded; some buildings that had lacked power received electricity; toilets and washing facilities were built; inside walls received new paint, and the outer walls of barracks were covered with a coat of camouflage paint, probably to better protect the prisoners from air attacks and also to deprive British planes targeting the nearby airport of orientation markers.[4] As the northernmost camp in the Southwest—which offered the warmest climate zone of German-occupied France—the camp complex of Saint-Médard became a reception area for prisoners transferred from Germany and elsewhere.

In the early months of 1941, German propaganda was particularly active in this Frontstalag, encouraging independence movements (particularly among the Tunisians). In the summer of 1941, the notorious Leutnant Krebs, an Arabicspeaking German propaganda specialist, visited Saint-Médard and spoke with

prisoners. Some North African nationalists, including students from Paris and Bordeaux, performed various services for the North African prisoners of Saint-Médard, such as medical care and letter writing for the illiterate, and edited a pro-German Arab newspaper, *Lisan-al-Asir* (*Voice of the Prisoner*).

The first round of inspections, conducted by Ambassador Georges Scapini himself, occurred in April 1941. The Camp de Germignan, under the command of Oberstleutnant Hollmeier, had 1,066 French colonial prisoners, mostly North Africans, and 11 foreigners (Poles serving in French uniform and some Belgians). The prisoners worked in agriculture and forestry. They pointed out that their man of confidence, who had been chosen by the Germans, was incompetent. In the Camp des As, which held 1,385 prisoners of war (POWs) and was commanded by Oberleutnant Wolfensteller, the inspectors bemoaned the lack of straw mattresses and blankets, but the German officials claimed that the prisoners had burned the straw and sold the blankets. There were several cases of tuberculosis, particularly among the Madagascans and West Africans. The morale of the prisoners was poor, partly because of tensions between the West African and Indochinese prisoners, and because the man of confidence, Adjutant Mohamed Bel Aid, appeared to be unqualified for his task. To help mitigate tensions, the inspectors asked the German commander to assign separate barracks to prisoners from different ethnic groups.[5]

The Scapini Mission returned to the main camp in Saint-Médard (Camp des As) in July 1941. The commander of the Frontstalag at this time was Major de Ahna, and the camp had a new man of confidence (Adjutant-Chef Ben Aida). The camp complex in Saint-Médard housed 2,782 prisoners (1,448 Algerians, 532 Moroccans, 451 Indochinese, 302 "Senegalese," 32 Tunisians, 13 Madagascans, and a few other prisoners, including some Hindus, probably from the small French territory in India); an additional 3,075 prisoners were in work commandos or branch camps. The inspector observed that the prisoners were upset about the lack of postal contact with their families, but he concluded that conditions in the camp had significantly improved since April. The Camp de Germignan was poorly supplied, however, and the prisoners urgently needed soap and new clothing. Germignan had 659 prisoners (521 Algerians, 72 Moroccans, 52 Tunisians, 13

recaptured Frenchmen, and one Hindu).[6]

Most prisoners in the commandos were working in forestry, which meant hard work often in isolated and therefore poorly supplied locations. Many forestry commandos had insufficient access to clean water, and the prisoners lacked clothing, soap, and everything necessary for leisure activities (balls, books, musical instruments). Another persistent problem was the lack of washing facilities. In Lugos, prisoners were allowed to use the showers of the German guards twice a week. Because the forestry commandos in this region were relatively large (150–300 prisoners), there usually was a mar-about among the prisoners and a room available for Muslim prayers, but prisoners in many commandos asked for copies of the Quran.[7]

Relations to civilians were strained in some places. In Saint-Laurent-du-Médoc, for example, a farmer repeatedly noticed that his chickens were disappearing at night. He alerted the police, and police officers searched a nearby castle where Algerian prisoners lived. The prisoners denied any wrongdoing, but the police found many chicken bones in the kitchen garbage (which the farmer promptly identified as the bones of *his* chickens!), and the Germans withdrew the commando in the face of public hostility after the police inquiry became known.[8] In some places, local doctors claimed that the presence of the prisoners had led to an increase of diseases among civilians, including malaria.[9] However, civilians also complained about the German army personnel, who could rarely resist the temptation to explore the wine cellars of the houses they had requisitioned.[10]

In November 1941, the combined effects of the influx of new prisoners from other Frontstalags and the interruption of supply deliveries from the French Red Cross created severe shortages in Frontstalag 221. Because of a denunciation by a female driver, the German secret service had discovered that the truck drivers of the French Red Cross section of Périgueux, which supplied all the camps in the Southwest, had smuggled letters and persons across the demarcation line. Therefore, they forbade the Red Cross trucks to enter the occupied zone of France.

The Camp des As was in the hands of North African mafia-style organizations that terrorized the black prisoners, robbed aid

packages, and extracted bribes in anticipation of the liberation of the 10,000 North Africans in December 1941. Bel Aid and a Tunisian NCO named Ousseini were at the center of these rival networks. They had accomplices among the German personnel, although Senghor believed that the commander of the camp and the Frontstalag commander did not know about the extent of the corruption. Some German guards kept encouraging the prisoners to complain, but this involved serious risks because Bel Aid had made sure that his companions were all drafted into the camp police. They arbitrarily beat and arrested other prisoners, especially black Africans.

By this time, the Scapini Mission had received numerous letters from prisoners and aid workers about corruption in Saint-Médard. The German authorities started an inquiry against Bel Aid, Ousseini, and others, leading to the arrest of several guards and prisoners, but the outcome of the case is unclear because of the interruption of inspections in May 1942 that came about as a consequence of the Giraud crisis. Bel Aid figures on a list of German collaborators prepared by the French secret service, which identified him as "very hard toward the other prisoners."

The hospital situated in the Camp de Germignan was a special institution within the Frontstalag 221 complex. With Dr. Hollecker's participation, this hospital established new X-ray testing procedures for tuberculosis that so impressed Scapini during his visit in April 1941 that the procedures were later adopted in other camps, too. Hollecker pointed out that the Germans were very generous in dismissing prisoners even though many diseases were feigned; he knew of prisoners rubbing sand, tobacco leaves, or quinine salt into their eyes or skin so that it looked as if they were developing a trachoma or a rash indicating a dangerous infectious disease. Hollecker also described the establishment of a special section in the hospital staffed by 12 German physicians who specialized in tropical diseases. Prisoners from other Frontstalags were often sent to this hospital for treatment. The French physicians worked together with the Germans.[11]

Soon after Hollecker's dismissal from captivity, however, the Germans separated one building of the hospital from the Frontstalag, closed it to the French physicians, and used it as a

secret training and research facility. This hospital attracted Nazi researchers interested in demonstrating racial differences through physical and pathological characteristics, such as Dr. Wolfgang Abel, a physician from Vienna who had participated in the sterilization of children of French colonial soldiers and German women in the Rhineland (the so-called Rhineland bastards) during the mid-1930s. Abel was particularly interested in leprosy patients in Saint-Médard. His broader interest was in identifying distinctive racial characteristics, and he therefore took numerous photographs of healthy and sick colonial POWs and established a collection of their footprints without their consent.

While Abel's research was degrading but not life threatening, another Austrian physician and "racial scientist," Dr. Karl Horneck, conducted experiments that involved serious risks for his subjects. Horneck wanted to test race-specific reactions to disease and to explore the possibility of human-tohuman immunization. He took blood from prisoners and injected a serum into them that contained antibodies from persons of a different race. His injections could cause life-threatening reactions such as an allergic shock, a hemolysis (rupture of red blood cells), or a thrombosis (blood clot) and embolism. The Scapini Mission, which had inspected the entire hospital in 1941 and was still allowed to visit some of the hospital buildings in 1942, was denied access to the tropical medicine section on the grounds that it no longer belonged to the Frontstalag.[12]

In 1943, some commandos in the Southwest of France received French cadres. According to the French defense ministry, the selection of cadres was particularly arbitrary in the region of Bordeaux. German soldiers randomly rounded up some young Frenchmen, gave them hunting rifles, and told them to guard colonial prisoners. The French cadres remained in this area until several weeks after the Allied landings in Normandy on June 6, 1944.[13]

As elsewhere, severe tensions existed among prisoners in Frontstalag 221. There is unusually strong evidence for tensions between the Muslim prisoners and the Jews (mostly from Algeria) in Saint-Médard in 1943–1944. A German secret service report based on intercepted prisoner letters claimed that many French colonial prisoners in Frontstalag 221 resented the Jews among

them, accusing them of black marketeering and lack of solidarity. Many prisoners apparently believed that their food and accommodations were so bad because of the presence of Jews in the Frontstalag. It is possible but not certain that the Germans at one time made efforts to concentrate North African Jews and French Jews (who were excluded from the liberation order of "white" prisoners on July 3, 1941) in Frontstalag 221.[14]

For unknown reasons, Frontstalag 221 also oversaw several work commandos in regions far away from Saint-Médard. In the late summer of 1943, a branch of Frontstalag 221 had installed itself in Rennes (Brittany) and taken over a number of commandos in northwestern and central France. The German lists of POWs for September 1, 1943, mention two camps designated as Frontstalag 221, one in Saint-Médard with 6,933 prisoners (including a few Soviet prisoners) and one in Rennes with 3,809 prisoners (including 43 British subjects); the existence of two separate camps with the same designation may explain the duplicate field post numbers. Information on the more distant commandos is fragmentary. A commando belonging to Frontstalag 221 also existed in Neufchatel-en-Saosnois (Sarthe), where 150 "Senegalese" and 100 North Africans were working for the Wehrmacht.[15] Several commandos on the British Channel Islands Alderney and Jersey (54 and 35 North Africans, respectively) also belonged to Frontstalag 221 for some time.

There is no information on the liberation of Frontstalag 221, except that, as in other Frontstalags, the prisoners sometimes were put in charge of their former guards and that the camp complex of Saint-Médard was used for German POWs.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 221 can be found in the following archival collections: Archives Nationales (AN), F9; BA-MA, RW 6: 451; SHD, 34 N 1097; PAAA, R 40989; Archives municipales de Saint-Médard, dossiers Frontstalag 221 (1941); Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 45 W 10 and 32; TNA, WO 224/59.

The following publications contain information about Frontstalag 221: Margaret Ginns, "French North African Prisoners of War in Jersey," *Channel Islands Occupation Review* (1985);

Armelle Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes." Visages oubliés de la France occupée* (Paris: La Découverte, 2010), p. 61; Raffael Scheck, "Des officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats? Les prisonniers de guerre 'indigènes' sous encadrement français, 1943–1944," in *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle. Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (Paris: Armand Colin/ Ministère de la Défense, 2012), p. 257.

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NOTES

1. List of December 1, 1942, in AN, F9, 2959. This list provides no breakdown of origin, but earlier lists show that over 75 percent of the prisoners were North Africans: see list of April 20, 1942, in AN, F9, 2351.

2. "Listen der Lager mit Gefangenenzahlen 1943," September 1, 1943, in BA-MA, RW 6: 451.

3. Dr. Hollecker, "Rapport sur la capture et la captivité," in SHD, 34 N 1097, p. 42.

4. Archives municipales de Saint-Médard, dossiers Frontstalag 221 (1941).

5. Inspection of Frontstalag 221, Camps of Germignan and As, April 8, 1941, in AN, F9, 2356.

6. Inspection of Camp Saint-Médard, July 2, 1941, in AN, F9, 2356.

7. Inspection of Frontstalag 221 including commandos, July 2, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in PAAA, R 40989.

8. Police files, October 10, 1940, Saint-Laurent-du-Médoc, in Archives départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 45 W 10.

9. Inspection of work commando Andernos, July 2, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in PAAA, R 40989.

10. See correspondence in "Travaux de construction pour les besoins des troupes d'occupation," in Archives

départementales de la Gironde (Bordeaux), 45 W 32. It is not always clear, however, whether these complaints concerned Frontstalag guards or the large number of regular German troops stationed in this area.

11. Hollecker, "Rapport sur la capture," p. 46.

12. Ouédraogo, pp. 5–6. "Rapport d'ensemble du 1er Octobre [1941] au 1er Avril 1942," by Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2345; "Note pour l'Ambassadeur," April 21, 1942, in AN, F9, 2345; Inspection Hôpital de Germinian [*sic*], May 14, 1942, by Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2356. Mabon remains inconclusive regarding the experiments in Saint-Médard: Armelle Mabon, *Prisonniers de guerre "indigènes,"* p. 61.

13. Raffael Scheck, "Des officiers français comme gardiens de leurs propres soldats? Les prisonniers de guerre 'indigènes' sous encadrement français, 1943–1944," in *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle. Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (Paris: Armand Colin/Ministère de la Défense, 2012), p. 257.

14. "Abwehrnebenstelle Bordeaux, Allgemeiner Inhalt der Kriegsgefangenenpost im Monat Februar 1943," March 18, 1943, in AN, F9, 3657.

15. "Rapport du mois de juillet 1944," Frontstalag 221, in AN, F9, 2966.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 222

The Germans established Frontstalag 222 on July 18, 1940, and ordered it disbanded on March 8, 1944 (the process was not complete until June 15). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 03 532 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. The number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. (There had been a plan to change Frontstalag 222 into Dulag 222 in 1942. That plan was never carried out, but the field post number was struck, nonetheless. From that point forward, Frontstalag 222 simply used the field post number for the nonexistant Dulag 222: 22 640 B.)

Frontstalag 222 in Bayonne (map 1) was one of the three large camps in the southwest corner of German-occupied France (together with Frontstalags 195 and 221). It shared most of the problems of the other two camps, such as overcrowding and irregular food supplies, as well as the problems typical for commandos employed in forestry (see Frontstalag 195). Frontstalag 222, located in the southwest corner of France on the Atlantic border to Spain, was the only camp that did not absorb another Frontstalag during the major consolidation of camps in late 1941 and early 1942. Its occupancy increased, however, due to the German efforts to bring more colonial prisoners to the milder climate of the Southwest and the decision by the German Military Command in France to prioritize timber harvesting. In late 1942, Frontstalag 222 absorbed most campsites of Frontstalag 195.

The commandos of Frontstalag 222 worked predominantly in forestry or for the German armed forces.[1] One important worksite was the border town of Hendaye, where goods arriving on trains from Spain had to be loaded onto German or French trains because of the different gauges. In late 1943, two commandos of Frontstalag 222, in Rion-des-Landes and Morsenx, were reserved for British colonial prisoners, mostly from British Africa.

Frontstalag 222 existed until the withdrawal of the German forces from the area in August 1944. Among the guard units responsible for Frontstalag 222 were Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 527 (from Munich), 579 (Silesia), 690 and 691 (both from northwest Germany), as well as some units of Russian Cossacks and Indians converted to the German cause.[2]

Initially, Frontstalag 222 was headquartered in Peyrehorade, a small town 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Bayonne; Peyrehorade likely served only as an administrative center and did not have an actual camp. No local record of a camp exists in this town.[3] On August 27, 1940, however, the German army requisitioned some public land used as a polo facility in Beyris, on the western edge of Bayonne and on the border to the town of Anglet. They built 50 wooden barracks, a freshwater line, and a sewer system. The first prisoners, mostly colonial soldiers returning from Germany, began arriving at the new site in October 1940. An orphanage in Bayonne was converted into a military hospital for the Frontstalag.[4]

French military physician Major Farinaud, who was in charge of the military hospital in the first months, reported after the war that the conditions in the new camp and the hospital were very bad upon his arrival on November 14, 1940. The barracks were overcrowded, hygiene was poor, and the prisoners had little protection from the cold. The installation of stoves proceeded only slowly, and there were not enough blankets. Most prisoners were plagued by lice. The hospital was also in bad shape. Farinaud considered the German physicians working with him poorly qualified, and he reported many cases of tuberculosis among the prisoners. He argued that the Germans considered the black prisoners to be animals, although he himself spoke disparagingly of colonial prisoners, mostly of North Africans, criticizing their sloppy military posture and poor hygiene.[5]

In April 1941, a high-ranking group of visitors inspected the camp of Bayonne-Beyris and the hospital. It included Ambassador Georges Scapini and Major Rosenberg, the OKW representative in Paris. At this time, the camp in Bayonne had 1,800 colonial prisoners, with a large contingent of West Africans and Indochinese prisoners. The inspectors judged the camp facilities and general conditions as good, but they noted that there were

many sick prisoners afflicted mostly by tuberculosis. The infirmary of the main camp had 57 patients; the Germans had already dismissed 60 sick black prisoners, who were sent to Marseille in the free zone of France. The inspection team also visited the military hospital of Bayonne, finding 168 patients, including 70 prisoners afflicted by tuberculosis. Among the patients was an Indochinese lieutenant with dysentery who, the inspectors argued, should have long since been dismissed.[6]

A second inspection in July 1941 confirmed that conditions in the camp of Bayonne, led by Major Beste, were good. The camp housed 853 Algerians, 90 Moroccans, 78 Tunisians, 75 West Africans, 3 Martinicans, and 2 Madagascans. It had a camp orchestra and a small library. The inspector also visited three major work commandos; the commando in Buglose (just north of Dax) had 307 Moroccans, 190 West Africans, 97 Madagascans, and 4 Indochinese prisoners, who were cutting trees. The commando had an overcrowded infirmary, but the German authorities promptly transferred some sick prisoners to hospitals. In Messanges, 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Bayonne, another commando of 183 West Africans was also occupied with timber harvesting. The quality of the water available to the prisoners was not good, and the Catholic prisoners asked that a priest visit them on Sundays. In Labenne, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) north of Bayonne, 475 West Africans were cutting wood. The inspector noted above all deficiencies with respect to religious services. The commando had a marabout but no copies of the Quran; the Catholics asked for a priest. Soon after the inspection, the Germans made arrangements for a Catholic priest to visit the work commandos.[7]

In October 1941, the food supplies of the southwestern camps of France suffered as a result of German sanctions against the Red Cross section of Périgueux (see Frontstalag 195). An inspector from the Scapini Mission requested more couscous especially for the commandos in Buglose and Labenne. The third round of inspections also considered commandos that had not been visited before. Many of them were similar to Buglose and Labenne, with 200–400 prisoners working predominantly in forestry and often suffering from food shortages. The inspectors also visited the commando at the train station of Hendaye and found 102 West

African prisoners in good condition. The camp of Bayonne again received good marks despite a significant increase in the number of prisoners (approximately 3,600 prisoners: 1,310 Moroccans, 1,178 Algerians, 872 West Africans, 135 Tunisians, and 105 Madagascans, and a few soldiers from the French Antilles). The prisoners again expressed much respect for Major Beste. They had formed two additional orchestras. Many of the prisoners worked inside the camp.[8]

Conditions in the commandos belonging to Frontstalag 222 worsened during the winter of 1941–1942. The combination of insufficient food supplies and heavy labor began wearing the prisoners down. The water quality remained bad in many places, and diseases were on the rise, especially tuberculosis. As elsewhere, the dismissal of the 10,000 North Africans in December 1941 frustrated the remaining prisoners.[9] During the hiatus of camp visits following the Giraud crisis, however, it appears that the German authorities did remedy some of the problems with the help of the French Red Cross. An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) team found the Frontstalag in very good condition when it visited Bayonne and the commandos in Hendaye, Labenne, and Castets in October 1942. The ICRC inspectors considered this Frontstalag to be one of the best in France.

Frontstalag 222 had its share of corruption cases, which sometimes exacerbated the supply problems. An anonymous prisoner from the commando of Morsenx, for example, wrote to an aid organization accusing the Tunisian man of confidence and two accomplices of corruption. This network apparently plundered aid packages and caused 500 prisoners to starve. The letter, written very likely by a West African prisoner speaking for other West Africans, revealed strong ethnic animosities: “It is not the Germans who are hurting us. We are [badly] treated by your [French] officers and the secretary of the camp…. You should not let us die from hunger. We are your sons. First off, you should know the character of the Arabs: they are all unjust. They are all robbers. You need to come and check what is going on in the camp…. May France *always* [emphasis in original] live.”[10]

Even in the camp of Bayonne, accusations of corruption centering on a man of confidence surfaced in early 1943.

Apparently, the man of confidence, with some accomplices, conducted a lucrative black market operation with goods plundered from aid packages, while the other prisoners suffered from hunger. Civilians were outraged about this situation and wondered why nothing was done to stop it.[11]

Corruption did not necessarily have a political motive, but denunciations of collaboration often went hand in hand with accusations of corruption. In one typical case, a prisoner from Frontstalag 222 denounced another prisoner because he spoke disparagingly of France; this prisoner allegedly spied on his coprisoners in the service of the Germans and received extra food as a reward.[12] In Labenne, a large number of rank-andfile soldiers apparently collaborated with the Germans against their own NCOs; they made sure, for example, that the NCOs did not receive their share of aid packages, and they intimidated the NCOs. The situation so alarmed the French authorities that the War Ministry in Vichy became involved and asked the Scapini Mission to intervene. The majority of the rank-and-file soldiers in the commando belonged to a different ethnic group than the NCOs. The men were Toucouleur, a group that was considered insecure in its loyalty to France.[13]

German propaganda efforts also left their mark in Frontstalag 222. French services learned that a German officer speaking fluent Arabic had visited camps in the southwest of France, including Bayonne and Mont-de-Marsan, during the summer of 1941. This officer, Leutnant Krebs, had asked Moroccan prisoners for their addresses and told them that he would visit them soon in their homes. Krebs also told the prisoners that escaping made no sense because France would draft former prisoners into labor battalions (which was true) and because the German Reich would take over the French colonies after its final victory.[14]

French civilians were generally helpful to the prisoners in Frontstalag 222. A warm letter of Corporal Sanogo [Sanoko] Boa, a prisoner in Mont-de-Marsan, to his war godmother illustrates the supportive attitude of some civilians. Boa maintained contact with the family of his war godmother after his liberation in 1944.[15] Some local citizens agreed to donate food and money for the prisoners.[16] However, there were also some cases of open hostility. A man of confidence in one of the work commandos

wrote to a POW official in Bayonne that a French truck driver habitually insulted the black soldiers by calling them "monkeys." The local official found the matter serious enough that he immediately forwarded the letter to the director of the French POW services in Paris.[17]

Some of the commandos with French colonial prisoners received French cadres in 1943, and this arrangement was kept in place even after the Allied invasion in Normandy. A Vichy French official even suggested an extension of French-led commandos in this area because French officers and NCOs who had formerly led commandos in the north had become available as the Germans replaced most French cadres in northern and central France with their own guards after D-Day.[18]

In late 1943, as the German army transferred British colonial prisoners from Italy to France, the commandos in Riondes-Landes and Morsenx received several hundred British African prisoners, including some French West Africans who had fought in British uniforms. On November 25, 1943, the commando Rion-des-Landes held 637 recently arrived British African soldiers (252 Basuto, 102 Bachoan, 82 Venda, 53 Zulu, 48 Tshangani, 41 Xhosa, 22 Sudanese, and 25 French colonial soldiers who fought for the Free French in British uniform—8 from Senegal, 7 from Madagascar, and 10 French "colored" Cape Colonists). The prisoners performed forestry work eight hours per day. The camp had inadequate shower facilities and drafty barracks, and the prisoners considered the food rations too low, but a delivery of British Red Cross parcels was expected. The prisoners also complained that they had not received cigarettes in several weeks, prompting the ICRC inspectors to give them some of their own supplies. The prisoners stressed that the Germans treated them well, however.[19]

Only fragmentary evidence exists for the last months of the Frontstalag. In Castets, a guard shot and killed four prisoners on May 15, 1944, and the Scapini Mission requested an investigation by the Military Commander (*Militärbefehlshaber*). The outcome is unknown.[20] In the summer of 1944, a work commando belonging to Frontstalag 222 was deployed in Neuvy-Raillou (Indre) near Châteauroux in Central France. Why this commando existed hundreds of kilometers away from Bayonne and inside the

formerly "free zone" of France, where the Germans generally did not maintain POW camps and commandos, is unclear. A protest note from Pierre Guion to the German Embassy in Paris pointed out in July 1944 that the 180 North Africans in this commando had not been paid since May and had also not received any mail.[21] A few letters between North African prisoners in Frontstalag 222 and their families were intercepted by the Free French secret service in North Africa in May 1944, showing a depressed mood among prisoners worn down by a long and harsh captivity and worried about the infidelity of their wives.[22]

German documents reveal that Frontstalag 222 remained an important camp even in the last phase of the German occupation of France. It housed 7,215 prisoners in September 1943 and 7,183 prisoners in October, making it the third largest Frontstalag in France after Frontstalag 194 in Nancy and Frontstalag 133 in Chartres at this time. This was significantly more than in earlier years: in July 1941, Frontstalag 222 had only had 2,617 prisoners, and this number had increased to 4,983 in April 1942 (with 1,629 West Africans, 1,227 Algerians, 499 Tunisians, 444 Madagascans, 162 Moroccans, 99 Martinicans, and 18 Indochinese), reflecting large-scale transfers of prisoners from camps further north.[23] The continued interest of the military commander in lumber production provided a strong economic rationale for increasing the number of prisoners in this part of France in 1942–1944.[24]

In August 1944, with Allied troops approaching, the Germans gathered many prisoners from Frontstalag 222 in the camp of Buglose in preparation for a transfer to Germany. Allied troops were able to liberate these prisoners, however.

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 222 can be found in the following archival collections: AN, F9; AN, AJ 40/444; PAAA, R 40770; and SHD, 3 P 84.

Information about Frontstalag 222 can be found in the following publications: François Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux dans les Frontstalags landais et leurs Kommandos 1940– 1944*, AERI 40 (Bordeaux: Les Dossiers d'Aquitaine, 2013), pp. 49–51, 64–107; André Plouzeau, *Troupes coloniales en captivité en Basses-Pyrennées: Le Frontstalag 222 au*

Polo de Beyris à Bayonne/Anglet et ses Kommandos (Pau: Association Mémoire collective en Béarn, 1997), p. 5; and André Pintat, "Le Frontstalag 222 du Polo-Beyris à Bayonne," *Revue d'histoire de Bayonne, du pays basque et du Bas-Adour*, no. 154 (1999): 404.

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NOTES

1. Historian François Campa has gathered specific information on the location and size of several work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 222, often enriched by witness statements: Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux*, pp. 64–107.

2. Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux*, p. 39.

3. Ibid., 33.

4. Plouzeau, *Troupes coloniales en captivité en Basses-Pyrennées*, 5; Pintat, "Le Frontstalag 222 du Polo-Beyris à Bayonne," p. 404.

5. Plouzeau, Appendix B.

6. Inspection of Frontstalag 222, camp of Beyris-Anglet [*sic*], April 9, 1941, by Georges Scapini and Jean Desbons [because of his blindness, the result of a wound from World War I, Georges Scapini usually took another inspector with him], in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40770.

7. Inspection of Frontstalag 222 with work commandos, July 7–9, 1941, in AN, F9, 2356.

8. Inspection of Frontstalag 222 with work commandos, October 17–18, 1941, in AN, F9, 2356.

9. "Inspection du 25 février au 3 mars 1942. Observations générales," by Dantan Merlin, in AN, F9, 2355.

10. Anonymous prisoner to Comité Algérien d'Assistance aux Prisonniers de guerre. Morsenx, March 9, 1942, in AN, F9, 2356.

11. "Mission spéciale à Bordeaux," April 5, 1943, in AN, F9, 2959. The camp of Bayonne was, unlike the many forestry commandos, situated in an urban area.

12. Gani Zahar to Scapini, September 15, 1943, in AN, F9, 2356.

13. War minister to Scapini, September 3, 1941, in AN, F9, 2345.

14. "Note de renseignements," July 26, 1941, August 23, 1941, and September 6, 1941, all in AN, F9, 2343. The physician Farinaud also remembered these propaganda efforts, but he argued that they were not very successful because the bad treatment of the prisoners undermined all German propaganda efforts: Report of Dr. Farinaud, in Plouzeau, Appendix B.

15. Plouzeau, Appendix F and G.

16. Campa, *Les Prisonniers de guerre coloniaux*, pp. 40–43.

17. Benoit to Contrôleur de l'armée [Bigard], October 21, 1942, with enclosed letter of Sergeant-chef Kaliassé to Président du comité, Bayonne, October 17, 1942, in AN. F9, 2965.

18. Daveau to Chef d'état major des colonies, July 10, 1944, in SHD, 3 P 84.

19. Inspection report, Frontstalag 222, commando Riondes-Landes, November 25, 1943, by Drs. Schirmer and de Morsier, in TNA, WO 224/60.

20. Guion to *Militärbefehlshaber*, June 10, 1944, in AN, F9, 2148.

21. Guion to German Embassy Paris, July 31, 1944, in AN, F9 2276.

22. See, for example, Abdesalam Naidjat to Amar Naidjat (prisoner in Frontstalag 222), May 19, 1944, and Brahim Ben Mohamed (from Frontstalag 222) to Mohamed Ben Ali, intercepted May 20, 1944, in AN, F9, 3115.

23. Numbers according to the OKW lists in BA-MA, RW 6: 451, and AN, F9, 2351.

24. "Militärbefehlshaber Frankreich, Lagebericht März– Juni

1943," in AN, AJ 40/444.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 230

The Germans established Frontstalag 230 on July 20, 1940, and ordered its dissolution in September 1941 (it finished disbanding in November). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 054 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 230 in Poitiers (map 1) is one of the best-known camps in France, in part because its most famous prisoner, Léopold Sédar Senghor, left a detailed account of his captivity there from October 1940 to the dissolution of the camp in 1941, and wrote the central section of his poem cycle *Hosties noires* (published in 1948) while there.[1] Senghor was camp secretary, a very desirable job that made him responsible for the card catalog of the prisoners; he was selected for this position after the camp commander saw him reading Plato.[2]

Little information exists about the camp's first months. In October 1940, German army documents reveal a major problem with prisoner escapes because of its proximity to the demarcation line (this problem persisted and likely influenced the German decision to close the camp).[3] Escape was dangerous early on, when German frontline units guarded the camp: an unofficial French report claimed that 50 prisoners were killed during escape attempts in the first months. Several recaptured prisoners went to the camp hospital with bullet wounds.[4] Senghor later confirmed that escapes were very common, particularly among the North African prisoners: "They are the kings of escape, and one has to admire them here without reticence." But escapes apparently became much less risky: Senghor mentions that groups of 20 prisoners would break out at night and flee. Only 1 in 20 prisoners was caught again.[5]

Senghor arrived in the camp approximately October 10, 1940,

from a camp in Amiens (likely Frontstalag 171). He mentions that the first months were hard. The prisoners were housed in drafty, unheated hangars made of corrugated sheet metal. Senghor was allowed to move to barracks in December, but the hangars were used until January 1941 for some newly arrived North African prisoners from camps in the region of Paris (mainly Frontstalag 111 and 112).[6] The barracks into which most of the prisoners moved were not much of an improvement because of poor construction and lack of insulation; they remained cold throughout the winter even though the prisoners had enough coal for heat. Senghor found that the slightest rain turned the pathways in the camp into ankle-deep mud and that the latrines were in bad shape.

The food in the camp was bad and scarce—mostly rutabagas and half-rotten potatoes—as confirmed by an unofficial French report.[7] The prisoners had no washbasins or showers. Clothing was generally not an issue, although the prisoners had no gloves or socks, leading to many cases of frostbite. The camp commander, Hauptmann Hahn, was harsh and strict; the prisoners gave him the nickname "*le Capitaine Achtung!*" because of his habit of yelling commands in German. He once ordered a guard to shoot at a West African prisoner who had stolen potatoes; the prisoner was killed. Senghor assumed that Hahn was Prussian, reflecting a common prejudice of French POWs that equated harshness with Prussians and laxity with Austrians. Ironically, some inhabitants of Poitiers remembered that the first commander was Austrian and named Lahn.[8]

According to Senghor, the situation improved significantly when a new commander replaced Hahn in February 1941, "a very *chic* [which could mean elegant, nice, or friendly] officer who asks us to be worthy of the French army and of our French fatherland." He calls the new commander "Lieutenant Bayle," but this is almost certainly a misspelling. A camp inspection report of July 17, 1941, mentions a Leutnant Paillet and a Major List as camp commanders (one may have been the Frontstalag commander and the other the commander of the camp in Poitiers), with the name Paillet, probably pronounced by the Germans more like Peile or Beile, having some phonetic resemblance to "Bayle." Under the new commander, the regime changed drastically. Paillet apparently announced after inspecting the camp that "this pigsty is

not worthy of the French army" and ordered the construction of washbasins, toilets with running water, stone-paved roadways between the barracks, and exercise facilities. The prisoners themselves performed some of this work; for the more sophisticated jobs, Paillet hired companies from the town.

The food improved in quality and quantity. Senghor claims that "during the summer of 1941, we eat quite well for prisoners of war" and points out that those prisoners assigned to rural work commandos (approximately a third to half of the prisoners of Frontstalag 230) fared even better because they received lunch at the farmer's family table. Senghor reserved special praise for the French women who had agreed to serve as war godmothers (*marraines de guerre*) for many of the colonial soldiers, sending them extra packages and letters. Not incidentally, one of the later poems of *Hosties noires*, "Femmes de France" ("Women of France"), is dedicated to Senghor's own *marraine* and echoes his captivity report when he calls the *marraines*, "the only support during days of overwhelming pressure, [d]ays of panic and despair" and concludes: "For them [the soldiers] you were mothers, for them you were sisters. Flames of France, flowers of France, bless you!"[9]

The camp inspections of the Scapini Mission from April 3 and July 17, 1941, confirm Senghor's descriptions. The camp was situated in barracks that had once served as an artillery school and had housed an Algerian regiment before the war; around the camp, more barracks had recently been built (probably the ones Senghor mentioned and into which he was allowed to move from the hangar). The inspection report of April 3, by Dr. Bonnaud, points out that the ground was clay and flooded easily, confirming Senghor's comment about the omnipresent mud. But Bonnaud noted that a construction company from the town had been contracted to build gutters and drainage pipes, and prisoners performed some of the manual labor related to the construction projects. The health situation was not very good in April: Since January 5, 48 sick prisoners had died, but the inspector noted that this mortality had to do with a group of prisoners who had arrived from a very bad camp (Frontstalag 231 in Airvault) already seriously ill. The camp hospital had 163 patients, of which 76 had been diagnosed with tuberculosis. The patients received good care.

The camp inspector noted that 30 “indigenous” prisoners were taking a German class and asked that French classes also be offered; one of the German students was Senghor, as a famous photo proves.[10] The camp offered little distraction at this time. The exercise facilities mentioned by Senghor were not yet finished, and the camp lacked games and books. Several marabouts took care of the religious needs of the prisoners, who were predominantly Muslim. The German food rations were small, but the French Red Cross, coming from the unoccupied zone, brought additional food supplies, clothing, and cigarettes every 15 days (tobacco was considered an essential supply at the time even though the Geneva Convention did not require that the detaining power provide it to the prisoners).[11] Dr. Bonnaud found the main camp “mediocre” (in contrast to an outside work commando he visited and found “excellent”) but noted that significant improvements had been made or were in progress.[12]

The inspection report of July 17, by René Scapini, reflects the changes Senghor described: increased food rations, better shower and exercise facilities, and a much-improved health situation. The camp hospital now had only 10 patients, all with minor illnesses, and no prisoner had died since the preceding inspection. The camp had received a makeshift mosque, and it had opened a library. The prisoners were playing various sports but requested a soccer ball. They did not complain about the food and clothing but wished for more bread and new shoes. Their mood was fairly good, but the recent dismissal of almost all remaining white French prisoners in the Frontstalags had had a depressing effect on the remaining (colonial) prisoners. Some black prisoners feared being sent to Germany. Still, the report concluded: “Concerning life in the camp, the prisoners of war (POWs) are treated well, and they unanimously praise Major List and the German Leutnant Paillet for their sense of justice and for their understanding.”[13]

Outrage of colonial prisoners, especially people of color with French citizenship (like Senghor), was a widespread phenomenon in the Frontstalags after the dismissal of the “white” prisoners on July 3, 1941. Senghor, Tirolien, and Alcandre wrote a letter of complaint to Scapini on September 4, pointing out:

Called by France to help her, we, the colonial prisoners, have

fulfilled our duty completely.

> Having richly given our fatherland our blood and suffering, we had the right to hope that we would be liberated at the same time as our comrades from the metropole interned in France.
>
> Some of us do indeed fulfill the conditions required for the liberation of the "metropolitans."
>
> We are long-standing French citizens, and some of us have lived in France for many years. They have their families and their interests here, and they work. Their work benefits the national collective.
>
> At a time when France more than ever needs its people from overseas, we take the liberty, Mr. Ambassador, to draw your worthy attention to the painful situation experienced by certain colonial soldiers in comparison to their comrades from the metropole.[14]

What the letter writers did not know was that the discrimination inherent in the dismissal of July 3, 1941, was due to German, not French, decisions and that Scapini was constantly demanding the dismissal of all colonial prisoners held in France—to no avail.

Senghor's account also dwells on some aspects that did not enter the inspection reports: the relations among the prisoners and German propaganda. On the first, he argues that the prisoners bonded well with other prisoners from the same colony, mentioning specifically the people from the French Antilles, Madagascar, Indochina, and West Africa. But he was very critical of certain prisoners: "Only the Arabs sow the seeds of discord (with the exception of the Moroccans). They seek to get the best jobs (in the administration, the kitchen, the best work commandos[,] etc.), and to that end they denigrate the other prisoners, especially the black intellectuals, whom they accuse of being Francophile and Germanophobic…. They even go so far as to make a secret war between each other: Tunisians against Algerians, and vice versa."[15]

Senghor relates the tensions in the camp to German propaganda, which he claims was well organized by the "Gestapo" office at the

camp command. (The Gestapo was not active in the camp, however, so Senghor may have meant either the German counterintelligence, the *Abwehr*, or the military secret police, the *Geheime Feldpolizei*). According to Senghor, German propaganda was directed exclusively at the Arabs; the Germans handed out Arabic newspapers, recruited spies among the prisoners, and supported Muslim religious services. This propaganda had remarkable success: "The Arab 'intellectuals,' those who were a little educated, were the best agents of Germany. They would preach to their countrymen and denigrate France in front of the Germans." When the Germans asked for volunteers to fight against the Soviet Union, only Arabs signed up, again mostly the more educated.[16]

Senghor mentions that the Arab NCOs tended to beat the rank and file, giving a bad example to the German guards who imitated them until Paillet stopped the abuses. The violence of the Arab NCOs exacerbated the tensions between Arabs and West Africans; occasionally, Arabs would accuse the West Africans of being rebellious and denounce them to the Germans. In one case, a German guard intervening in a fight between an Arab and a West African severely wounded the West African soldier with a pistol shot.[17]

Senghor describes the Tunisians and Algerians as the most active collaborators and spies, together with one white prisoner and a French physician, Dr. René Dardy (who is mentioned in the inspection report of April 3, 1941, as a medic who should be dismissed; according to Senghor's report, he did obtain his release in May 1941). Dardy apparently told the German authorities to be suspicious of the intellectuals in the camp who all wanted to be liberated on the grounds of disease. Oddly, the unofficial French report about the camp also mentions this doctor and confirms that he treated many black prisoners as test subjects; the report also says that the prisoners believed the doctor to be Jewish and that he wanted to ingratiate himself with the Germans.[18] Senghor also points out one particularly dangerous spy, the Tunisian soldier Mustapha Messaoudene, who denounced the Éboué brothers to the German camp authorities. The Éboué brothers were transferred to a different camp in late July 1941, probably as a consequence of the denunciation.[19]

Senghor reports that he stayed in Poitiers until early November 1941. He gave an intriguing reason for his transfer to another camp: in several interviews, he pointed out that he was sent to a reprisal camp in the Landes in November 1941 after having helped some Breton prisoners escape. Senghor most likely meant the camp of Saint-Médard-en-Jalles (Frontstalag 221), to which he was sent in early November.[20] This story, however, rests on insecure ground. According to all evidence, Senghor's transfer from Poitiers to Saint-Médard simply had to do with the consolidation of the camps, begun in the fall of 1941 and completed in April 1942. The dissolution of Frontstalag 230 and the transfer of the prisoners to another camp was not a punishment. All prisoners from Poitiers were sent to Saint-Médard.[21]

In retrospect, Senghor may have viewed his transfer from Poitiers to Frontstalag 221 in Saint-Médard as a punishment because the latter was in much worse shape. As he says in his captivity report: "We used to complain about the camp in Poitiers. In Bordeaux, we longed for Poitiers like for a paradise lost."[22] The arrival in Saint-Médard of several thousand prisoners from Poitiers would certainly have exacerbated the conditions there; Frontstalag 230 had 3,062 prisoners in the fall of 1941, predominantly "Senegalese" (2,017) and North Africans (917), and prisoners from Frontstalag 135 also arrived there at this time.[23]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 230 can be found in the following archival collections: AN, F9; SHD, 2 P 70 and 78; BA-MA, RH 26: 294/5.

Information about Frontstalag 230 can be found in the following publications: *Jeune Afrique* 51, no. 2637 (July 24, 2011): 25–40; Raffael Scheck, "Léopold Sédar Senghor comme prisonnier de guerre allemand. Une nouvelle perspective à la base d'un texte inédit," *French Politics, Culture and Society* 31, no. 2 (2014); Léopold Sédar Senghor, *La poésie de l'action: Conversations avec Mohamed Aziza* (Paris: Stock, 1980), p. 84; Roger Picard, *La Vienne dans la guerre 1939/1945: La vie quotidienne sous l'Occupation* (Lyon: Horvath, 1993), pp. 66, 139; Jean Hiernard, "Rouillé-la Chauvinerie: Des camps de la Seconde Guerre mondiale sortent de l'oubli," *Revue historique du*

Centre-Ouest; Léopold Sédar Senghor, *The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), p. 56.

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NOTES

1. "Note pour le cabinet," by Dr. Bonnaud, June 27, 1942, in AN, F9, 2345, with the appended report, as well as "Compte-rendu de captivité établi par un prisonnier indigène récemment libéré," July 7, 1942, in SHD, 2 P 70, Rapports de prisonniers de guerre rapatriés sur leur détention dans les camps 1941–1943, Dossier II: 1942–1943. The report was published in full in *Jeune Afrique* 51, no. 2637 (July 24, 2011), 25– 30: "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," *Jeune Afrique* (July 24, 2011), 22–31. See also Benoît Hopquin, "Un document inédit de Léopold Sédar Senghor," *Le Monde*, June 17, 2011; Scheck, "Léopold Sédar Senghor."

2. Senghor, *La poésie de l'action*, p. 84.

3. "Tätigkeitsbericht 294. Infanteriedivision, I.D., Abteilung Ic," November 1–December 3, 1940, in BA-MA, RH 26: 294/5.

4. Frontstalag 230—Poitiers, June 16, 1941, in "Rapports de diverses provenances," in AN, F9, 2810.

5. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," *Jeune Afrique* (July 24, 2011), 26.

6. Meldungen 93-112, in dossier "Frontstalag 230— Listes nominatives," in AN, F9, 3657. Each Meldung has a list of prisoners coming to Poitiers.

7. Frontstalag 230—Poitiers, June 16, 1941, in "Rapports."

8. Jean Hiernard, "Rouillé-la Chauvinerie." See also Roger Picard, *La Vienne dans la guerre 1939/1945*, pp. 66, 139.

9. Senghor, *Collected Poetry*, pp. 58–59.

10. János Riesz, "Léopold Sédar Senghor in deutscher

Kriegsgefangenschaft," in *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt. Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Peter Martin and Christine Alonzo (Hamburg: Dölling and Galitz, 2004), p. 598; Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 196–197.

11. Senghor, *La poésie de l'action*, p. 19.

12. Camp inspection Frontstalag 230, April 3, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2356.

13. Camp inspection Frontstalag 230, July 17, 1941, by René Scapini, in AN, F9, 2356.

14. Alcandre, Tirolien, and Senghor to Ambassador Scapini, September 4, 1941, in AN, F9, 2582.

15. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," p. 26.

16. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," p. 26; Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 455; Scheck, "Léopold Sédar Senghor."

17. "Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu," p. 26.

18. Frontstalag 230—Poitiers, June 16, 1941, in "Rapports."

19. Jacques L. Hymans, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), pp. 109–110. Henri went to the Frontstalag in Charleville on July 28, 1941, and was dismissed on health grounds on April 17, 1942. Robert also seems to have gone to Charleville, from where he fled on December 20, 1941: prisoner cards of Henri and Robert Éboué, BAVCC Caen.

20. Saloum Diakité, *Léopold Sédar Senghor. Chronique d'une époche* (Dakar: Maguilen, 2009), p. 22; Senghor, *La poésie de l'action*, p. 84.

21. "Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des frontstalags," in AN, F9, 2351, and "Note: Regroupement des frontstalags," April 7,

1942, in SHD, 2 P 78.

22. “Senghor: Le manuscrit inconnu,” p. 27.

23. Prisoner lists in dossier “Effectifs des prisonniers indigènes des Frontstslags,” second half 1941, in AN, F9, 2351.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 231

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 231 on July 20, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 14, 1941. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 21 260 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Frontstalag 231 held French prisoners of war. It was headquartered for a short time in Parthenay and then in the small town of Airvault (both map 1). In Airvault, the camp was located in the barracks formerly occupied by two divisions of Polish volunteers in a forest south of the town. Very little is known about this camp except that the site in Airvault was so unsanitary that the Germans decided to close it in early 1941. The prisoners, mostly North Africans, were transferred to Frontstalag 230 in Poitiers and Frontstalag 232 in Luçon. Inspections of these two camps in April 1941 specifically mention the prisoners from Airvault, who occupied the infirmaries in large numbers.[1]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 231 is located in AN.

Raffael Scheck

NOTE

1. Inspection of Frontstalag 230 (Poitiers), April 3, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, and inspection of Frontstalag 232 (Luçon), April 4, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, AN, F9, 2356.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 232

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 232 on July 20, 1940, and ordered its dissolution on April 1, 1942. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 21 858 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

Situated in the lower Loire valley, not far from the Atlantic Coast, Frontstalag 232 existed first in Luçon and then moved to Savenay (both map 1), with some administrative offices being located in Nantes.

In July 1941, the Frontstalag held 2,008 prisoners, the vast majority (1,700) being North African. It was one of the smallest camps at that time, although occupancy increased when it absorbed Frontstalag 181 in Saumur in September or October 1941. A few months later, Frontstalag 232 was itself integrated into Frontstalag 133 in Rennes, which became the principal center for camps in western France. The camp site of Luçon was an important place for German propaganda efforts targeted at North African prisoners.

The earliest information on this camp comes from the report of a French officer cadet, Aspirant Lagout, who escaped from Luçon in early 1941. Lagout described Luçon as a major propaganda facility. It housed a large number of North African prisoners coming from the propaganda section of Stalag IIIA in Luckenwalde-Grossbeeren, near Berlin. From Luçon, these prisoners were sent to different camps in France to spread German propaganda. Lagout claimed that the colonial prisoners were very well treated in Luçon. The Germans told them that they had been the only ones who fought hard in May–June 1940 and that the French had essentially sent them to be massacred by ordering them to fight tanks with handguns. The Germans pointed out that the French army paid metropolitan soldiers much more than colonial

soldiers. Lagout reported that he had a fight with North African prisoners who told him that the Germans, as colonial masters, would be more just than the French. Lagout also noted that German propaganda exploited antisemitic motives, but he did not elaborate on this. Lagout claimed that the propaganda was most successful among the officers and among men from Tunisia, whereas the Algerian and Moroccan rank-and-file soldiers seemed less impressed. Lagout warned the French authorities: "In any case, it seems that every colonial [*indigène*] coming from the camp of Luçon needs to be considered a priori as suspicious."[1]

Frontstalag 232 at Luçon/Savenay. Partial view of the POW camp, May, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Another escaped prisoner confirmed this impression. He reported that German propaganda was relatively vague; it stressed mostly that Germany would win the war and soon occupy French North Africa and that France had not paid North Africans enough money for their service. Prisoners who went to propaganda meetings were rewarded with extra rations and were hired into the camp police. He noted that Tunisian prisoners were performing the Hitler salute, whereas Algerians were more reserved and Moroccans strongly hostile (two Moroccan soldiers threatened a German propaganda officer that they would cut his throat if he ever dared to come to Morocco).[2]

The first inspection by the Scapini Mission, by Dr. Bonnaud on April 4, 1941, said nothing about propaganda and indicated that the conditions in Luçon were worse than Lagout's letter had suggested. It is, of course, possible that major transfers of prisoners had occurred since Lagout's escape. Moreover, the Scapini Mission was not yet as concerned about German propaganda as it was later on, which may explain why Bonnaud remained silent about this subject.[3] He did note that the North Africans in the main camp seemed rather depressed, although the mood was better among the prisoners in the commandos. Bonnaud also pointed out inequities in the prisoners' supplies. The fact that North Africans received more aid packages than the West Africans and Indochinese created much resentment among the ethnic groups in the camp and the commandos. Bonnaud suggested that the prisoners be tested for tuberculosis. Many of them had come from an unsanitary camp in Airvault that the Germans had dissolved, sending its prisoners to Frontstalags 230 in Poitiers and 232 in Luçon. Bonnaud observed that the West Africans and the Indochinese had organized informal classes for each other, and he asked that these efforts receive more support. The camp was under the command of an officer named Rohrscheidt and had 3,740 prisoners (498 French and 3,242 colonial). Of the 498 French prisoners, 429 were working in commandos; among the 3,242 colonial prisoners, 1,683 belonged to a commando.[4]

According to inspector Jean Detroyat, the German authorities had made all suggested improvements to the camp of Luçon by the end of July 1941, when he inspected the Frontstalag. Detroyat noticed, however, that the Germans for unknown reasons were abandoning the camp in Luçon and that most of its prisoners had already been transferred to Frontstalag 121 in Épinal and to a different campsite of Frontstalag 232 in Savenay. The Frontstalag at this time held predominantly Algerians and Tunisians (488 Algerians, 184 Tunisians, 45 West Africans, 42 Indochinese, 19 Frenchmen—all of them medical personnel—and 13 Moroccans). There were only 20 prisoners left in the former main camp in Luçon.[5]

Detroyat did have a chance to visit Savenay, the new headquarters of the Frontstalag. The camp was under the command of Major Gotthard von Münch (1877–1961) and occupied an old

barracks complex that had been used by the American army in 1917 and the British army in 1939–1940. The camp held 584 prisoners (287 Algerians, 105 West Africans, 82 Martinicans, 50 Tunisians, 20 Moroccans, 19 Guadeloupans, 7 French Guianans, and 6 Réunion islanders in addition to 8 Frenchmen). Detroyat found the camp in a state of transition because of the recent large movements of prisoners, but he testified that the German authorities were very committed to improving the conditions. Detroyat bemoaned mostly the lack of classes offered to the prisoners, and he took note of requests for games and balls. He found the opportunities for religious services entirely satisfactory: the Muslim prisoners had a mosque, and the Christian prisoners were allowed to go to mass every Sun-day. As elsewhere, Detroyat noted the disappointment of French citizens from the colonies who had been excluded from the dismissal of "white" French prisoners in the Frontstalags on July 3.[6]

That the prisoners respected commander von Münch is clear from a letter to him by the mufti of the camp, Brahim Dellil, dated September 8, 1941: "I have the honor to thank you with this letter in the name of my comrades, the prisoners. They are happy that they can now send packages and money they have earned through their work to their families. They are deeply touched by everything that you have done to alleviate their captivity. You should know that we will never forget your concern for us. When God will give us back our freedom, we will remember your leadership with much appreciation."[7]

Work commandos attached to Frontstalag 232 existed in the Vendée and Loire inférieure departments in July 1941. Most of them were small (20–40 prisoners) and in very good condition. The commandos worked predominantly on farms or public works projects for the town mayors (improvement and repairs of roads and bridges). One commando, in Rezé (Loire inférieure), was occasionally asked to work for the Wehrmacht; it had 32 Algerians and 6 Tunisians. Generally, civilians and town mayors appreciated the prisoners and helped them by offering extra supplies. The commando of Bourg-sous-la-Roche (Vendée; part of the town La-Rochesur-Yon) was particularly well supplied: the seven local restaurants took turns in supplying the prisoners (17 Algerians) for a week, giving them a cold lunch packet every day and serving

them dinner in the evening. The prisoners were repairing roads and bridges in the area. In Crossac (Loire inférieure), a large commando (240 Algerians, 55 Moroccans, 6 Martinicans, and 1 West African) worked for a turf company that took care of all the needs of the prisoners. Jean Desbons had few complaints except from the prisoners of color with French citizenship. A few commandos asked for Muslim prayer books. Others needed soccer balls.[8]

In November 1941, Dr. Bonnaud returned to the Frontstalag and visited Savenay, the newly integrated camp of Saumur, and some work commandos. Savenay held 510 prisoners (164 Algerians, 119 West Africans, 97 Martinicans, 87 Tunisians, 28 Moroccans, 10 Indochinese, 2 Madagascans, and 3 French medics). Bonnaud noted that some prisoners were now working for the Wehrmacht. He complained that the Germans were relying too much on French Red Cross deliveries for the supply of the prisoners (the Geneva Convention of 1929 stipulated that the detaining power was responsible for supplying the prisoners), while making unnecessary difficulties for the Red Cross. For example, the Germans had forbidden the French Red Cross trucks to make direct deliveries to the work commandos; as a consequence, a truckload of 1,000 sweaters for the prisoners in the commandos was still stored in Savenay. Bonnaud also complained about the refusal of the German NCO in charge of the deliveries to share the packaging lists of the deliveries with the French man of confidence.[9] Captain Koefer, the German liaison officer who accompanied Dr. Bonnaud, took note of the difficulties some commanders made for Red Cross deliveries to the work commandos and promised to remedy the situation.[10]

In Saumur, the camp in the cavalry school, formerly the headquarters of Frontstalag 181, still existed. Its commander was Oberleutnant Buchholz, and the camp housed 909 prisoners (265 Algerians, 246 Moroccans, 208 Tunisians, 92 West Africans, 31 Indochinese, 17 Antilleans, 9 Jews, 8 soldiers of mixed French and North African background, 4 Madagascans, 1 Pole, 1 Hindu from Pondicherry in India, and some prisoners whose background was not listed). Most prisoners were working in a variety of occupations outside the camp. They had a mosque, a theater, and a cinema inside the camp, but there was a shortage of films. The

morale of the prisoners was poor due to the discriminatory dismissal policies, for which they blamed the French authorities. In addition to the prisoners from overseas who held French citizenship, the camp housed a number of men of color who were naturalized French citizens, married to French women, and who had lived in France for a long time. These prisoners were outraged because their citizenship was not taken into account in the release process. Some of them also requested being considered for dismissal on the basis of previous agreements (fathers of four indigent children; World War I veterans), which the German authorities applied to nonwhite prisoners only with great reluctance.[11] The French National Archives holds an application for dismissal from one of the Jewish prisoners in Saumur, Isidor Ayache from Algiers, who had four children and was poor. It appears that his case was approved.[12]

Bonnaud found the work commandos in good shape, although the prohibition of Red Cross deliveries to the commandos had created shortages in a few places. He visited some commandos not inspected before, such as a large commando in Angers (172 West Africans, 1 Martinican, and 1 Madagascan) working for the Wehrmacht under very good conditions. One commando in a quarry in Monnaie presented an embarrassment to Bonnaud because the commando was now supplied from French instead of German depots, and the prisoners' fare was far worse than before. Bonnaud made hectic telephone calls to local authorities to avert a loss of French prestige. In Saint-Nazaire, a large work commando (151 Algerians, 49 Tunisians, 42 Moroccans, 3 Martinicans, and 1 West African) was loading and unloading goods in the harbor and at the train station. The very happy prisoners in this commando asked Bonnaud to convey their best wishes and sincere thanks to Marshal Pétain and Ambassador Scapini.[13]

There is no available information on the dissolution of Frontstalag 232. It was at first intended to continue operations during the consolidation of Frontstalags beginning in late 1941, but in April 1942 it was absorbed by Frontstalag 133 in Rennes.[14]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 232 can be found in the following archival collections: AN, F9; PAAA, R 40769, 40989a, and 40991.

Information about Frontstalag 232 can be found in the following publication: Raffael Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda toward French Muslim Prisoners of War." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 26, no. 3 (2012): 447–477.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Ministre de l'Intérieur to Ministre, Sec. de la Guerre, February 16, 1941, with an appended copy of Lagout's letter, AN, F9, 2356. See also Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda," pp. 453, 454.

2. "Rapport du maréchal des Logis Chef Leveugle, Palikao, October 3, 1941, in AN, F9, 2892. See also Scheck, "Nazi Propaganda," p. 458.

3. In fact, a French secret service report dated June 10, 1941, confirmed that propaganda efforts in Luçon had declined significantly and that German propaganda had become much less anti-French: "Note de renseignement," June 10, 1941, in AN, F9, 2892.

4. Camp inspection Frontstalag 232, April 4, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40769.

5. Camp inspection, Frontstalag 232, camp of Luçon, July 26, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40989a.

6. Camp inspection, Frontstalag 232, camp of Savenay, July 24, 1941, by Jean Detroyat, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40989a.

7. Mufti Brahim Dellil to Gotthard von Münch, September 8, 1941, private collection.

8. Inspection of work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 232, July 24–26, 1941, by Jean Desbons, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40989a.

9. Inspection of camp Savenay, November 17, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40991.

10. Service de l'Inspection des Camps. Note pour Mr. l'Ambassadeur, November 24, 1941, in AN, F9, 2345.

11. Inspection of camp Saumur, November 20, 1941, by Dr. Bonnaud, in AN, F9, 2356, and PAAA, R 40991.

12. Application of Isidor Ayache, January 6, 1942, in Dossier "Divers," in AN, F9, 2582.

13. Inspection of work commandos belonging to Frontstalag 232, November 17–22, 1941, in AN, F9, 2365, and PAAA, R 40991.

14. Effectifs des camps, in AN, F9, 2351.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 240

The Wehrmacht established Frontstalag 240 on July 22, 1940, and disbanded the camp on March 26, 1941. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 00 251 between April 28 and September 24, 1940. This number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

This camp, located in Verdun (Quartier Niel) (map 2), served as an assembly and transit camp for French prisoners of war sent to permanent camps in Germany in the late summer and fall of 1940. The Frontstalag was renamed Dulag 240 and transferred to Poland in March 1941.[1]

SOURCES Additional information about Frontstalag 240 can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 91.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 91.

FRONTSTAMMLAGER (FRONTSTALAG) 241

The Wehrmacht created Frontstalag 241 on July 22, 1940, and disbanded the camp on April 5, 1941. The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 01 068 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. This number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

Frontstalag 241 held French prisoners of war. It was headquartered in Saint-Mihiel (map 2) and existed for only a short time before it was integrated into Frontstalag 194 in Châlonssur-Marne. The Frontstalag included several subcamps, one of them in the small town of Lérouville, 15 kilometers (over 9 miles) south of Saint-Mihiel. Little is known about this Frontstalag, except for an incident that led to a trial in early 1941. On August 31, 1940, a severe brawl occurred between North African prisoners and prisoners from West Africa and Madagascar in the camp of Lérouville. The German guards tried to break up the fight and fired a warning shot that severely wounded one prisoner. When their admonitions failed to stop the brawl, the guards ordered all prisoners to return to their barracks, but four North African prisoners refused to obey. In April 1941, these four prisoners stood trial in Angoulême (Frontstalag 184)—where three of them had been transferred— for refusing to obey orders. The judge could not establish without a doubt that the accused prisoners had participated in the brawl but convicted them for disobedience. Their pretrial confinement, however, exceeded the length of punishment, and the accused prisoners therefore did not have to go to jail.[1]

Frontstalag 241 in Saint-Mihiel was one of the camps visited by the American delegates Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Vance Murray in mid-September 1940. At the time of their visit, the camp had only metropolitan French prisoners, as the colonial soldiers had been sent to camps farther south, where the climate was more

suitable for them. Patterson and Dr. Murray found the camp in good shape but noted that "it is believed, however, that this condition has existed for not more than 6 weeks, and that the camp from May to the beginning of August was greatly overcrowded with a distinctly inadequate food ration." They also heard reports of brutality during the early weeks, when the Frontstalag was guarded by hardened frontline troops without any experience in camp management. As elsewhere, however, the installation of more experienced German commanders and guard units had made a big difference: "This situation had been recognized by the higher German officers in the occupied zone so these had [*sic*], some weeks before, caused the camp to be completely reorganized through introduction of a staff of older officers with experience in camp management. The original personnel, both officers and men, had been sent elsewhere. The camp was then organized along the lines of those in Germany, and overcrowding had ceased through transfer of colored troops to camps in southern France, and of white troops to the Reich."[2]

Because of its location near the borders with Luxembourg and Germany, Frontstalag 241 had primarily functioned as a transit camp for the masses of French prisoners en route to Germany in the summer and fall of 1940 and was dissolved once the transfer was largely completed. A work commando (*Arbeitskommando*) with 34 prisoners, mostly West Africans, continued to perform agricultural work in Saint-Mihiel under the authority of Frontstalag 194.[3]

SOURCES Primary source information about Frontstalag 241 is located in AN, NACP, and PAAA.

Raffael Scheck

NOTES

1. Feldurteil, April 10, 1941, and other trial documents, PAAA, R 40868.

2. Camp inspection, Frontstalag 241, September 1940, by Jefferson Patterson and Dr. Vance Murray, NACP, RG 59, Box 2777.

3. Inspection of Frontstalag 194, January 24, 1942, by Detroyat, AN, F9, 2354.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) ANNABURG

The Wehrmacht created Heilag Annaburg[1] (map 4e) at the end of March and beginning of April 1944 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[2] It was deployed in Annaburg (Wittenberg district in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany).

The Heilag was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

The camp's purpose was to confine, temporarily, wounded British and American prisoners who were eligible for release and repatriation. These prisoners arrived at the camp from other prisoner of war (POW) camps several weeks prior to repatriation.

The treatment of the prisoners and their conditions of confinement in the camp were satisfactory, by and large, and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). In most instances, the prisoners considered the Annaburg camp to be superior to those from which they had come.[3]

The camp occupied a large stone building formerly used as a German officers' training school. As a Heilag, a number of changes and improvements had to be made. The site was altered to hold 800 sick and injured POWs. They were kept six to a room, with single beds for officers and bunk beds for enlisted men. The facilities were sufficient for the care of the prisoners. Each floor had its own mess hall, and the facilities offered adequate running water, latrines, showers, and rations. For recreation, the camp had a 2,000-volume library, a theater with musical instruments, and a small sports field. The canteen offered basic toiletries and beer.

Because the camp served primarily as a transition point before repatriation, the actual size of the camp fluctuated frequently, and the total number of prisoners who went through the camp is

unknown. There were 369 British prisoners in the camp on May 1, 1944.[4] In August, the camp was overfilled with prisoners, as over 1,000 were sent to the camp, which was 25 percent over capacity. This was a short-term situation, however, as the Germans were holding those POWs in advance of the exchange of American and British POWs for German POWs in Göteborg, Sweden, that month. By October 1944, the camp was virtually empty, save for a small contingent of 60 British prisoners. The numbers again exceeded 800 by the end of the year.

SOURCES Primary source material about Heilag Annaburg is located in TNA (FO 916/833: Ilag Wurzach, Ilag 18, Heilanstalt, Heilag Annaburg).

Additional information about Heilag Annaburg can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 174.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt erroneously give the name as Annaberg rather than Annaburg.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 14.

3. Translated report by the International Red Cross (October 21, 1944), NARA RG 389, Box 2149.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE

The Wehrmacht established Heilag Chalon-sur-Saône in Chalon-sur-Saône, France (map 2), sometime before April 1941. It was still in operation as of 1943. The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 110 between July 19, 1941, and February 14, 1942; this number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943. The camp later received field post number 02 955T (the collective field post number for Dijon) between May 1 and October 19, 1942; this number was struck on March 25, 1944.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

Dallas Michelbacher

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) COMPIÈGNE

The Wehrmacht established Heilag Compiègne (map 2) on July 25, 1941, using the personnel from Heilag V A. On March 1, 1944, the camp ceased to be an independent camp and became a part of Frontstalag 122.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Northwest France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Nordwestfrankreich*). It held field post numbers (*Feldpostnummer*) 40 152 and 10 624F. The camp held French prisoners of war (POWs) who were eligible for repatriation. The French POWs were transferred to this camp from various camps in Germany (Stalags I A, I B, XII D, and others) and were in the camp until the time of their actual release.[2] The conditions in the camp were satisfactory and basically in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The camp administration and guard force treated the prisoners decently.

SOURCES Additional information about Heilag Compiègne can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 73, 175.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 73, 175.

2. Michel Annet (APRA), *A Propos du Heilag Compiègne*

(see “La Lettre” no. 25 from April 2009, “Compiegne-Royallieu 1941–1944 Antichambre de la Deportation,” pp. 1–12).

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) MONTWY

The Wehrmacht established Heilag Montwy (also known as Hohensalza-Montwy; map 4c) in the village of Montwy (today Mątwy, Inowrocław, Poland) on May 13, 1941. It closed on November 28, 1943.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

Dallas Michelbacher

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) ROUEN

The Wehrmacht established Heilag Rouen (map 1) on September 21, 1941, from Stalag 356. The camp was located in Rouen until March 3, 1942, when the Germans moved it to Compiègne and reorganized it as Heilag z.b.V. Compiègne (formerly Rouen). The camp was subordinate to the Military Commander of Northwest France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Nordwestfrankreich*). The camp held British and New Zealander prisoners of war who were eligible for release and repatriation. The treatment of the prisoners and the conditions were satisfactory and in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The exact number of prisoners who passed through the camp is unknown.

SOURCES Additional information about Heilag Rouen can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel* (Koblenz: self-published, 1986–1987), vol. 1: p. 49; vol. 2: p. 175; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 278.

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HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) V A

The Wehrmacht established Heilag V A (map 4f) on June 1, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. It was deployed in Konstanz. On July 25, 1941, the Germans disbanded the camp and transferred its personnel to the Heilag in Compiègne, in France.[1] The camp was under the control of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

The camp held Western Allied prisoners of war who were eligible for release and repatriation. The treatment of the prisoners and the conditions in the camp were satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The number of prisoners who passed through the camp is not known.

SOURCES Primary source material about Heilag V A is located in KSt-Kz.

Additional information about Heilag V A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 176; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 310.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen, p. 176; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) V B

The Wehrmacht established Heilag V B (map 4f) on June 21, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V and deployed it in Strasbourg. The camp was disbanded at the end of September 1940.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Heilag V B held Western Allied prisoners of war who had been released from captivity and were awaiting transfer home. The treatment of the prisoners and the conditions in the camp were satisfactory and in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The number of prisoners who passed through the camp is not known.

SOURCES Primary source material about Heilag V B is located in BArch B 162/790, fol. 49.

Additional information about Heilag V B can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 176.

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NOTE

1. Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Az. 2 f 24. 64d Kriegsgef. VI) an das Deutsche Rote Kreuz v. 20.9.1940, BArch B 162/790, fol. 49.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) V C

The Wehrmacht established Heilag V C (map 4f) on July 5, 1940, and it remained in operation at least through the first week of April 1941. It was located in Offenburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Heilag V C temporarily held French prisoners from Alsace and the Moselle valley region who were eligible for release from captivity.[1] No specific information on conditions in the camp is available and the number of prisoners who passed through the camp is also unknown.

SOURCES Primary source material about Heilag V C is located in StA Offenburg.

Additional information about Heilag V C can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 176.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 176.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) VIII G

The Wehrmacht established Heilag VIII G (map 4e) sometime before September 1942 in Weidenau (today Vidnava, Czech Republic). The order for its closure was issued on September 22, 1942.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) VIII H

The Wehrmacht established Heilag VIII H (map 4e) sometime before September 1942 in Oberlangendorf (today Horní Dlouhá Loučka, Czech Republic). The order for its closure was issued on September 22, 1942.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) XVII A

The Wehrmacht established Heilag XVII A in April 1941 at the latest, at Laarstrasse 1 in Vienna (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII). On June 21, 1941, the camp was relocated to the town of Gänserndorf (4f), about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Vienna, where it was installed on the site of a former SA camp at Wienerstrasse 7. The camp held Yugoslavian prisoners of war (POWs) of German, Slovak, Slovene, Croatian, and Hungarian ancestry who were to be repatriated to Yugoslavia. This task was completed by July 1942.[1] The maximum population of the camp was 1,100 prisoners in December 1941, but this was an extreme outlier; the average population was just over 300 prisoners.[2]

There were two brief cases in which Heilag XVII A held prisoners of other nationalities. In October 1941, the camp held 108 Greek civilians who were to be repatriated to Greece. In August and September 1942, a work detail (*Arbeitskommando*) for Soviet POWs was housed at the camp.[3]

Heilag XVII A was dissolved on September 28, 1942. After that date, repatriation of prisoners from Defense District XVII was carried out via Stalag XVII A in Kaisersteinbruch.[4]

SOURCES Primary source information about Heilag XVII A is located in BA-MA (RH 48: 12 and RH 53: 17).

Additional information about Heilag XVII A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p.

176; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 304; and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 273–274. NB: Both Mattiello (2003) and Mattiello and Vogt (1987) incorrectly list the camp as "Heilag XVII—Gänsedorf [*sic*]."

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NOTES

1. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 273.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 304.
3. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 274
4. Ibid., p. 274.

HEIMKEHRERLAGER (HEILAG) ÖHRINGEN

Heilag Öhringen (map 4e) existed from January 16 until April 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII; it may have remained open longer. It was deployed in Öhringen (today Gliwice-Sośnica, Poland).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 110 between September 25, 1940, and February 15, 1941. This number was struck between September 17, 1941, and February 14, 1942.

The camp held prisoners of war who were awaiting release and repatriation. The prisoners' nationalities are not known with certainty but likely included French and possibly British soldiers. No specific information on conditions in the camp is available. The exact number of prisoners who passed through the camp is likewise unknown.

SOURCES Primary source material about Heilag Öhringen is located in the State Archive in Wrocław (Poland) and BArch B 162/790: Lagerverzeichnis, Stand am 30.4.1941: Heilag z.b.V. z. Zt. Oehringen, in Chalon sur Saône eingesetzt; Lagerverzeichnis, Stand am 14.8.1941: Heilag z.b.V. Chalon sur Saône; Lagerverzeichnis, Stand am Mai 1943: Heilag z.b.V. Chalon sur Saône.

Additional information about Heilag Öhringen can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 175.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 175.

MARINE DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) GOTENHAFEN

The German Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) established Dulag Gotenhafen (aka Marinelager [Marlag] Gotenhafen) in June 1941, to hold captured naval servicemen. The camp was located in Gotenhafen (today Gdynia, Poland) (map 4c), although the exact location remains unknown. It may have been situated between Kielau (today Chylonia) and Zissau (today Cisowa) or in the neighborhood of the Kriegsmarine harbor at Oxhöft (today Oksywie). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War, Navy Senior Command, Baltic (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen, Marineoberkommando Ostsee*).[1]

The following table shows the prisoner numbers for the 1943–1944 period and how many of those prisoners were assigned to work details:

Year	Day-Month	French sailors	Soviet sailors	Total	At work (*Arbeitseinsatz*)

		01[illegible] 15			
		01[illegible] 16			
		01[illegible] 17			

Prisoner numbers for the 1941–1942 period are lacking. No documents record the conditions in the camp. The French prisoners may have received better care than the Soviets, but that is conjecture. The Germans dissolved the camp in October 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Marine Dulag Gotenhafen is located in BA-MA (RM 6).

Additional information about Marine Dulag Gotenhafen can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 167; and Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 173.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 167.

2. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.3.1943, p. 21; PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.3.1943, n.p.

3. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.4.1943, p. 30; PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.4.1943, n.p.

4. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.5.1943, p. 39; PAAA, R 67060, Französische

Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.5.1943, n.p.

5. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.6.1943, p. 48; PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.6.1943, n.p.

6. PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern—Bestand 1.7.1943, n.p.

7. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.8.1943, p. 58; PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.8.1943, n.p.

8. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.9.1943, p. 67.

9. BA-MA, RW 6: 451, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.10.1943, p. 78; PAAA, R 67060, Französische Kriegsgefangene in Mannschaftstammlagern— Bestand 1.10.1943, n.p.

10. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.1.1944, p. 5.

11. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.2.1944, p. 16.

12. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.4.1944, p. 24.

13. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.5.1944, p. 34.

14. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.6.1944, p. 42.

15. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.7.1944, p. 58.

16. These dates come from the report from October 1, 1944 (see note 17). Some of the documents mention the change in the

number of prisoners (or lack thereof) from the previous month's report.

17. BA-MA, RW 6: 452, Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.10.1944, p. 66.

MARINELAGER MARINEINTERNIERTENLAGER (MARLAG MILAG) NORD

The Wehrmacht—specifically, the German navy (*Kriegsmarine*)—established Marlag Milag Nord on October 22, 1941. The compounds that comprised Marlag-Milag Nord represented a unique assemblage of prisoner of war (POW) and civilian internment camps. Over the course of its four-year history, the complex served variously as a Dulag, Ilag, Milag, Marlag, and Stalag. This multipurpose camp occupied a large area just outside Westertimke (map 4a), approximately 25 kilometers (15.7 miles) northeast of Bremen. The camp and its separate components were also known by other designations and variations of the official name, including Marlag Milag Westertimke, Marlag Westertimke, and Marlag Nord.

Although the camp would acquire additional duties and types of internees, it chiefly functioned as a Marlag for captured members of the Royal Navy and as a Milag for captured members of the British merchant navy. The camp complex operated under the authority of the Commanding Admiral, Naval Station North Sea (*Kommandierender Admiral der Marinestation der Nordsee*) and was redesignated the Naval High Command North Sea (*Marineoberkommando der Nordsee*) on February 1, 1943. The first camp commandant was Kapitän zur See Schuhr. He was replaced by Fregattenkapitän Schmidt. The deputy commandant was Korvettenkapitän Kogge, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Oberleutnant Schoof, and the physician was Stabsarzt Dr. Trautman.[1] Although the POW and internment camps fell under the same German administration, they functioned completely independently of each other, with no interactions among the prisoners.

The two camps together held a prisoner population that

gradually rose from 1,340 British citizens in November 1941 to over 4,700 prisoners, mostly British but also including a small number of French, Americans, Serbians, and other nationalities, in January 1945.[2] The Marlag consisted of two compounds: Marlag O, for officers of the Royal Navy, and Marlag M, for other Royal Navy ranks. Though similar in size, the two complexes differed in population, as the officers' camp was generally much less crowded. POWs in Marlag O typically slept 8 to a room, while the same barracks in Marlag M held up to 20 men per room. A road divided the two compounds and barbed wire enclosed each. Though each had its own kitchens, storage facilities, sports grounds, and recreation areas, there was a significant degree of interaction among the prisoners in the two compounds. At times, overcrowding in Marlag M required some prisoners to move to Marlag O. Such possibilities did not exist in the other camps at Marlag-Milag Nord.

The larger Milag held members of the British merchant navy. This camp consisted of some 36 barracks, most of which held prisoners, plus kitchens and mess halls.[3] The overall capacity was around 3,000. Men slept up to 20 per room. Prisoners had access to their own recreation facilities, which included a theater, sports field, and library. The prisoners from the merchant marine comprised a veritable cross section of British colonials. This ethnic diversity was reflected in the nature of the camp. As one international observer noted, "The Camp resembles a village; the huts are arranged tastefully, each one has an individual character which indicates the national characteristics of its occupants."[4]

The Milag prisoners occupied an unusual place in the German camp system, as their status was between that of POWs and civilian internees. The prisoners themselves continued to adhere to the rigid hierarchy that differentiated between officers and other ranks, yet German authorities neither created separate complexes nor allowed special treatment for the officers of the merchant navy. This created conflicts, as merchant navy officers requested benefits afforded Allied officers, while the German authorities insisted that they were nonmilitary prisoners and therefore had no right to be treated as officers.[5]

At the start of the war, the Kriegsmarine established a naval Durchgangslager (Dulag) in Wilhelmshaven, which it used for

sorting and processing new POWs, before sending them on to the appropriate camps in other parts of Germany. In February 1942, the Germans moved that camp to the Marlag-Milag complex in Westertimke, to avoid bombing raids. Dulag Nord occupied a space between the Marlag and Milag complexes. As the name implied, it served primarily for the transfer of prisoners to other sites, so its population changed constantly.

In August 1943, the large population of Indians in the Milag, many of them native to the Bengal region, were transferred to a new compound within the Marlag Milag Nord complex, known as the Indian Camp.[6] This camp functioned as a completely separate Milag facility. Located several hundred meters away in a heavily wooded area, the camp was newly constructed and well built. While the prisoners initially complained of the lack of sun they received in this wooded area, they came to appreciate this insulation in the winter months.[7] Of 473 prisoners in the Indian Camp in January 1944, 429 were Muslim, 41 Christian, 2 Buddhist, and 1 Hindu. As a result of the predominantly Muslim population, the camp's theater came to be used as a mosque. German authorities reportedly did not interfere with hourly calls to prayer and they accommodated requests for Qurans, as the camp came to have over 400 of them.[8] Prisoners there also received separate rations to satisfy religious requirements.[9]

The camp continued to expand and incorporate different prisoner groups throughout the war. On September 2, 1944, Germans evacuated the civilian internment camp in Giromagny, in northeast France, to a facility approximately 800 meters (half a mile) from the Milag in Westertimke. This Ilag fell under the administration of the Marlag-Milag Nord camp, though it too had its own facilities with no interaction with other compounds.[10] In January 1945, Germans evacuated two compounds of Stalag Luft III in Sagan (today Żagan, Poland) and sent them to occupy hastily built barracks in the Marlag O compound. Most of the 1,926 new prisoners were officers. Although international observers regarded the German administration as sincere in its desire to improve conditions, little could be done with the limited resources at that point in the war, and the Stalag Luft prisoners endured worse conditions than those they had left behind in Sagan.[11]

A robust cultural life developed in the camps, all of which

eventually had their own theaters, recreation areas, and libraries. Most barracks had their own gardens, where prisoners grew various fruits and vegetables to augment rations or focused on flower gardens and lawns. Compounds offered different educational opportunities, most of which reflected the nautical backgrounds of the prisoners, with subjects including navigation and meteorology.[12]

The prisoner groups' views of the conditions within the camp varied. Compared with other camps for Western Allied prisoners (Stalags and Oflags), relations between prisoners and the German administration were better in the Marlag-Milag Nord complex, and the prisoners had more regular access to recreational opportunities and better medical care than in other camps. However, the conditions compared unfavorably to those in civilian internment camps, where the food supplies were more generous and the repatriation process was more transparent.

The camp fell into disarray in the closing days of the war. An international observer arrived on April 14, 1945, and noted surprise among the prisoners and administration alike that he had bothered coming to conduct a survey, as both sides expected the camp to be liberated soon. A few days earlier, on April 8, the German authorities had attempted an evacuation of the camp toward Lübeck. The following morning, a group of Royal Air Force officers left with German guards, followed soon thereafter by Royal Navy prisoners. Quickly these evacuations were attended by a breakdown of order, as prisoners (apparently with the aid of certain German guards) escaped to the woods. Roll was not taken that morning and the international observer found that no one knew who was still in the camp, who had escaped, and who was on the march toward Lübeck. By that point, the front was just 32 kilometers (20 miles) away, and the camp was liberated on April 28.[13]

SOURCES Primary source material about Marlag Milag Nord is located in BA-MA (RM 6) and NARA II (RG 389, Box 2144).

Additional information about Marlag Milag Nord can be found in the following publications: Thomas Gabe, *Milag: Captives of the Kriegsmarine—Merchant Navy Prisoners of War*

(Alitwen, Wales: Milag Prisoner of War Association, 1995); W. A. Jones, *Prisoner of the "Kormoran": W. A. Jones's Amazing Experiences on the German Raider "Kormoran" and as a Prisoner of War in Germany* (Sydney: G. G. Harrap, 1945); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 167; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany, 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 294; "Milag Marlag POW Camps at Westertimke," *After the Battle* 137 (2007); Edward J. Sweeney, *A Merchant Seaman's Survival: An Autobiography— An Escape Story of World War II* (Kent, UK: Allan J. Sweeney, 2012). See also American Prisoners of War in Germany at http://webhome.idirect.com/~kettles/uncle/powtest.htm, and Marlag Nord and Milag Nord Westertimke at www.relikte.com/westertimke/index.htm.

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NOTES

1. "American Prisoners of War in Germany," POW Page, http://webhome.idirect.com/~kettles/uncle/powtest.htm.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 294.
3. Ibid.
4. Report by the International Red Cross (June 28, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
5. Report by the International Red Cross (October 6, 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
6. Report by the International Red Cross (March 14, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (August 24, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

8. Report by the International Red Cross (March 14, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

9. Report by the International Red Cross (October 6, 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

10. Report by the International Red Cross (October 13, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

11. Report by the International Red Cross (March 14, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

12. Report by the War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA (circa October 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

13. Report by the Swiss Legation (April 14, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

MARINELAGER MARINEINTERNIERTENLAGER (MARLAG MILAG) SANDBOSTEL

The Kriegsmarine established Marlag Milag Sandbostel in Sandbostel, Niedersachsen, Germany (map 4a), about 43 kilometers (26.7 miles) northeast of Bremen, in February 1941. This camp is sometimes referred to as Marlag X B, because it was located in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. It was located within the larger complex of the Sandbostel prisoner of war (POW) camp, one of the largest such camps in Germany, which included the enlisted men's camp (Stalag X B), the officers' camp (Oflag X B), and a civilian internment camp (Ilag). The Marlag-Milag was located across from the officers' camp, in the southwest corner of the complex. The Marlag-Milag held British Royal Navy and Merchant Marine personnel captured during the naval battles in the North Sea and North Atlantic Ocean in 1940 and 1941, as well as some Royal Marines captured in France in 1940. Although the merchant mariners were technically civilians, the Germans treated them as POWs (as the British did with captured German merchant mariners).

The Marlag-Milag consisted of 18 residential barracks and 4 sanitary barracks, which contained the toilets and showers. It was separated from the other sections of the complex by a barbed wire fence; two rows of barbed wire along the western and southern perimeters separated it from the outside world.[1] The prisoners in the Marlag-Milag were strictly separated from those of other nationalities. As of November 21, 1941, there were 810 prisoners in the Marlag-Milag (out of a total of 38,129 in the entire Sandbostel complex).[2] Prisoners of other nationalities generally regarded the conditions in the Marlag-Milag to be much better than those in the other parts of the camp (one French prisoner referred to the British sailors as the "kings of the prison") because of the fact that German prisoners were also being held by the

United Kingdom. The sailors received Red Cross packages (one per man) every week, a luxury not afforded to the other prisoners, and were not expected to work, as the other prisoners were. They were allowed to keep their uniforms after being captured rather than being assigned prison uniforms.[3] At the end of 1941, the sailors were transferred to the newly constructed Marlag-Milag Nord in Westertimke, about 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the southwest. After their departure, the former Marlag-Milag had several different uses, housing French prisoners who were awaiting repatriation and, later, Soviet POWs and interned Italian military personnel.[4]

SOURCES Additional information about Marlag-Milag Sandbostel can be found in the following publication: Werner Borgsen and Klaus Volland, *Stalag X B Sandbostel: Zur Geschichte eines Kriegsgefangenen- und KZ-Auffanglagers in Norddeutschland 1939–1945* (Bremen: Temmen, 1991).

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NOTES

1. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B Sandbostel*, p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
4. Ibid., p. 32.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 6

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 6 (map 4e) on November 26, 1943, and dissolved it on November 8, 1944. It was located in Tost (today Toszek, Poland). The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 65 773 on October 26, 1943; the number was struck on December 1, 1944.

The camp held French officers and their orderlies whom the Germans had transferred from Oflag VIII F. On January 1, 1944, there were 1,044 prisoners (936 officers and 108 orderlies) in the camp.[1] Conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory. The treatment of prisoners mostly conformed to the standards of the 1929 Geneva Convention.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 6 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 6); and BArch B 162/17614–17615: Überprüfung des Oflag 6.

Additional information about Oflag 6 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 523; and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek. *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972), p. 168.

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NOTE

1. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 523.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 8

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 8 (map 4b) on May 11, 1943, in Frauenberg bei Lübben (Brandenburg). From September 1943, the camp was deployed in Wutzetz, now a part of Friesack. There were two branch camps (*Zweiglager*) at Zootzen-Damm: Damm I and Damm II. The Germans disbanded the camp in April 1945 as the Red Army approached.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

From May 1943 to September 1944, Oflag 8 held Polish officers and orderlies (ranging in number from 55 to 86 of the former and 160 to 191 of the latter). In the fall of 1944, Greek, Bulgarian, and Romanian officers and orderlies arrived in the camp, bringing its total population to around 750.[2] The conditions were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the provisions of the 1929 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Many of the prisoners worked in labor detachments on local farms.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 8 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 8); and BArch B 162/27703: Ermittlungen gegen Angehörige des Oflag 8 in Lübben.

Additional information about Oflag 8 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (self-published, 2003), p. 221. See also Das Oflag 8. Ein Kriegsgefangenenlager in Wutzetz at www.moosburg.org/info/stalag/oflag8.pdf.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*.

2. BA-MA, RW 6: 276, fol. 26; Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 221.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 10

The Germans created Oflag 10 (map 4c) on December 1, 1943, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI, on the site of the disbanded Stalag 391.[1] It was deployed in Montwy (today Mątwy, Poland). In the late summer of 1944, the Germans evacuated the inmates to the west; 350 prisoners were sent to other camps on August 30, 1944, and another 400 on September 7.[2] The Red Army liberated the camp on October 1. The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI).

The camp held French commissioned and noncommissioned officers (NCOs). It held 1,009 prisoners (899 officers and 110 NCOs) on December 1, 1943, 815 prisoners (727 officers and 88 NCOs) on July 1, 1944,[3] and 987 prisoners on July 15, 1944.[4]

By August 1944, the camp had 10 barracks for prisoners, with two washrooms, arranged in a large block. The storage facilities, kitchen, and mess hall were on the southern side of the camp complex. Prisoners had limited access to a long garden to the west. On the east side of the barracks was a large sports field for prisoners' use. Further east lay a series of air-raid trenches.[5] Conditions in the camp were generally decent and in accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. By all accounts, the camp staff and guards treated the prisoners properly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 10 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 10).

Additional information about Oflag 10 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 20; and Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach*

polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwow Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 200.

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Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 20; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.
2. "Oflag 10" in Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau. *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 411–412.
3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 200.
4. "Oflag 10" in Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, p. 411.
5. Lageplan, Oflag 10 (August 20, 1944), BA-MA, RH 49/92.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 52

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 52 (map 4c) on April 15, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II; it was later transferred to Defense District I. It was deployed to Ebenrode (formerly Stallupönen; today Nesterov, Kaliningrad oblast', Russia) on June 16, 1941. The Germans disbanded the camp on June 30, 1942.[1] The unit received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 608 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942; the Germans probably struck the field post number because the camp had become stationary and was located within the borders of the Reich. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was overcrowded, the prisoners were malnourished, sanitation was completely inadequate, and the prisoners did not receive proper medical care, leading to widespread starvation and disease and a high mortality rate. Abuse by the Germans exacerbated the prisoners' plight. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to "weed out" so-called undesirables (Jews and political commissars), who were then shot in the woods near the camp. According to data from the Soviet Extraordinary Commission (ChGK), between 5,000 and 8,000 Soviet prisoners are said to have died at this camp; however, figures from the ChGK have often proven to be too high and should be treated accordingly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 52 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 52).

Additional information about Oflag 52 can be found in the

following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 182.

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 182; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I– XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 53

The Germans created Oflag 53 (map 4c) on April 10, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but it was soon transferred to Wehrkreis I. It was deployed near the village of Pogegen in East Prussia (today Pagėgiai, Lithuania). The Germans disbanded the camp in July 1942 and transferred the prisoners to other camps. The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 196 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). The camp commandant was Major Curt Petters.[1]

Oflag 53 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was located near the rail line to Tilsit (today Sovetsk, Kaliningrad oblast', Russia). It covered a 6 hectare (almost 15 acre) area surrounded by barbed wire. Although the camp was officially an officers' camp, it held only enlisted men. Prisoners at first lived in burrows dug into the ground, which they later deepened, covered with grass, and turned into bunkers. They received two small cups of potato soup per day.[2] In mid-October 1941, the camp held 4,600 prisoners.[3] During the course of the war, about 24,000 prisoners passed through the camp. Conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding and inadequate food and medical care led to malnutrition and disease, which produced a high mortality rate. Abuse by the German guards exacerbated the situation. During September 1941, 40–45 prisoners died each day; by November, this figure rose to about 150 per day. In 1941 and 1942, between 8,000 and 10,000 prisoners reportedly died in the camp.[4]

The Tilsit Gestapo carried out selections (*Aussonderungen*) of "undesirable" prisoners in the camp. Two officials and a translator assigned by the Wehrmacht, aided by prisoner informants, ferreted out Jews and political commissars. A Gestapo and Tilsit Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment, under the command

of SS-Sturmbannführer Böhme, shot these prisoners in the forest near the camp.[5] An October 23, 1941, report from a Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories official named Weiss stated that 650 "Jews and commissars" from among the 4,600 prisoners in the camp had been shot as of October 12, 1941.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 53 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-94-425); LCVA; StA Ludwigsburg (file EL 322), and BArch B 162, V 319 AR 61/71 and 302 AR-Z 31/65.

Additional information about Oflag 53 can be found in the following publications: Tamurbek Dawletschin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen: Erinnerungen eines sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 136–137; Christoph Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," in *Karo belaisviu ir civiliu gyventoju zudynes Lietuvoje, 1941–1944*, ed. Christoph Dieckman, Vytautas Toleikis, and Rimantas Zizas (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2005); Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1997), p. 343.

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NOTES

1. See the report of the interrogation of Curt Petters, StA Ludwigsburg, file EL 322, vol. 8, Bl. 1986.
2. Dawletschin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen*, pp. 136–137.
3. See Weiss's official report of the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories from October 23, 1941, in Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 343.
4. GARF, collection 7021, list 94, case 425, documents 1–38.
5. Landgericht Dortmund, Az.: 10 Ks1/61, Urteil v. 12.10.1961

gegen Krumbach, Gerke, Jahr, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), pp. 767–778.

6. See Weiss's official report of the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories from October 23, 1941, in Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 343.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 54 (IV E)

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 54 (map 4e) on April 9, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. It was deployed in Annaburg. The Germans disbanded the camp on May 31, 1942, and converted it into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag IV D in Torgau.[1] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

Oflag 54 at Annaburg. Roll call in front of a barrack, May 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Oflag 54 held Serbian and British Indian prisoners of war.[2] Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the

1929 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 54 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 54).

Additional information about Oflag 54 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 21; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 195.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 195; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I– XXI 1939 bis 1945. BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 55 (V D)

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 55 (map 4f) in Offenburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V, with an order March 23, 1941, of the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Beeresamt*, AHA). The order initially just designated the duty station of the "Commandant Oflag 55 (V D)."[1] The process of getting the camp organized and open took some time in this case; it began on April 1, 1941, and was completed on May 1, 1942.

The camp retained the dual designation "Oflag 55 (V D)" until it was shut down. This approach was not a common practice. It is probably accounted for by the fact that this camp, when it was organized, was intended also for deployment outside the territory of the Reich. Evidence of that is provided by the allocation of a field post number (*Feldpostnummer*): 10 154, issued between February 1 and July 11, 1941, and canceled again between January 27 and July 14, 1942.[2] Deployment outside Reich territory never took place, however; the camp never left Defense District V.

The camp began operation in Offenburg, at a site in the part of town known as Holderstock. Wooden barracks served as housing for the prisoners. On March 12, 1942, the camp was transferred to Biberach an der Riss. In the process, it took over the former camp area of Oflag V B, which had already been moved to Schaulen (today Šiauliai, Lithuania). The accommodations for the prisoners there consisted of wooden barracks on the grounds of a former military barracks facility on Birkenhardstrasse (also called "Camp Lindele" by the local residents).

Throughout, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) in Defense District V. Oberstleutnant z.V. Alfred Teubner was commandant of the camp from April 12, 1941, to May 15, 1942. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant z.V. Karl Gebhard who served from May 16, 1942, until September 1942, when he was replaced by Oberst Count Vitzum von Eckstädt.[3]

To date, little is known about the guard force. On the basis of the size of the camp, however, one must assume that it was carried out by one company of a reserve battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Oflag 55 (V D) was a decidedly small camp, on average, holding only around 1,000 officers and 100 orderlies (enlisted personnel), according to the monthly reports of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).[4] For the most part, the prisoners of war (POWs) were Yugoslav nationals (from 1941 to 1942). In August 1942, they were joined by approximately 80 French officers with 40 enlisted men as well as 15 Greek officers from Crete.

The majority of the Yugoslav officers were transferred in from Oflag XIII B on May 28, 1941. These were so-called anti-German POWs, whom the Germans separated from the other prisoners. Oflag XIII B had significant security problems due to openly expressed conflicts between Yugoslav groups with political differences. This transfer was an attempt to solve this problem.

Under the Geneva Convention, the officers were not required to work, and there were no work details in Oflag 55 (V D). Activities in support of internal camp operations, however, were customary.

The treatment of the POWs was similar to that in other Oflags in the territory of the Reich. The French and Greeks were treated best, while the Yugoslavs were in a somewhat worse position. Only rarely did they receive support from relief organizations. A library was provided as a service. POWs made up an orchestra and also organized educational activities.

Here, too, visits were made by various delegations. The camp was visited by the ICRC on August 16, 1941, and February 23, 1942, and by the YMCA on August 14, 1941, October 2, 1941, October 26, 1941, and September 1, 1942. The YMCA gave priority to serving the POWs by supplying books, musical instruments, and the like. The ICRC examined the overall living conditions of the POWs and made a concluding assessment in each report. For the visit in Offenburg on February 23, 1942, the summary comment was “an excellent camp.”[5]

Medical care was provided at two levels. Treatment began first

in the camp medical center, which was run, under German oversight, by prisoners who were physicians and by camp personnel. The more serious cases were referred to military hospitals outside the combat zone (with POW wards), in Freiburg and Rottenmünster. The civilian hospital in Offenburg also admitted POWs when necessary.

Oflag 55 (V D) had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Wurzach, housed in the castle there and in barracks on the castle grounds. The branch camp was subordinate to the commandant of Oflag 55 (V D). Formerly, Oflag V C controlled this compound, but on June 5, 1942, by order of the General Army Office, Oflag 55 (V D) took it over, after Oflag V C moved to Lubny. The approximately 700 French prisoners (including officers and orderlies), whom the Germans then moved to Wurzach, played a special role. Thus, they do not appear in the reports of the OKW to the ICRC. Most of these men were Frenchmen from Corsica, whose drive for independence led them to view themselves primarily as Corsicans and only secondarily as Frenchmen. The Germans combined the Corsicans in the subcamp as Project Corsicans and hoped to use them later for the Germans' own political ends. Accordingly, this group received better-than-average treatment, which did not exactly delight the Vichy government.

After only four months, Project Corsicans came to an end, and the POWs were moved to the Rohrsen subcamp of Stalag X C. Camp operations ceased, and the Wurzach subcamp was shut down. On December 1, 1942, the Wurzach camp area was handed over to the Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, which then, on its own responsibility and with its own resources, operated Ilag V C. Wurzach was thereby removed from the Wehrmacht's sphere of responsibility.

At the main camp, all the prisoners were sent away at the beginning of September 1942. The camp now stood empty, but the commandant's office/headquarters was still in existence. British civilian internees from the Channel Islands were now brought to the camp. The military commandant's office thus ran a camp that functioned as an internment camp. This transitional situation, however, lasted only until December 19, 1942, when the camp was closed by order of the General Army Office. The internees and the campgrounds were turned over to the Württemberg Ministry of the

Interior, which then operated Ilag V B. As a result, Biberach an der Riss was removed from the Wehrmacht's sphere of responsibility.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag 55 (V D) is located in AN (F 9/3297); BA-MA (RH 15/97, 49/5, 21, 30; RW 6/270, 59/2128; MSG 194/5/8); BArch B 162/17653; and PAAA R (40973, 40974, 40975, 40976).

Additional information about Oflag 55 (V D) can be found in the following publications: Reinhold Adler, *Das war nicht nur "Karneval im August": Das Internierungslager Biberach an der Riss 1942–45, Geschichte und Hintergründe* (Biberach an der Riss: Biberach Historical Society, 2002); Roger E. Harris, *Islanders Deported* (Ilford: C.I.S.S., 1979); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–45* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1980); and Gisela Rothenhäusler, *Das Wurzacher Schloss 1940–45, ein kleines Kapitel europäischer Geschichte* (Bad Wurzach: Josef Fink, 2008).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Oflag 55 (V D)—BA-MA, RH 53-5/18 and Stammkarte AHA, BA-MA, RH 15/458.
2. See Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht*.
3. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the so-called card file of commandants).
4. For detailed prisoner population figures, see Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.
5. PAAA, R 40376, visit report of the ICRC.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 56

The Wehrmacht created Oflag 56 (map 4c) on April 20, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, but was subsequently transferred to Defense District I.[1] The unit was then deployed to Prostken (today Prostki, Poland).[2] The Wehrmacht gave the order to disband the camp on June 5, 1942. It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 19 312 between February 16 and July 18, 1941, and the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942. The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Although it was officially designated as an officers' camp, the camp actually held only enlisted men. Conditions in the camp were the same as in other camps for Soviet prisoners: severely overcrowded, with inadequate food and sanitation and a lack of proper medical care. This environment led to an extremely high mortality rate, which was exacerbated by deliberate abuse from the German guards. As a result, the prisoner population dwindled quickly from several thousand to a few hundred. On April 1, 1942, there were 278 prisoners in the camp; by June 1, only 198.[3]

As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out so-called undesirables (Jews and political commissars), who were then shot in the woods near the camp. The Białystok Gestapo carried out the prisoner selections, while the Schutzpolizei handled the executions. Squads from 1st Company of the 13th Reserve Police Battalion shot 111 selected prisoners on September 4, 1941, and another 141 on October 3.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 56 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 56); GARF; and BArch B 162/6582: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Oflag 56 bzw. Stalag I E in Prostken (Wehrkreis I).

Additional information about Oflag 56 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw; 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 403; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 208.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 208.
2. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.
3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 403.
4. Kriegstagebuch No. 3 der 1./Res.Pol.Btl.13, GARF 7021-148-186 (entries for September 4, 1941, and October 3, 1941).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 57

The Germans established Oflag 57 (maps 4c and 4f) on April 7, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII. It was deployed to Murnau am Staffelsee. On May 24, 1941, the camp was transferred to Defense District I.[1] In the summer of 1941, the camp was stationed in the city of Scharfenwiese (today Ostrołęka, Poland).[2] In autumn 1941, the camp was redeployed to Białystok. The Germans dissolved the camp on May 25, 1942. The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 701 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between February 27 and July 14, 1942. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Although it was officially an officers' camp, Oflag 57 held primarily Soviet enlisted men and noncommissioned officers. In Białystok, the camp occupied the former barracks of the Polish 10th Cavalry Regiment. Former stables functioned as barracks for the prisoners. Up to 600 men lived in a stable that had previously held 50–60 horses. The prisoners slept in the former horse stalls, in three-tiered bunks. There was no natural daylight in the stables (the windows were closed up or stuffed with rags), no heating or water, and no blankets or mattresses. In the winter of 1941 and 1942, the temperature in the lower bunks descended to −7°C (about 20°F). Part of the space in the stable was used as a room for the barrack police and commandant, another part as a punishment cell, and another as the so-called Sanitary Unit, which was used for the sick and disabled.

The prisoners were fed soup made of frozen rutabagas and frozen, unpeeled potatoes twice a day: 0.3–0.4 liters (10–13.5 fluid ounces) of this so-called soup were allocated in the morning and 0.6–0.7 liters (20.3–23.6 fluid ounces) were given during the day. In the morning and evening, the prisoners were given a half liter (2 cups) of ersatz tea. They were also given a daily allotment of 20–30 grams (0.7–1 ounce) of rotten cheese and 150–190 grams (5.3–

6.7 ounces) of ersatz bread.

The systematic underfeeding, cold, filth, overcrowding, lack of bathing facilities or medical care, and placement of sick prisoners together with healthy prisoners led to general ill health, and an epidemic of typhus and typhoid in November 1941. The camp was put under "quarantine," which simply meant that prisoners were not released from the barracks. Beatings and harassment by the German guards exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. Mortality among the prisoners reached its peak in December 1941 and January 1942, when 80–100 prisoners were dying each day. The dead prisoners were buried in large trenches in the southwestern part of the camp. There were up to eight of these trenches and 500–1,000 corpses were buried in each one. Thus, it can be concluded that several thousand Soviet soldiers died in the camp.[3] On February 1, 1942, there were 11,664 prisoners in the camp.[4]

The Gestapo in Białystok regularly carried out selections of "undesirable" prisoners (Jews and Communists) in the camp. Those selected were then shot near the camp. On October 14, 1941, by order of the Gestapo in Białystok, a team of the 1st Company of the 13th Reserve Police Battalion shot 134 selected prisoners (the majority of whom were Jewish) and on October 30, 1941, they shot another 166 prisoners.[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 57 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 57); GARF; and BArch B 162/29427: Ermittlungen ZSt Dortmund 45 Js 7/70 gg. K. Nicolaus u. A. wg. Verdachts der "Aussonderung" sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener im Oflag 57 in Ostrolenka/Bez. Bialystok.

Additional information about Oflag 57 may be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 394–395; Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion 1941/42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 339; I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Catalog of Graves of Soviet Soldiers, Prisoners of War, and Civilians, Killed in the Second World War and Buried on the Territory of the*

Republic of Poland (Moscow, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 100; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 216.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 216

2. Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, Anlage 3 zu *Einsatzbefehl* No. 8 v. 17.7.1941, in Klein, *Die Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion*, p. 339.

3. Testimony of former prisoner of war Anatolii Chekmarev 11/27/1947, GARF, collection 7021, list 115, case 6, documents 27–31.

4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 100.

5. Kriegstagebuch Nr. 3 der l./Res.Pol.Btl.13, GARF 7021-148-186 (zapisi za 14.10.1941 i 30.10.1941).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 58

The Wehrmacht formed Oflag 58 (maps 4e and 5) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] It was initially deployed in Neuhammer (today Nowa Kuźnia, Poland)[2] but was redeployed in Siedlce, in the Generalgouvernement, a few months later.[3] On August 30, 1941, it was placed at the disposal of the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) z.b.V. Lublin.[4] On October 28, 1941, the Germans converted the camp into Stalag 366.[5] The 991st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp. The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 529 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942.

Conditions in the camp were the same as in other camps that held Soviet prisoners of war. The camp was overcrowded, the food was inadequate, and sanitation and medical care were nonexistent. The result was an extremely high mortality rate, which abuse by the guards exacerbated. The Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out "undesirables" (Jews and political commissars), who were shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD).[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 58 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 58); and BArch B 162/17616–17617: Überprüfung des Oflag 58.

Additional information about Oflag 58 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945,*

Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70 (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 223.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 223; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.

2. OKW, Abt. Kriegsgefangene, Berlin, den 16.6.1941, Betr.: Kriegsgefangenenwesen im Fall Barbarossa (BA-MA, RW 4/578); OKW, Abt. Kriegsgefangene, Berlin, den 26.6.1941, Betr.: Erfassung und Behandlung der russischen Kriegsgefangenen (BA-MA, RW 19/5705).

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 223; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.

4. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.

5. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 223; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.

6. Überprüfung des Oflag 58, BArch B 162/17616–17617.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 60

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 60 (map 4c) between April 15 and April 25, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X, but it was later relocated to Defense District I. It was located near the village of Schirwindt (today Kutuzovo, Krasnoznamenskii raion, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia). The Germans dissolved the camp on May 26, 1942. The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 551 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The camp commandant was first Oberstleutnant Baron von Vietinghoff and was later Major Oelrich. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Berhard Wessel.[1]

Although the camp was officially designated as an officers' camp, it only held enlisted men. The first prisoners had already arrived in the camp by the end of June 1941. In total, approximately 25,000 people passed through the camp. The conditions were the same as those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Overcrowding, inadequate food, and lack of proper medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease. The German guards' abusive treatment exacerbated the prisoners' suffering. This environment caused extremely high mortality, especially in November 1941 and the winter of 1941 and 1942. In total, approximately 11,500 prisoners died in the camp.[2]

The Tilsit Gestapo led selections of "undesirable" prisoners in the camp, which were undertaken by two Gestapo officials and a translator assigned by the Wehrmacht (Emil Staschik). With the help of prisoner informants, they discovered Jews and political commissars in the camp, who, with Kriminal-Sekretär Hans le Coutre in charge, were then executed by a Gestapo team, in the forest near Kudirkos Naumiestis.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 60 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des

Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-94-434); LCVA; and BArch B 162 (207 AR-Z 23/67 and 302 AR-Z 31/65).

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NOTES

1. Interrogation of former Captain Bernhard Wessel 3/16/1971, BArch B 162 (302 AR-Z 31/65, Bd. 1, Bl. 117–120).
2. GARF, collection 7021, list 94, case 434, documents 1–57.
3. BArch B 162 (302 AR-Z 31/65, Bd. 1, Bl. 101, 104–105, 114, 121–124).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 62 (XIII D)

The Wehrmacht formed Oflag 62 (map 4d) between April 15 and April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. The camp deployed to Hammelburg, near Würzburg, and was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). Between November 1 and November 15, 1942, the Germans converted the camp into Oflag XIII D in Nürnberg-Langwasser.[1]

Oflag 62 held Soviet officers. The first prisoners arrived at the camp around July 20, 1941. As early as July 23 and 24, 1941, the first 1,200 prisoners were vaccinated to prevent an epidemic. On August 10, 1941, there were 4,753 prisoners in the camp. On December 1, 1941, there were 5,140, and on June 1, 1942, there were 5,850.[2] In November 1941, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the camp, and as a result the camp was in quarantine from December 1941 until April 1942 and did not accept any new prisoners.[3]

The most prominent prisoners were Lieutenant Generals Filipp Afanasevich Ershakov (d. 1942, Hammelburg), Ivan Muzychenko (d. 1944, Flossenbürg), and Dmitri Mikhailovich Karbyshev (d. 1945, Mauthausen); and Major Generals M. Potapov, Mikhail Timofeëvich Romanov (d. 1943, Hammelburg), V. Zusmanovich, G. Prokhorov, A. Presniakov, A. Kuleshov, and I. Nikitin.

The conditions in the camp, in comparison with those endured by Soviet prisoners of war in other camps, were decent. However, while the camp was deployed in Hammelburg, 488 prisoners died there: 81 between August and December 1941 (the vast majority in November and December 1941), and 407 between January and October 1942.[4]

In the fall of 1941, a Gestapo squad from Nürnberg-Fürth conducted a screening at the camp to weed out "undesirable" prisoners (Jews and political commissars); the prisoners selected for execution were taken to the Dachau concentration camp.[5] In

total, approximately 1,100 prisoners were sent from the camp to Dachau for execution.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 62 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 62); and the Archives of the Schweinfurt Public Prosecutor's Office (case 1aJs 275/70).

Additional information about Oflag 62 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 22–23; Klaus-Dieter Müller et al., "Oflag XIII D Hammelburg," *Gedenkbuch verstorbener sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener: Friedhof Hammelburg* (Kassel: Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V., 2002); Reinhard Otto, Rolf Keller, and Jens Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945: Zahlen und Dimensionen," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 4 (2008); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998), pp. 104–111, 267; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vols. 3 and 5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 251. See also Hammelburg memorial book at www.hammelburg.ru/.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen, Vol. 5*, p. 251; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen, Vol. 3*, p. 277; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 22–23; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Otto, Keller, and

Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam."

2. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 104.

3. See "Oflag XIII D Hammelburg," *Gedenkbuch verstorbener sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*.

4. Spisok umershikh voennoplennykh Krasnoi Armii v ofitserskom lagere 62 (XIII-D) Khammelburg (FRG) v 1941–1945 g.g., http://may1945pobeda.narod.ru/tom-oflag62.htm; *Gedenkbuch verstorbener sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*.

5. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 104–111.

6. Ibid., p. 267. In 1970 the Schweinfurt Public Prosecutor's Office conducted an inquiry into the selection of "undesirable" prisoners in the camp, but the case was dropped due to lack of evidence.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 63

The Germans formed Oflag 63 (map 4c) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII; shortly thereafter, it was transferred to Defense District I.[1] The camp was deployed to Fischborn (today Dłutowo, Poland).[2] It received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 587 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. On June 15, 1942, the camp was made a branch camp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag I F Sudauen; its field post number was struck between January 27 and July 14. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Oflag 63 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Although it was officially designated as an officers' camp, the camp actually held enlisted men. The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The food was inadequate, the camp was horribly overcrowded, and sanitation and medical care were almost nonexistent. The resulting malnutrition and disease led to a high mortality rate, and the number of prisoners in the camp dwindled quickly from several thousand men to several hundred. On February 1, 1942, 3,102 prisoners remained in the camp; on April 1, 1942, there were 838; on May 1, 1942, there were 106; and on June 1, 1942, there were 98 prisoners.[3]

As in other camps, the Germans screened new arrivals to separate out "undesirables" (Jews and political commissars), who were then shot near the camp. The Białystok Gestapo performed the selections and members of the Schutzpolizei carried out the shootings. For example, on September 4, 1941, a squad from 1st Company of the 13th Reserve Police Battalion shot 67 prisoners, and on October 3, 1941, they shot 51 more.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 63 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 63); GARF; and BArch B 162/30122–30123: Ermittlungen ZSt

Dortmund 45 Js 16/70 gg. H. Errelis u.a. Angehörige der Stapostelle Allenstein wg. der Tötung russischer Kriegsgefangener aus den Offizierslagern (Oflag) 56 in Prostken und 63 in Fischborn/Ostpreussen am 4.9.1941.

Additional information about Oflag 63 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Moscow, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Rein-hard Otto, Rolf Keller, and Jens Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945," in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 4 (2008); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 155; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 256.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 256.

2. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Otto, Keller, and Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam."

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251: Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag.

4. Kriegstagebuch Nr. 3 der l./Res.Pol.Btl.13, GARF 7021-148-186 (entries for September 4, 1941, and October 3, 1941).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 64

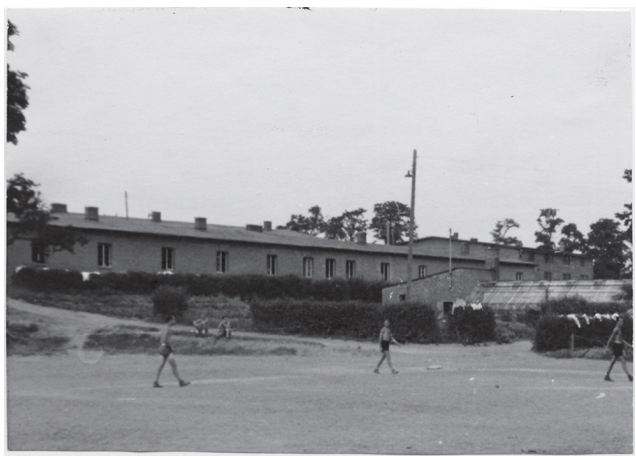
The Wehrmacht opened Oflag 64 (maps 4c and 4e) on March 6, 1943, in the town of Wahlstatt (today Legnickie Pole, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII. On May 14, it moved to a site in the western part of Altburgund, in Defense District XXI (known as Schubin prior to 1941; today Szubin, Poland), where it took over the site of the former Oflag XXI B. Originally, the camp had been a boys' school, which the Germans expanded with the construction of additional barracks. The camp area was surrounded by two barbed wire fences and contained a large three-story stone building and three brick and concrete barracks. The enclosure also contained a theater, sports field, chapel, infirmary, canteen, huts for classes, and several unused barracks fenced off by barbed wire. On May 13, 1943, Oflag 64 also took over a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) at Montwy (today Mątwy, Poland); this facility was used only between the closure of Stalag 391 and the creation of Oflag 10 in late 1943. On September 15, 1943, Oflag 64 added a subcamp at Schokken (today Skoki, Poland).

Oflag 64 held a variety of prisoners, starting with 160 Yugoslav officers and 79 Soviet enlisted men in Wahlstatt. Those prisoners were transferred out at about the time of the move to Altburgund. After that, about 980 British soldiers (mostly enlisted men) and slightly over 200 American soldiers (mostly officers) arrived. By the end of 1943, most of the British had been transferred out, but there were now 316 American officers and 21 enlisted men, plus 194 Italian officers and 107 enlisted. The Germans kept the Italians in the subcamp at Schokken. The number of Italians remained fairly stable, while the number of Americans climbed steadily, finally reaching 1,272 officers and 135 enlisted men by January 1945.[1]

Because the German rations were insufficient to sustain life, the prisoners subsisted primarily on Red Cross parcels. What bread the Germans did provide often caused stomach ulcers, which the camp's eight American medical officers treated. The Germans also

provided no clothing, so the prisoners suffered considerably through the winter of 1944.

Toward the end of the war, overcrowding became a big problem in the camp. By March 1944, the Germans had established additional barracks and latrines, but these served only to ease, not resolve, the demands on the camp infrastructure. The population of American officers in the camp, for example, had grown from 336 in November to 402 in March. Additional barracks failed to keep pace with the escalating prisoner population.[2]



Oflag 64 at Altburgund. Barracks with prisoners in foreground, July 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC

Despite the overcrowding, overall health and conditions remained acceptable, particularly in contrast to the conditions in enlisted men's camps. The barracks remained relatively clean, few hygiene problems were reported, and overall health did not drop significantly. The low quality of the food during the late stages of war, particularly the lack of fresh produce, did result in widespread vitamin deficiencies, but medical officials did not view these problems as serious or particularly threatening.[3]

Reserve-Lazarett Wollstein functioned as the camp hospital for injured or ill prisoners of Oflag 64. The hospital consisted of several complexes and its capacity stood at around 200. Seven wooden buildings functioned as barracks, with the Soviet prisoners

kept separate from other European and Allied forces. In addition, there was an isolation ward, washing facility, recreation building, kitchen, and storage room. Only the operating room was housed in a stone building. Due to the rather basic construction of the camp, it handled only minor surgeries, with more serious cases being moved to a larger military hospital.[4] However, it seems that very few prisoners from Oflag 64 ever had to visit this facility.

While in the hospital, prisoners had access to weekly hot showers and generally better rations than those in the main camp. Prisoners pooled the Red Cross parcels and distributed them collectively. Although conditions were basic, prisoners found the facilities to be adequate overall, with sufficient food, medical attention, and heating.[5]

There was a strong sports program in Oflag 64 as well as interdenominational and Roman Catholic religious services, which the Germans allowed to take place without any interference. Prisoners also had opportunities to attend movies in town with regularity, provided they signed a form renouncing any attempts to escape. The camp theater held prisoner of war (POW)–produced shows, and in the cold winter months the facility took over chapel duties as well.

The American senior officer was Colonel Thomas D. Drake, who served in this capacity until repatriated on July 27, 1944. Colonel George V. Millett replaced Drake until Colonel Paul R. Goode arrived in camp on October 16. The executive officer was Colonel Millett, his assistant was Major K. Hanson, the welfare officer was Lieutenant Colonel John K. Waters (General George S. Patton's son-in-law), and the adjutant was Major Merle A. Meachum.

The German camp personnel consisted of approximately 100 men of the 813th Infantry (Grenadier) Regiment and four administrative officers. The commandant was Oberst Fritz Schneider, his deputy was Oberstleutnant Leuda, the security officer was Hauptmann G. Zimmermann, the welfare officer was Sonderführer W. Theissen, and the camp doctor was Dr. Pongratz.

Relations between the German captors and American prisoners remained proper and impersonal at first; in fact, Oflag 64 was considered to be an excellent camp, much better than many others

that held American officers. However, when the camp became overcrowded in late 1944, relations strained considerably, and some incidents took place that showed a German tendency to provoke ill will in the camp. It seemed that the Germans wanted as many prisoners as possible under sentence.

During the summer of 1944, the Germans marched four American officers to the nearby town of Gneisen for medical treatment. The guards forbade the officers to walk on the pavement, insisting that they walk in the street. The Americans found this to be demeaning and resisted. In the end, the guards permitted the Americans to walk on the sidewalk, but they were charged with "Obstructing the Functions of the German Reich." The Americans were acquitted of the charge, but the Germans retried them in January 1945 and the Americans received a death sentence. It was never carried out, due to liberation by the Red Army. A similar incident took place between the German guards and a Lieutenant James R. Schmitz, this time over German propaganda posters about gangster warfare, which the Americans objected to. Schmitz and Lieutenant Colonel Schaefer were charged with the same thing and found guilty, but again, liberation prevented their executions.

The American POWs were worried that the SS would receive orders to execute them all. MIS-X, the secret American escape organization at Fort Hunt, Virginia, responded to secret coded letters from the X Organization in Oflag 64 and decided to plan a major prisoner raid. Thirty men volunteered from the 101st Airborne Division for a low-level jump to attack and secure the guard house. The plan called for converted B-17 bombers to land close to the camp and evacuate the prisoners. After all the plans were completed at the highest levels, the US Army scrapped them when a large German unit entered Schubin.

The American officers were never required to perform any unauthorized work in camp, but the enlisted prisoners were sent to work in a local sawmill. The prisoners' morale was high, especially after D-Day, June 6, 1944, and they produced a camp journal, the *Oflag Item*, issued from November 1943 to January 1945. Theater, library, and sports activities improved morale as well and were supported heavily by the YMCA. The prisoners also availed themselves of the numerous textbooks to improve their

knowledge about various subjects.

With the Red Army approaching from the east, and the Germans facing the reality of defeat, relations eased considerably. On January 21, 1945, the German commandant informed the senior American officer that the camp was to be evacuated immediately. The able-bodied men left quickly, and the Germans agreed to leave 86 sick behind in the hospital under senior officer supervision. The other 1,471 officers and enlisted men left on foot for the snowy, 345-mile hike to Brandenburg. On January 22, the first Russians appeared on the road near Oflag 64, and the Americans made evacuation plans with them. On January 28, the men left Schubin in Russian trucks for the town of Rembertów and arrived on January 31. On February 22, they left for Odessa, and on March 1, 1945, they boarded ships and airplanes for the trip home.

Of the 1,471 officers and men who left Oflag 64 on the long miserable march, only 423 officers and 67 men completed it to the end, at Oflag XIII B at Hammelburg. Of the rest, some escaped the march and returned to the Soviet lines; others fell out and may have been shot. The trip itself was hazardous: the weather was inclement, very cold and wet, rations were short except for barter with local farmers, and there were no shaving or washing facilities along the route at all. On March 6, 1945, the remaining officers and men on the march boarded a train at Parchim that arrived at Oflag XIII B on March 9. At Hammelburg, a camp full of Soviet POWs, they could at least rest, but their ordeal was not yet over.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 64 is located in "American Prisoners of War in Germany," prepared by the Military Intelligence Service, War Department, 15 July 1944 and 1 November 1945, OFLAG 64, (Ground Force Officers) courtesy of the American Ex-Prisoners of War Association; NARA, Diplomatic Branch, File 711.62114 Mail/—, RG 59; File 711.62114 A/—, "United States Prisoners of War Detained by Germany," RG 59; File 711.62114 A. I. R. "Reports of Inspection of Camps for American Prisoners in Germany," RG 59, File 740.00114 European War 1939/—, "Prisoners of War—European War, 1939," RG 59; and American POW Information Bureau, Office of the Provost Marshal General, RG 389.

Additional information about Oflag 64 can be found in the following publications: Clarence R. Meltessen, *Roads to Liberation from Oflag 64* (San Francisco, CA: Oflag 64 Press, 1990); Robert C. Doyle, *A Prisoner's Duty: Great Escapes in U.S. Military History* (Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Institute Press, 1997); Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 222; *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities during the Second World War*, 3 vols. (Geneva: Red Cross, 1948).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 222.
2. Report by the International Red Cross (April 1, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
3. Report by the International Red Cross (April 24, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
4. Report of the International Red Cross (April 22, 1944), NARA II, RG 289, Box 2143.
5. Ibid.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 65

The Wehrmacht formed Oflag 65 (maps 4b and 4f) on May 26, 1942, from the staff of Oflag V C, which was located in the town of Wurzach (today Bad Wurzach).[1] Beginning in July 1942, the camp was deployed in Lubny (113 miles / 182 kilo-meters east-southeast of Kiev, in Ukraine), where it replaced Dulag 132.[2] On December 15, 1942, the camp was converted into *Legions-Sammellager* Lubny and used to train soldiers for the *Ost-Legionen*.[3] On June 24, 1943, the prisoner of war (POW) camp was officially dissolved. On January 18, 1944, the camp was reestablished as Oflag 65, and, at some point after that, the camp deployed to Strasbourg, but information about the camp during this period is not available. At least from September 1944 to the end of January 1945, the camp was located in Barkenbrügge (later Barkniewko, Poland, about 4.75 miles / 7.7 kilometers west of Okonek).[4]

While it was deployed in Wurzach, Oflag 65 was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V). In the summer of 1942, the camp was under the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group B (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes* B). In the fall of 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Military Commander of Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*), and, subsequently, to the 162nd (Turkoman) Infantry Division. While deployed in Barkenbrügge, it was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II.

While it was deployed in occupied Ukraine, Oflag 65 held Soviet POWs. During the deployment in Barkenbrügge, the camp held primarily Serbian officers. On October 1, 1944, there were 1,608 Serbian officers and 205 Soviet and Serbian orderlies in the camp. On January 1, 1945, there were 2,606 Serbian officers and

306 Soviet and Serbian orderlies.[5]

At the end of January 1945, as a result of the approach of the Red Army, the camp evacuated to the west via Oflag II D. The Red Army liberated the camp on January 31, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 65 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 65); and BArch B 162/17761–17764: Überprüfung des Oflag 65.

Additional information about Oflag 65 can be found in the following publications: Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, "Obozy jenieckie na Ziemi Koszalinskiej (1939–1945)," in *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Ziemi Koszalińskiej w latach 1933–1945*, ed. Andrzeja Czechowicza (Koszalin: Okre gowa Komisja badania zbrodni hitlerowskich, 1968), pp. 104–105; Tadeusz Gasztold, "Obozy jenieckie na Pomorzu Zachodnim w łatach 1939–1945," *Zapiski Koszalińskie* 2, no. 26 (1966); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 24; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 92; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 266.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 266.
2. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11.8.1942, NARA, RG 242, T 501, roll 18, frame 643.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 266.
4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 92.

5. Ibid.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 66

The Germans established Oflag 66 (map 4a) on December 15, 1944, in Osnabrück-Eversheide, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, but it was placed under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X); there is no clear explanation for this anomaly in the existing sources on the camp.

Oflag 66 held imprisoned officers, mainly French and Belgian, with their orderlies. The maximum number of prisoners in the camp is listed in one source as 2,400;[1] however, another source states that the camp held 3,349 Yugoslav officers and 217 orderlies.[2] Conditions in the camp were satisfactory and generally in compliance with the 1929 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Allied forces liberated the camp on April 5, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 66 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 66); and StA Osnabrück.

Additional information about Oflag 66 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 24; and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 223.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 223.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 67

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 67 (map 4b) in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II on January 20, 1944, from the staff of Stalag 371. It was deployed to Neubrandenburg.[1] The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 667 on January 24, 1944. On December 4, 1944, the camp ceased to be independent and became a branch of Stalag II A known as a "Teillager Oflag."[2] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

The camp held mainly Dutch officers with their orderlies, in addition to a small number of Soviet officers; soldiers of other nationalities, including French, Belgian, British, Polish, and Serbian, also passed through the camp.[3] The table below shows the camp population on selected dates in 1944:[4]

Date	Dutch officer/ orderlies	Soviet officers	Total
March 1, 1944	1,516/336	200	2,052
April 1, 1944	1,527/337	201	2,065
May 1, 1944	1,532/340	201	2,073
June 1, 1944	1,542/354	193	2,089
August 1, 1944	1,290/357	130	1,777
September 1, 1944	1,302/365	130	1,797
October 1, 1944	1,320/360	130	1,810
November 1, 1944	1,321/372	150	1,843
December 1, 1944	1,332/372	169	1,863

The conditions for the officers were generally satisfactory and in

accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, the barracks were relatively primitive, and recreational activities were limited. Religious services were held regularly in the camp.[5]

Oflag 67 at Neubrandenburg. Orderlies (batmen) transporting soup, date unknown. COURTESY OF ICRC.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 67 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 67).

Additional information about Oflag 67 can be found in the following publications: Markus Eikel, *Französische Katholiken im Dritten Reich: Die religiöse Betreuung der französischen Kriegsgefangenen und Zwangsarbeiter 1940–1945* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1999), p. 186; Stichting Holländerei, *Niederländer und Flamen in Berlin 1940–1945: KZ-Häftlinge, Inhaftierte, Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1996), pp. 117–119; Dieter Krüger, *"Doch sie liebten das Leben": Gefangenenlager in Neubrandenburg 1939 bis 1945* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 1990); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2

(Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 24; Rainer Szczesiak, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager im Raum Neubrandenburg* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 2009), pp. 64–65; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 276.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 276. According to Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24, from September 1944, the camp supposedly was deployed in Barkenbrügge, but this is clearly an error, as Oflag 65 was stationed in Barkenbrügge from September 1944 to January 1945.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

3. Stichting Holländerei, *Niederländer und Flamen in Berlin*, p. 118.

4. Krüger, *"Doch sie liebten das Leben."*

5. Eikel, *Französische Katholiken im Dritten Reich*, p. 186.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 68

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 68 (map 4c) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII. On May 24, 1941, it was moved to Defense District I.[1] The camp was located in the village of Krzywólka, about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) northwest of Sudauen (today Suwałki, Poland).[2] On June 15, 1942, the camp was converted into Stalag I F Sudauen.[3] Oflag 68 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 962 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I *(Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Oflag 68 held Soviet prisoners of war. Although the camp was formally classified as an Oflag (an officers' camp), it actually functioned as a Stalag (enlisted men's camp). The camp occupied an area of about 20 hectares (almost 50 acres). A barbed wire fence and guard towers were built to fortify the compound. When the first prisoners arrived, no barracks existed on the site, and the prisoners had to sleep in holes they dug in the ground; many prisoners died of exposure as a result. Barracks were not built in the camp until several months after it opened. The prisoners' food rations were also insufficient. They received about 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a liter (4 cups) of watery soup per day; with such minimal rations, starvation set in rapidly.[4] Infectious diseases such as typhus and dysentery were also widespread in the camp. In addition to the terrible living conditions, the prisoners also suffered from deliberate abuse by the guards; for example, one witness recalled that a German soldier tasked with distributing bread to the prisoners repeatedly beat a man with his rifle butt for no reason.[5]

Witnesses reported that the population of the camp in the fall of 1941 was between 10,000 and 20,000, but malnutrition, disease, exposure, and exhaustion took a heavy toll on the prisoners and the population of the camp decreased drastically during the following winter. By February 1942, there were only 1,766 prisoners left in

the camp.[6]

As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then shot in the woods near the camp. The selections were conducted by personnel from the Sudauen Gestapo office and the executions were carried out by Schutzpolizei units.[7] No official figures on the number of deaths in Oflag 68 are available from the ChGK or other sources, but it can be safely assumed based on reports from eyewitnesses (several of whom claimed to have seen bodies buried by the hundreds) and the above population statistics that thousands of prisoners died in the camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 68 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 68); and BArch B 162/16382, 17618–17619.

Information about Oflag 68 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Moscow: 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 24; A. Omelanowicz, "Walka podziemna z okupantem hitlerowskim na Suwalszczyzny w latach 1939–1944," in *Studia i materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny* (Białystok: PWN, 1965), pp. 403–405; Reinhard Otto, Rolf Keller, and Jens Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 4 (2008); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 481; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 5: Die Landstreitkräfte 31-70* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1971), p. 283. See also Witold Sielicki—relacja z pobytu w niemieckim obozie jenieckim Stalag I F Oflag 68 SUDAUEN (Suwałki) at http://ojczyzna-suwalszczyzna.pl/witold-sielicki-

relacja-z-pobytu-w-niemieckim-obozie-jenieckim-stalag-i-f-oflag-68-sudauen-suwalki/.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 283.

2. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: in BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Otto, Keller, and Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 4 (2008).

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

4. Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Kriegsgefangenenlager Suwalki (Oflag 68 bzw. Stalag I F) zwischen Juni 1941 und Ende 1944, BArch B 162/16382, Bl. 70–71 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2940.00000651–00000652).

5. Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Kriegsgefangenenlager Suwalki (Oflag 68 bzw. Stalag I F) zwischen Juni 1941 und Ende 1944, BArch B 162/16382, Bl. 74 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2940.00000655).

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, in: Barch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag).

7. See Überprüfung des Oflag 68, BArch B 162/17618–17619.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 73

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 73 on January 29, 1944, from Stalag 333 in Beniaminów, in the Generalgouvernement. It remained in Beniaminów, 23 kilometers (14.5 miles) north-northeast of Warsaw, until April 1944. While it was deployed in Beniaminów, Oflag 73 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in the Praga district of Warsaw and also had authority over a prisoner of war (POW) reserve hospital (*Kriegsgefangenen Reserve-Lazarett*) in Błonie. In April 1944, the headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of Oflag 73 was transferred to Nürnberg-Langwasser in Germany (map 4d).[1] In November 1944, the camp ceased to be an independent camp and was converted into a branch of Stalag XIII D, known as Stalag XIII D/Teillager Oflag Nürnberg. On January 29, 1944, Oflag 73 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 14 231. The number was struck on September 11, 1944.

From January to April 1944, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of POWs in the Generalgouvernement of Poland. From April to November, it was subordinate to the Commander of POWs in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII.

From January to April 1944, the camp held Soviet and Italian prisoners (including officers), and thereafter it held only Italian officers and orderlies. In September 1944, a number of Romanian officers and orderlies also arrived in the camp, and, in October 1944, some Polish officers joined them. The Germans had captured the Polish officers during the Warsaw Uprising that fall. Within that group, the best-known individuals were the leader of the uprising, General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, and other officers including Tadeusz Pełczyński, Antoni Chruściel, Albin Skroczyński, Kazimierz Sawicki, and Tadeusz Kossakowski, in addition to a field-grade officer, Colonel Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki.[2] On February 5, 1945, the Polish prisoners were transferred to Oflag IV C.

The table that follows shows the number of prisoners in the camp on selected dates in 1944.[3]

Information on the conditions for Soviet prisoners is limited. Generally speaking, Soviet prisoners tended to fare the worst, although conditions were almost certainly not as bad in Oflag 73 as they had been in other camps in the period between 1941 and 1942. Nonetheless, as the end of the war approached, conditions in the camp probably deteriorated significantly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 73 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 73).

Additional information about Oflag 73 can be found in the following publications: Stanisław Jankowski ("Agaton"), *Z fałszywym Ausweisem w prawdziwej Warszawie: Wspomnienia 1939–1946*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1996), pp. 476–493; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Erika Sanden, *Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Nürnberg-Langwasser 1939–1945* (Nuremberg: Pädagogisches Institut der Stadt Nürnberg, 1993).

Date	Officers	Orderlies	Soviets	Officers	Orderlies	Officers	Orderlies
February 1, 1944	2,934		2,286	—	—	—	—
April 1, 1944	—	—	6,851	—	—	—	—
May 1, 1944	2,406	368	—	—	—	—	—
June 1, 1944	2,133	308	—	—	—	—	—
July 1, 1944	99	291	—	—	—	—	—
September 1, 1944	1,953	179	—	—	—	—	—

October 1, 1944	1,927	176	—	63	6	—	—
November 1, 1944	2,547	165	—	65	2	13	7

NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl no. 52 vom 15.5.1944: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. von Mitte November 1943 bis 15. Mai 1944, BArch B 162/29362.

2. Jankowski, *Z fałszywym Ausweisem*, pp. 476–493.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 76

The Wehrmacht created Oflag 76 (map 5) on February 1, 1944, by reorganizing Stalag 328 in Lwów (German: Lemberg; today L'viv, Ukraine). The camp remained in Lemberg throughout its existence, with a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in the town of Drogobych (today Drohobych, Ukraine), about 65 kilometers (40 miles) to the southwest. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*).

Oflag 76 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). By this time in the war, conditions had improved somewhat (and were certainly better than they had been in 1941 and 1942), but they were still harsher for Soviet POWs than for prisoners of other nationalities, and death rates were quite high. On May 9, 1944, the order was given to disband the camp.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 76 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 76), GARF (files 7021-67-77, 7021-58-23), and DALO (file P 3-1-278).

Additional information about Oflag 76 can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987).

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OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 77

The Germans established Oflag 77 (map 5) on January 13, 1944, by restructuring Stalag 307.[1] The camp was located in the fortress in the city of Dęblin-Irena in the Generalgouvernement. The camp also had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Zajezierce, 5 kilometers (3 miles) to the southwest.

The camp held Soviet officers. In April 1944, the camp held 1,282 prisoners. In June 1944, it held 2,131 prisoners.[2] The Wehrmacht disbanded Oflag 77 on August 19, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 77 is located in BA-MA (RW 6/450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 77).

Additional information about Oflag 77 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Catalog of Burial Places of Soviet Soldiers, Prisoners of War, and Civilians Who Were Killed during the Second World War and Buried in the Republic of Poland* (Moscow, 2003); G, Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 153–154; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 38.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 38.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 154.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 78 [VII E]

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 78 (map 4f) on April 30, 1941, in Grossgmain, near Salzburg. Starting in August 1941, the camp deployed to Hohenfels, in Bavaria, where it received the additional designation of Oflag VII E.

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII). Oflag 78 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 799 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

Oflag 78 was used to hold officers from the Balkans. No information on the conditions in the camp is available. The Wehrmacht disbanded Oflag 78 on May 26, 1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 78 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453; RH 49/5); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 78); and BArch B 162/17765–17766: Überprüfung des Oflag 78.

Further information about Oflag 78 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 7: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 45 [note that this source contains errors about the camp].

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 79

The Chief of Prisoners of War in the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) created Oflag 79 (map 4a) with the order OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen no. 2003/44, dated April 29, 1944, from the staff of Oflag VIII F.[1] The camp was deployed in Querum, about 3 kilometers (1.86 miles) northeast of the city center of Braunschweig, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI. The camp functioned until April 12, 1945, when American troops liberated it. The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI).

Oflag 79 held British officers and their orderlies, some of them captured during the abortive airborne attack on Arnhem. The camp was located in the former barracks of a German parachute regiment. The table below shows the number of prisoners in the camp in 1944:[2]

Date	Officers	Orderlies	Total
June 1	1,724	169	1,893
July 1	1,716	169	1,885
September 1	1,955	169	2,124
October 1	1,925	169	2,094
November 1	2,154	171	2,325
December 1	2,187	217	2,404

The conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory but grew worse as the war went on. At one point, an errant American bombing raid, apparently aimed at the neighboring Hermann Göring aircraft works, hit the camp. None of the prisoners was killed, but the camp kitchen was destroyed, and thereafter the quality of the food decreased markedly. Lieutenant Edmund Scrivener, who arrived in the fall of 1944, wrote:

> The rations dealt out to us from our captors were a bare minimum; a few boiled potatoes a day and a small piece of black bread once a week. And once a week was enough; it tasted awful. However, [we received] a Red Cross parcel every week, which [was] about the size of a shoe box and contained all sorts of goodies like cigarettes, corned beef, dried milk, spam which made life bearable. But it couldn't last.

By Christmas the country was in such a state that no trains from Switzerland, or lorries from Sweden could get through, and soon the number of parcels dwindled first to one a fortnight, then to one a month, and finally stopped completely. Life was no longer a joke and some astonishing trading went on.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 79 is located in BA-MA (RW 6/452–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 79); TNA (WO 311/138: Oflag 8F, Mahrisch Trubau, Czechoslovakia, and Oflag 79, Brunswick Querum, Germany— killing and ill-treatment of officer POWs; WO 361/1844: Prisoners of war, Germany: Oflag 79, Braunschweig-Querum [formerly Oflag VIIIF], reports by the International Red Cross; WO 309/24: Oflag 79, Brunswick, Germany—killing of Indian POW; TS 26/336: Oflag 79—murder of Subedar Jhuthar Mal; KV 2/626, KV 2/627, KV 2/377, KV 2/378, KV 2/379, KV 2/380; WO 208/3292: Oflag VIIIF [79] Querum Brunswick; WO 309/695: Oflag 79, Brunswick, Germany— shooting and ill-treatment of POWs; FO 916/1153: Oflag IX A/Z, XII B, 79, Bad Soden); and NARA (Record Group 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War, created 1942– 1947, documenting the period 12/7/1941–11/19/1946, 36 partial records for Oflag 79).

Additional information about Oflag 79 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 26. See also The Wartime Memories Project—Oflag 79 POW Camp at http://www.wartimememoriesproject.com/ww2/pow/powcamp.php?pid=2157; and Testimony of Edmund Filford

Scrivener, http://www.pegasusarchive.org/pow/edmund_scrivener.htm.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl no. 52 vom 15.5.1944: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. von Mitte November 1943 bis 15. Mai 1944, BArch B 162/29362, Bl. 4.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost-u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag).

3. Testimony of Edmund Scrivener. http://www.pegasusarchive.org/pow/edmund_scrivener.htm.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 80

The Wehrmacht established Oflag 80 (map 4b) on November 20, 1944, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II, from the staff of Oflag II A. The camp was located in Prenzlau, Brandenburg.[1] The camp was under the command of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

Oflag 80 held primarily Belgian officers and orderlies. There were about 3,000 total prisoners in the camp. Conditions for the prisoners were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the requirements of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1929. On April 12, 1945, two stray Soviet bombs struck the camp, killing eight prisoners and wounding several more. The Red Army liberated the camp on April 28, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag 80 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 80).

Further information about Oflag 80 is available in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 5. See also https://prenzlau-smb.de/piwigo/lexikon/Texte/Militaer/oflag-iia.htm.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 5; Liste der

Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) 83

The Wehrmacht formed Oflag 83 (map 4a) on February 21, 1944 (by order of the Armed Forces High Command [OKW] Chef Kriegsgefangenen No. 158/44, dated January 7, 1944), on the former site of Stalag 329 in Wietzendorf, about 5 kilo-meters (3 miles) north of Hannover, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X).

Oberst Bernardi was the camp commandant, Hauptmann Deichsel served as the deputy commandant until the summer of 1944, Hauptmann Rörich was the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer, and the camp officers (*Lageroffiziere*) were Hauptmann Leimberger (mentioned in some documents as Leimserger) until September 1944, and then Hauptmann Jahn. Hauptmann von Mollerius was in charge of postal and package services (search, censorship, and eventual seizing of goods), Hauptmann Girtler was the camp's chief doctor responsible for the infirmary, and Hauptmann Reinschmidt was in charge of the labor office.[1]

The camp was reserved for Italian officers detained as "military prisoners" (the German term, meant to make the prisoners' plight seem milder) and not recognized as prisoners of war (POWs). The highest number of prisoners, reached in the spring 1945, was 6,000. A few days before liberation, 2,000 French officers sent from a hospital camp close to Nienburg arrived at Oflag 83 (the elderly Colonel Duluc was their spokesperson).

Because the Germans reserved Oflag 83 for Italian military prisoners for almost its entire existence, the camp did not come close to meeting the standards provided for by the Geneva Convention. The barracks were narrow, dark, and cramped (each little room of 9.4 by 17 meters [30.8 by 55.8 feet] accommodated 50–90 men) and consisted of disjointed concrete blocks unsuitable for repair after harsh winters. The floors consisted of blocks of

reinforced concrete laid down directly onto the soil; they were in a very bad state of maintenance, similar to the roofs, which lacked attics and consisted of simple wooden planks.[2] Rooms were equipped with heaters but the supply of peat (used as fuel) was inadequate, and its distribution was even suspended during the fall and winter months of 1944.[3] Problems with the cold were common for the captured officers, especially since many of them were wearing summer uniforms at the time of their capture; they never received warmer clothing and only had one blanket each.

The hygienic arrangements were primitive: shared bathrooms consisted of shacks with wooden platforms over concrete pits. The sewage had to be loaded into open wagons with pumps and buckets. Bathrooms in the barracks, for use at night or during air raids, consisted of nothing more than holes above small wooden boxes. Liquid waste ran through open ditches to pits at the edge of camp, which was also the destination for solid waste.[4] Not only did this arrangement create a disgusting and unhealthful atmosphere and add to infestations of vermin, but it also contaminated the camp's water supply, which came through pipes from only 8–12 meters (26.2–39.4 feet) below the surface. The water had to be boiled to be made potable. The food was also insufficient and of poor quality.[5]

The infirmary had at its disposal about 60 out of 100–120 beds received in January 1945 following the designation of new rooms for hospitalization purposes. There was no anteroom, so the officers had to wait for their visits in a line outside. Sanitary and surgical tools were virtually nonexistent; medications were limited to basic preparations administered by the German personnel and distributed in "weekly rations" irrespective of an illness's development.

Since the Germans did not recognize the Italian prisoners as POWs, the latter could not receive help from the International Red Cross or the Italian Red Cross (South). The Nazi authorities handled both postal and package services, and any new supplies of food, sanitation, or clothing had to arrive by means of Internees Assistance Services (SAI) or the Italian Red Cross (North).[6] Detainees were allowed to receive letters and packages from their acquaintances or family but only if sent from territories under Nazi-Fascist control: the number of officers eligible for obtaining

help and news from Italy was thus continuously diminishing with the advance of the Allied front. In terms of assistance lent by SAI, this was limited to the negligible average of 4–5 kilograms (8.8–11 pounds) of food per person (delivered in three different transports from the camp's foundation until liberation). It included no supplies of new clothing or basic essentials for living.[7]

The Italians were allowed to organize cultural activities. The camp's elderly Lieutenant Colonel Pietro Testa sought to take maximum advantage of this opportunity by giving practical lessons to the officers (such as lessons in hygiene that taught them how to protect against infectious diseases or infestations caused by lice) but, most importantly, to strengthen their will to remain in the camp and not collaborate with the Nazis and the Salò government (Italian Social Republic).[8] The programs of the "Speaking Journal '83" (*Giornale Parlato* '83) conferences, combined with several officers' diaries, help us understand how *lecturae dantis*, along with the lectures on the *Risorgimento* and civil rights, served as a means not only for spending free time but also for bolstering resistance.[9] Special spaces inside the camp were reserved for these activities: a building used as a rudimentary theater, a library that grew from an initial 150 books to around 2,000, and a chapel decorated with various ornaments that several officers had recovered.[10] The activities and religious functions had to be approved (on the basis of a written program presented to the German command) and took place in the presence of censors; using write-ups or personal diaries was not allowed but drawings could be used during performances. However, not a small number of officers managed to jot down and eventually hide notes, some of which are now available in their original form.[11]

The Germans' treatment of the Italian military prisoners was generally brutal and arrogant, and at times criminal. They applied collective punishments, and the sentries fired on the prisoners repeatedly and for no good reason, wounding many gravely and, in one case, even killing an officer.[12] The camp was equipped with underground punishment cells that were devoid of heating and so small that one could neither stand nor sit, only "curl up sideways."[13] Officers in confinement were given a single ration of bread daily, and forbidden to exercise or to practice religion, even during long-term punishments.[14] The treatment of Italians further

worsened after the Germans began attempting to civilianize them, that is, to strip them of their military status and to make them agree to work for the Reich. The pressure took the form of food ration cuts, collective punishments, maltreatment, beatings, threats, and psychological pressure. Opposing collaboration meant harsh incarceration and punishment camp for many Italian military prisoners. Testa recalls, in particular, the cases of Lieutenant Colonel Cesare De Palma sentenced to five months of harsh imprisonment for anti-German propaganda; Lieutenant Crucioli, sentenced at first to three months for hiding two radio receivers and, after his return to the camp, to an additional two months for anti-Nazi propaganda;[15] and Major Viviano, Captain Carlo Radonich, Captain Enzo Masnada, and Major Giovan Battista Capurro, whom the Germans expelled from the camp as "undesirables" due to anti-Nazi propaganda. On September 12, 1944, a group of officers whom the Germans forced to work against their will forwarded, through Testa, a formal protest note to the camp's German command, in which they pointed out their right as officers not to work for an enemy nation, as stipulated in the Geneva Convention of 1929.[16]

Transfers of forced laborers continued. Many officers whom the Germans forced to leave Oflag 83 refused to work even when ordered to do so. At that point, the Gestapo intervened and sent those deemed "recalcitrant" to both penal camps (*Straflager*) and labor reeducation camps (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[17] Testa opposed the forced labor program with all his power. He even wrote to the camp's command and, through them, on to the OKW.[18] Testa also attempted to make contact with the Allies and the International Red Cross: these two missions were entrusted to two Italian prisoners about to leave the camp: Enrico Adami and Ciro Ciompi. Capitano Adami, who fell sick and was to be moved to the hospital camp in Nienburg, left on December 10, 1944, carrying with him a report for the International Red Cross on hygienic and sanitary conditions in the camp. The outcome of this mission was released later in a statement after the liberation: Adami was never allowed to see representatives of the International Red Cross but managed to deliver a copy of the report to a French chaplain, as well as two soldiers (a Belgian man and French woman) who eventually returned to their home

countries to forward the letter to the Red Cross.[19] The second mission was entrusted to the Second Lieutenant Ciompi: his plan was to leave Oflag 83 pretending to be a labor volunteer before reaching the Allied lines. Ciompi left the camp on January 12, 1945, but never managed to successfully accomplish his mission.[20] Dispatches of the officers as forced laborers came to an end in March 1945 when the war was practically over.

On April 13, 1945, the officers woke up to a semideserted camp; the majority of German personnel had left Oflag 83. On April 16, British Major Cooley arrived at the camp with his troops and proclaimed the camp liberated but left it unguarded; the following day, a group of SS in retreat set themselves up in the camp and regained control over it. On April 22, the Germans gave permission to both Italian and French prisoners capable of walking to cross the Allied lines during a specially negotiated armistice.[21]

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag 83 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 452–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag 83); and BArch B 162/6753 (Misshandlung und Gewaltanwendung gegenüber italienischen Kriegsgefangenen im Oflag 83 in Wietzenburg von September 1943 bis April 1945). The most complete document on life in Oflag 83 is perhaps the report prepared by Lieutenant Colonel Pietro Testa (Archivio Anei, Pietro Testa, Wietzendorf)—there is an edited version of the report: Pietro Testa, *Wietzendorf* (Rome: Centro Studi sulla Deportazione e l'Internamento, 1998). Other reports on the Oflag are present in the Historical Archives of the General Staff of the Army (I/3, b 163, 3); with respect to the work carried out by the SAI and the Northern Italian Red Cross, some information can be found in Asc Cri. Compared to the surveys carried out at the former Oflag regarding voluntary work or the officers obligation to work, in addition to the annexes to the Testa report, refer to Fondazione Micheletti, Documentary and memorial fund of the tournaments, Vittorio Emanuele Giuntella, original documents, b. 1, f. 01/6, sf. 3: "Disciplinary legal study on voluntary work," Wietzendorf. The Anei Archive preserves in the Diari fond a number of original and unpublished journals written by officers in the Oflag.

Additional information about Oflag 83 can be found in the

following publications: Mario Avagliano and Marco Palmieri, *"Gli Internati Militari Italiani," Diari e lettere dai lager nazisti 1943–1945* (Milan: Einaudi, 2009); Enzo De Bernart, *Da Spalato a Wietzendorf, 1943–1945: Storia degli internati militari italiani* (Milan: Mursia, 1973); Ugo Dragoni, *La scelta degli I.M.I: Militari italiani prigionieri in Germania (1943–1945)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1996); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Alessandro Natta, *L'altra Resistenza: I militari italiani internati in Germania* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997); Leandro Pizzarotti, *Mondo capovolto: Diario di prigionia 1943–1945* (Parma: Battei, 2010); Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich, 1943 bis 1945: Verraten, verachtet, vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten*

Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 6: Die Landstreitkräfte 71-130 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1972), p. 73; and Pietro Testa, *Wietzendorf* (Rome: 1st ed., Sansoni, 1946; 2nd ed., CSDI [ANEI], 1973).

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NOTES

1. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: dal Ten. Col P. Testa al Comando delle truppe britanniche, prot. 43, cit. Una relazione sullo Stalag 329 fu consegnata a Testa dall'anziano del campo, cpt. Giovan Battista Rizzardini: cfr. Archivio ANEI, Pietro Testa, Wietzendorf relazione originale, allegato 34. Copia della relazione anche in Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (Aussme), Diari Storici, b. 2256.

2. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: Relazione sulle condizioni igieniche del campo di Wietzendorf (Oflag 83) per prigionieri italiani (ufficiali) in Germania del Cpt.

Medico G. De Palma (senza data, firma autografa); cfr. anche Aussme, I/3, b. 163, 3: Lettera dell'Alto Commissario per i prigionieri di guerra allo Stato Maggiore Generale di Roma, del 25 maggio 1945, trasmissione in allegato della relazione del ten. Antonio Bozzani sull'Oflag 83.

3. Testa, *Wietzendorf*, p. 122.

4. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: Relazione sulle condizioni igieniche del campo di Wietzendorf (Oflag 83) per prigionieri italiani (ufficiali) in Germania del Cpt. Medico G. De Palma (senza data, firma autografa).

5. Ibid.

6. Nel marzo 1944 il Comitato provinciale Croce Rossa di Verona spedì in Germania 8000 pacchi di medicinali (di peso compreso tra i 120 gr e i 3 kg) diretti a vari campi tra cui l'Oflag 83, l'Oflag 73 lo Stalag XB e lo Stalag II A: Archivio Storico Centrale Croce Rossa Italiana (Asc Cri), Direzione e servizi amministrativi, Prigionieri di Guerra, Profughi e dispersi, Ricerche internati italiani in Germania, b. 6/L4sx/C555, f. "Croce Rossa Italiana, Ufficio Prigionieri, Servizio ricerche e connessi": Notiziario n. 3, Roma, 31 marzo 1945. Un altro documento registra la partenza di 60 casse di medicinale dirette agli Oflag 83, 73 e XB nel dicembre 1944: Asc Cri, Direzione e servizi amministrativi, Prigionieri di Guerra, Profughi e dispersi, Ricerche internati italiani in Germania, b. H4 M23, f. "Raccolta buoni in uscita dei medicinali spediti": Croce Rossa Italiana, prot. n. 29 df, Milano, 5 dicembre 1944 (firmato: ufficiale chimico farmacista Micciché dr. Gaetano).

7. Archivio ANEI, Testa, *Wietzendorf*, passim; Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: dal ten. col. Pietro Testa al Comando britannico e al Comando francese di Bergen, 23 aprile 1945, Bergen.

8. Archivio ANEI, Testa, *Wietzendorf*, vol. II, allegato 3–19.

9. For example, Archivio ANEI, Diari: Giovanni Gasbarro, Diario, p. 36, annotazione del 3 maggio '44 e p. 43

annotazione del 30 maggio '44; G. Guareschi, Il Grande diario, Milano, Rizzoli, 2008, passim.

10. Testa, *Wietzendorf*, pp. 35–52.

11. For example, Archivio ANEI, Diari: Giuseppe Battaglini, 4 quaderni manoscritti; Ivi: Incasciato Francesco, Diario, copia dattiloscritta.

12. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: dal Ten. Col. P. Testa al Comando delle truppe britanniche, 22 giugno 1945 cit.

13. Ministero della Difesa, Commissariato Generale Onoranze Caduti in Guerra (a cura di), Militari italiani caduti nei lager nazisti di prigionia e sterminio, Roma, Commissariato Generale Onoranze Caduti in Guerra, p. 62.

14. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: dal Ten. Col. P. Testa al Comando delle truppe britanniche, Wietzendorf, 22 giugno 1945, prot. 43

15. Archivio ANEI, Wietzendorf, busta Documenti: dal Ten. Col. P. Testa al Comando delle truppe britanniche, 22 giugno 1945, cit.

16. Archivio ANEI, Pietro Testa, Wietzendorf relazione originale, allegato 153, protocollo n. 918/7 del 13/9/44.

17. Archivio ANEI, Pietro Testa, Wietzendorf relazione originale, allegato 167 all'annesso, dichiarazione rilasciata il 6/6/45 dal s. ten. Emilio Mello Bella, dal ten. Emilio Craparo e dal ten. Dante Draghi; Archivio ANEI, Pietro Testa, Wietzendorf relazione originale, allegato 170 (dichiarazione del sottotenente Vincenzo Russo) allegato 171 (dichiarazione firmata da 18 ufficiali) ed allegato 172 (dichiarazione firmata dal capitano Antonio Serafino, dal sottotenente Carlo Iannetti e dal sottotenente Carmine Console).

18. Copia dei documenti in Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Asv), Ufficio Informazioni Vaticano, Sezione Archivio, b. 1728: prot 00625696 dal ten. col. Pietro Testa al col. Bernardi, 30 gennaio 1945, Wietzendorf; Ivi: dal ten. col. Pietro Testa al col

Bernardi, 10 febbraio 1945, Wietzendorf (in allegato la lettera indirizzata all'OKW). I documenti sono stati pubblicati in Testa, *Wietzendorf*, allegato 20, allegato 21 e allegato 22.

19. Testa, *Wietzendorf*, allegato 19.

20. Ibid., p. 222.

21. Ibid., pp. 142–163.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) II A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag II A (map 4b) on August 28, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II and deployed it to Prenzlau, Brandenburg. On November 20, 1944, the camp was converted into Oflag 80.[1]

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II). The first commandant of the camp (until the beginning of June 1940) was Colonel Jesco von Puttkamer (1876–1959). The 5th Company of the 281st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp.[2]

The camp originally held Polish officers. At the end of March 1941, Belgian officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) replaced the Poles, who were transferred to Oflag II E in Neubrandenburg. Until July 22, 1943, the Belgian man of confidence was Luitenant-generaal Edouard van den Berghen. His deputy was Luitenant-generaal Alexis van der Veken.

The camp consisted of two parts, Camp A and Camp B. Camp A held roughly 2,700 officers, while Camp B held about 300 NCOs. Camp A consisted of seven three-story units (A-E), which included three residential units and a gymnasium. Camp B consisted of six halls, the guards' quarters, a garage, storage for preserved goods, workshops, and baggage storage. Two barbed wire fences surrounded the entire complex. Seven guard towers had also been established around the perimeter of the camp. A total of 36 soldiers guarded the camp during the day. At night, the number of guards in the towers was doubled, and guards patrolled the area between the fences.

Oflag II A at Prenzlau. Prisoners gathering for roll call, February 1944. Courtesy of ICRC.

Conditions for the officers were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Housing varied by rank. Generals lived two to a room, colonels roomed by fours, majors by eights, and for the NCOs, it was 8, 16, or 34 people to a room, depending on the size of the room. The rooms were heated, and the beds had mattresses, pillows, and blankets. Each room had a table, chair, and stool. In every residential block, each floor had a bathroom and washroom. Cold water was provided every day at certain times, but hot showers were available only two to three times a month.

The camp had a chapel for religious services, a library with 6,000 books, a place for sports, a snack bar, a kitchen, two large canteens (generals and colonels ate separately) (in Block E), and a hospital (in Block D). Cultural and religious activities were an important part of the prisoners' lives. The Polish officers, for example, organized an orchestra, led by Navy chaplain Captain A. Olszewski; a choir, led by Lieutenant Józef Grzyb; and a theater troupe, led by Lieutenant Stanisław Wolicki (who, after the war, became the director of the Olsztyn Theater). Courses were available on a variety of subjects, including agriculture, law, mathematics, architecture, and foreign languages, and there was a pedagogical training course, taught by Lieutenant Colonel Stanisław Kwiatkowski. According to one prisoner, "under the

difficult living conditions in the camp, cultural life was one of the most important aspects of the prisoners' community."[3]

Medical personnel during the Belgians' time in the camp included five Belgian doctors and some Belgian nurses under the control of the German doctor. There was a distinct lack of some medical specialties in the camp; for 3,000 prisoners, for example, there was only one dentist.

The prisoners were able to send two postcards with 6 lines and two letters with 20 lines once a month. Every 10 days, they were able to receive one letter or one postcard. The prisoners were able to order German, Belgian, and French newspapers and books or magazines.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag II A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53: 2/16); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag II A); and BArch B 162/17364–17366: Überprüfung des Oflag II A. See also M. Timm and R. Timm, "Unveröffentlichte Quellen zum Oflag II A in Prenzlau," *Mitteilungen des Uckermärkischen Geschichtsvereins zu Prenzlau* 4 (1995): 94–113.

Additional information about Oflag II A is available in the following publications: Rajmond Galon, "O życiu kulturalnooświatowym w niektórych oficerskich obozach jenieckich w Niemczech w latach 1939–1945," *Koszalińskie zeszyty muzealne* 9 (1979): 113–122; Tadeusz Gasztold, *Życie kulturalne obozach polskich jeńców wojennych na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1939–1945* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Oświodek Naukowo-Badawczy, 1977); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); H.-H. Schmidt, *Wollen das Beste hoffen: Eine Familiengeschichte im Schatten zweier Weltkriege* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2008); Rainer Szczesiak, *Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager im Raum Neubrandenburg* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 2009); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und*

Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127. See also, https://prenzlau-smb.de/piwigo/lexikon/Texte/Militaer/oflag-iia.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 5; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20.

2. Schmidt, *Wollen das Beste hoffen*, p. 61.

3. Galon, "O życiu kulturalno-oświatowym," 116–117.

4. Legrand, "Bericht über die Lebensbedingungen der gefangenen belgischen Offiziere im Oflag II A Prenzlau"; Überprüfung des Oflag II A (Barch B 162/17364–17366).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) II B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag II B (map 4b) on October 28, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II, and deployed it to Arnswalde (today Choszczno, Poland).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

From November 1939 until May 1942, the camp held Polish officers. The first transport of 2,254 Polish prisoners arrived at the camp on November 6, 1939. The number of prisoners in the camp remained relatively stable through May 1942.

The camp was located in the former barracks of the Polish 14th Infantry Regiment. Two rows of barbed wire fencing, 2.5 meters (about 8 feet) tall and 1.5 meters (5 feet) wide, surrounded the camp. Guard towers with machine guns and searchlights were located at each corner.

The Polish officers organized their own self-governance in the camp, led by an elder (*starosta*). The elder presented the interests of the prisoners to the German leadership in the camp. In turn, the elders were Colonels R. Kaleński, W. Tyczyński, and Witold Morawski. The camp elder established the cultural-educational commission, which dealt with the organization of cultural life, education, and science. In particular, the prisoners organized and ran different courses and hobby groups focused on teachers, engineers, farmers, economists, mathematicians, literary ideas, legal issues, and others. The prisoners also established a theater and three orchestras and even published their own magazine under the name “Behind Barbed Wire.” Religious life was handled by Catholic priests and an Evangelical minister, who held services each Sunday and conducted other religious activities, such as funerals. The camp had a library that included both religious and secular texts.

There was a resistance movement in the camp that concentrated

on organizing escapes. One of the first escapes occurred on May 13, 1940, when 21 officers broke out.[2]

In May 1942, the Polish officers were transferred to Oflag II D in Gross-Born, and French prisoners arrived to take their place. A few Belgian and Yugoslav officers arrived later. The number of prisoners remained fairly stable at about 2,800. French officers also engaged in cultural and educational activities, published bulletins, and participated in resistance activities by organizing escapes.[3] The Red Army liberated the camp on April 22, 1945, but most of the prisoners had already been evacuated to the west.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag II B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag II B); and BArch B 162/17367–17369 (Überprüfung des Oflag II B).

Further information about Oflag II B is available in the following publications: Józef Bohatkiewicz, *Oflag II B Arnswalde* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1974); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1964), pp. 370–371; Pierre Flament, *La vie dans un camp d'officiers français en Pomeranie: Oflag II D–II B 1940–45* (Paris: Amicale de l'Oflag II D-II B, 1955); Norbert Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich w niewoli niemieckiej i radzieckiej podczas II Wojny Światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 5; Nasza Księgatnia, *Nauczyciele w hitlerowskich obozach jencow podczas II wojny swiatowej* (Warsaw: Roc wydania, 1967), pp. 13, 16, 52–55, 58, 63, 202, 204, 205; "Oflag II B," in *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, 1945), pp. 17–20; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe

Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 134–135; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Violetta Rezler-Wasielewska, *Działalność naukowo-oświatowa polskich jeńców wojennych w niemieckich i radzieckich obozach podczas II wojny światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2001); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 5; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20.

2. See Bohatkiewicz, *Oflag II B Arnswalde*.

3. See Flament, *La vie dans un camp d'officiers français*.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) II C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag II C (map 4b) on May 21, 1940, in Defense District (Wehrkreis) II and deployed it in Woldenberg (today Dobiegniew, Poland).[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

Oflag II C held Polish officers and their orderlies. Among the inmates at the camp were a small number of officers from the Polish navy, 165 as of December 31, 1943.[2] It was a large camp, with 25 brick barracks, 13 in the West Camp (*West-lager*) and 12 in the East Camp (*Ostlager*); the naval officers resided in Barrack XV in the *Ostlager*. A barbed wire fence 2.5 meters (about 8 feet) high and 2 meters (6.6 feet) wide surrounded the campgrounds, which were about 25 hectares (62 acres) in area. Eight guard towers with machine guns, floodlights, and telephones stood around the perimeter. The first group of Polish prisoners (495 officers and 172 orderlies) arrived at the camp on May 28, 1940. By March 1941, the population had risen to approximately 6,200; it remained between 6,200 and 6,700 for the remainder of the war.[3]

The Polish officers organized their own form of self-administration in the camp. This self-administration was headed by an elder (*starosta*), whom the German camp commandant appointed. The leader represented the interests of the prisoners to the German camp leadership. The camp leaders were, in chronological order, Colonels Ignacy Misiąg, Stefan Biestek, Wacław Szalewicz, and Wacław Młodzianowski. Under the leader, there were heads of the eastern and western sections of the camp, which in turn consisted of six battalions (about 1,000 persons in each battalion), each of which had four companies (with two companies in each barrack).

From June 1942 onward, an International Red Cross delegation stayed at the camp. Through the delegation, the prisoners began to

receive food parcels. The delegation also intervened and assisted on February 5, 1943, when camp guards shot two officers and wounded six other persons. Because of the delegation's intervention, this incident resulted in the removal of the German camp commandant, Oberst Teubel, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer, Hauptmann Doma, from their positions.[4]

The prisoners had access to a wide range of cultural activities in the camp, including a number of university-level courses taught by respected experts, an orchestra, and a theater group led by two professional directors.[5] In the summer of 1944, the Germans granted the prisoners permission to stage an unofficial "POW Olympics" from July 23 to August 13, and an Olympic flag made from a bed sheet and pieces of colored scarves was raised. The event has been seen as an instance of the Olympic spirit transcending war.[6]

From July 1940 onward, an underground military organization operated in the camp. The organization was primarily concerned with organizing escapes. Initially, Colonel Ignacy Misiąg led the organization; from 1942 onward, Brigadier General Jan Chmurowicz took over that role. During the existence of the camp, the prisoners organized more than 20 individual and group escapes.[7]

On January 21, 1945 (or January 25 or 28; sources differ), as a result of the approach of the Red Army, the camp was evacuated to the west. The Red Army liberated the camp on January 29 and caught up with some of the prisoners shortly thereafter.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag II C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-2/16: Offizierslager II A-E); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag II C); and BArch B 162/15110: Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnisse Oflag II C and B 162/16204–16205: Tötungen polnischer Offiziere im Oflag II C in Woldenberg/Neumark zwischen Februar 1943 und Februar 1945.

Further information about Oflag II C can be found in the following publications: Józef Bohatkiewicz, *Oflag II C Woldenberg* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971); Czesław Ciesielski, "Oficerowie Polskiej Marynarki Wojennej w niewoli niemieckiej i radzieckiej w latach II wojny światowej,"

Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny 20 (1997): 103–117; Jadwiga Fąfara, ed., *Oflag II c Woldenberg: Wspomnienia jeńców* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1984); Józef Kuropieska, *Obozowe refleksje Oflag II C* (Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1974); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939-1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 5; Jan Olesik, *Oflag II C Woldenberg* (Warsaw: MON, 1988); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 156–159; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127. See also Woldenberg— Kriegsgefangenenlager OfLag IIC Woldenberg at http://wbg.khd-research.net/Ex/Das_OfLag-IIC.html.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 5.

2. Ciesielski, “Oficerowie Polskiej Marynarki Wojennej,” pp. 103–117.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, Barch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag); Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 157.

4. See Tötungen polnischer Offiziere im Oflag II C in Woldenberg/Neumark zwischen Februar 1943 und Februar 1945, BArch B 162/16204–16205.

5. For details about the life of the prisoners in the camp, see Bohatkiewicz, *Oflag II C Woldenberg*; Kuropieska, *Obozowe refleksje Oflag II C*; and Fąfara, ed., *Oflag II c Woldenberg*.

6. Iwona Grys, "The Olympic Idea Transcending War," *Olympic Review* 25, no. 8 (April–May 1996): 68.

7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 156–159.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) II D

The Wehrmacht established Oflag II D (map 4b) on June 1, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II from Stalag II E Gross Born.[1] The camp deployed to near Gross Born (today Borne Sulinowo, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II).

Until May 1942, the camp held French officers and orderlies as prisoners. In February 1941, there were 3,166 officers and 565 orderlies in the camp. In April 1942, there were 2,408 officers and 418 orderlies. From May 1942 onward, the camp held only Polish officers and orderlies. The following table shows the number of Polish prisoners in the camp from 1942 to 1945:[2]

Date	Officers	Orderlies	Total
June 1, 1942	2544	274	2818
July 1, 1944	4670	376	5046
January 1, 1945	5014	377	5391

The conditions in Oflag II D were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the 1929 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (POWs). The POWs lived in wooden barracks. Officers in the camp were divided into battalions and companies. The Polish officers selected an elder (*starosta*), or leader, from their midst who represented the prisoners' interests with the German camp administration. Colonels Witold Morawski (until 1944) and Izydor Izdebski (from 1944 to 1945) took on the role of the *starosta*.

The Polish prisoners organized cultural and educational activities in the camp. A large stone building served as the prison chapel, theater, concert hall, and library, which was supplied with

books by the YMCA and Red Cross. Religious services were conducted by Catholic priests and an Evangelical minister every Sunday. Other religious activities, including funerals, were also conducted by these clergymen.[3] The prisoners organized plays, symphonies, choir performances and other such productions. In addition, courses and lectures were offered on a variety of topics, including economics, geography, and mathematics.[4] A resistance movement organized escapes.

As the Red Army approached at the end of January 1945, the camp was evacuated to the west. This did not mark the end of the camp administration, which moved with the prisoners and remained in operation until the beginning of March.

SOURCES Primary source material about the Oflag II D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag II D).

Information about Oflag II D may be found in the following publications: Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, "Obozy jenieckie na Ziemi Koszalinskiej (1939–1945)," *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Ziemi Koszalińskiej w latach 1933–1945*, ed. Andrzeja Czechowicza (Koszalin: Okre gowa Komisja badania zbrodni hitlerowskich, 1968); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 370–371; Rajmond Galon, "O życiu kulturalno-oświatowym w niektórych oficerskich obozach jenieckich w Niemczech w latach 1939–1945," *Koszalińskie zeszyty muzealne* 9 (1979): 113–122; Tadeusz Gasztold, "Obozy jenieckie na Pomorzu Zachodnim w łatach 1939–1945," *Zapiski Koszalińskie* 2, no. 26 (1966); Tadeusz Gasztold, *Życie kulturalne w obozach polskich jeńców wojennych na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1939–1945* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Ośrodek Naukowo-Badawczy, 1977); Norbert Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich w niewoli niemieckiej i radzieckiej podczas II Wojny Światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); Jozef Machowski, *Poczta Polska Obozu IID Gross Born* (Kraków: PZF, 1963); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche*

Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz, self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 114; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Violetta Rezler-Wasielewska, *Działalność naukowo-oświatowa polskich jeńców wojennych w niemieckich i radzieckich obozach podczas II wojny światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2001); Marek Sadzewicz, *Oflag II D Gross-Born* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1977); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 114.

3. Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich*, p. 117.

4. Galon, “O życiu kulturalno-oświatowym,” pp. 116–117.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) II E

The Wehrmacht established Oflag II E (map 4b) on September 23, 1940, in Neubrandenburg, Germany, which was part of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II.[1] The Germans had placed Polish prisoners of war (POWs) of all ranks in Stalag II A. After a time, they separated the officers and placed them in garages in a nearby military base while Oflag II E was under construction. The camp complex was also referred to as "Lager Fünfeichen," after the former estate on which it was located (now within the city limits of Neubrandenburg).

Oflag II E was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II). The first commandant was Oberstleutnant Gärtner, an elderly former policeman and World War I veteran. His adjutant was Hauptmann Maurer. Gärtner was succeeded as commandant by Oberst Freiherr von Steinecker in the summer of 1942. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Georg Pawlas, the camp officer was Captain Walter Pockrandt, and the administrative group was headed by Oberzahlmeister Walter Moldenhauer.[2]

For nearly three years, Oflag II E held only Polish POWs: roughly 2,300–2,500 officers and 140–350 orderlies (the exception being March 1941, when there were 454 Belgian officers and 80 enlisted men in the camp). In the spring of 1944, a smaller number of Soviet and Dutch POWs replaced the Poles.[3]

Conditions in the camp were generally in keeping with the 1929 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War. The prisoners were guarded by Landesschützen personnel. They lived in a collection of buildings including garages that had formerly belonged to a German armored division, as well as a group of wooden barracks about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) away from the main camp. The prisoners in the "garage camp" lived in double bunk beds. Most of the cultural activities for Polish officers took

place in the "garage camp." These activities included a choir, an orchestra, and a theater troupe; these groups remained intact after their members were transferred from Oflag II A in 1940. The orchestra and choir performed a program of classical symphonies, while the theater troupe performed popular Polish comedies of the interwar period. The prisoners also organized courses and lectures in subjects such as mathematics, philosophy, economics, geography, and architecture. They also played sports and organized a "camp Olympics."[4]

The Germans transferred the majority of the prisoners to other camps on February 29, 1944.[5] Oflag II E was then redesignated Oflag 67.

SOURCES Primary source material about the Oflag II E is located in BArch B 162/27704 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M. 2616.00000234-00000320); BA-MA (RW 6/450–453); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag II E).

Additional information about Oflag II E can be found in the following publications: Rajmond Galon, "O życiu kulturalnooświatowym w niektórych oficerskich obozach jenieckich w Niemczech w latach 1939–1945," *Koszalińskie zeszyty muzealne* 9 (1979): 113–122; Tadeusz Gasztold, *Życie kulturalne obozach polskich jeńców wojennych na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1939–1945* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Oświodek Naukowo-Badawczy, 1977); Dieter Krüger, *"Doch sie liebten das Leben" Gefangenenlager in Neubrandenburg 1939 bis 1945* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 1990); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz, self-published, 1987); Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo, 1982); Rainer Szczesiak, *Nationalsozialistische Zwangslager im Raum Neubrandenburg* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 2009), pp. 62–64; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die*

Landstreitkräfte 1-5 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.
2. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige Oflag II E Neubrandenburg, BArch B 162/27704, Bl. 44 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2616.00000282).
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 186.
4. Galon, "O życiu kulturalno-oświatowym," pp. 117–119.
5. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) III A

The Wehrmacht created Oflag III A (map 4b) on November 3, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III and deployed it in Luckenwalde. Until January 15, 1941, the camp was subordinate to Stalag III A, but after that it was an independent camp. On December 31, 1941, it was dissolved as an Oflag and became a part (*Teillager*) of Stalag III A.[1]

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

The camp held British and Belgian officers. The administrators and guards treated the prisoners properly, and the conditions in the camp were satisfactory and in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[3]

Oflag III A at Luckenwalde. Visit by the ICRC delegate, Dr. Descoeudres, 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag III A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-3/22: Offizierslager III A-C);

WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag III A); BArch B 162/17674: Überprüfung des Oflag III A; and TNA (FO 916/16: Dulag Luft, Oflag III A, IV C).

Further information about Oflag III A can be found in the following publications: Uwe Mai, *Kriegsgefangen in Brandenburg: Stalag III A in Luckenwalde 1939–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 1999); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 6; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 196.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 196; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 6; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 6.

3. Überprüfung des Oflag III A, BArch B 162/17674.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) III B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag III B (map 4b) on June 21, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. From 1940 to 1941, the camp was deployed at Tiborlager (today Cibórz, Poland), about 15 kilometers (9 miles) southwest of Schwiebus (today Świebodzin, Poland). The Germans closed the camp with an order dated February 7, 1942.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

The camp held imprisoned Belgian officers. The first transport of about 2,000 prisoners reached the camp on July 24, 1940. Among the officers were several generals, one of whom—Lieutenant General Vandenbergh—became the camp leader.[2] The German administrators and guards treated the prisoners properly, and the prisoners' conditions of confinement were satisfactory, by and large, and mainly in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[3] Cultural events were common. The prisoners organized a theater in the camp, and prisoners who were professors gave lectures on various branches of knowledge, in particular mathematics. Only one prisoner died in the camp, Lieutenant General Georges Deffontaine (on October 24, 1940). After the camp closed, the approximately 3,000 remaining prisoners were moved to Oflag II A in Prenzlau.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag III B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-3/22: Offizierslager III A-C); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag III B); and BArch B 162/17675: Überprüfung des Oflag III B.

Further information about Oflag III B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 6;

and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 196. See also S. Jackowski, *Dzieje nad strumykiem, część* II, pp. 13–14, at Portal Ziemia Lubuska—HISTORIA—Wspomnienia —Wspomnienia Sergiusza Jackowskiego, ziemialubuska.pl, 1999; 2009-07 (rozszerzenie i korekta)

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 196; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 6; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20.

2. S. Jackowski, *Dzieje nad strumykiem, część* [part] II, pp. 13–14, in: Portal Ziemia Lubuska—HISTORIA—Wspomnienia—Wspomnienia Sergiusza Jackowskiego. ziemialubuska.pl, 1999; 2009-07 (rozszerzenie i korekta).

3. Überprüfung des Oflag III B, BArch B 162/17675.

4. S. Jackowski, *Dzieje nad strumykiem*, pp. 13–14.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) III C

The Germans created Oflag III C (maps 4b and 4d) with an order dated July 10, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, and deployed it to Lübben (Spreewald). The camp had a branch (*Zweiglager*) in nearby Frauenberg. As of the fall of 1942, the camp was deployed at Hohenfels, Bavaria (Defense District XIII). On February 18, 1943, the Germans reorganized the camp as Stalag 383.

Initially, Oflag III C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III). After the camp relocated to Hohenfels, it was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII.

Oflag III C held officers from France, the British Empire (including Australia and New Zealand), Belgium, and the Netherlands.[1] The German administrators and guards treated the prisoners humanely, and the conditions in the camp were good, by and large, in keeping with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[2] Red Cross parcels supplemented the rather meager rations, and the prisoners could also obtain some foodstuffs in the canteen.

The key challenge for the officers—prisoners who were not put to work because it was forbidden by the Geneva Convention—was combating boredom and depression. They could walk in the surrounding area in large groups, during which they tried to scrounge whatever food they could— fallen fruit, for example, or snails or mushrooms. Occasional escape attempts provided some excitement. The prisoners organized a variety of cultural and athletic activities. They took part in sports and created their own theater, bands (jazz, gypsy), a symphony orchestra, a chorus, and groups with various interests. The prisoners had a library available to them and could play cards or other parlor games. They could get local German papers and magazines and write letters home and

even have their pictures taken.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag III C is located in BA-MA (RW 6/450–453; RH 53: 3/22: Offizierslager III A–C); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag III C); and BArch B 162/17676: Überprüfung des Oflag III C.

Further information about Oflag III C can be found in the following publications: *Annuaire de l'Oflag VI D–III C et Oflags rattachés: Münster-Soest Westphalie: 17 août 1940–6 avril 1945* (Paris: Association des Anciens Prisonniers de l'Oflag VI D, 1949); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 7; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 196. See also http://www.etudes-touloises.fr/archives/157/ET157%20art5.pdf and http://www.etudes-touloises.fr/archives/158/ET158%20art7.pdf.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 7.

2. Überprüfung des Oflag III C, BArch B 162/17676.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IV A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag IV A (map 4e) in September 1939 then dissolved it on June 5, 1940. They reestablished it on August 31, 1940, and dissolved it again on November 20, 1941. The camp was located in the Hohnstein Castle in Hohnstein.[1] Oflag IV A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).[2]

Oflag IV A's first inmates were Polish officers and orderlies (682 and 98, respectively, as of December 13, 1939), but the Germans soon transferred them to Oflag VII A.[3] Later the camp held French officers and orderlies (126 and 68 on September 10, 1940) and a few Belgians. The conditions were satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source information on Oflag IV A is located in BArch B 162/790.

Additional information about Oflag IV A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 7; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 188; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 263.

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NOTES

1. Ergänzungsliste zur Liste v. 5.7.1940, BArch B 162/790, Bl. 46.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263.

3. Ergänzungsliste zur Liste v. 5.7.1940, BArch B 162/790, Bl. 46.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IV B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag IV B on October 14, 1939, in Königstein, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. The camp was located in the Königstein Fortress (*Festung Königstein*), just west of the town itself, about 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Dresden along the Elbe River. Oflag IV B was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).[1]

The Königstein Fortress, built in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and covering an area of 9.5 hectares (23.475 acres), had previously been used as a prisoner of war camp during both the Franco-Prussian War and World War I. During both world wars, it functioned as an officers' camp (Oflag). The upper areas of the fortress were reserved for the higher-ranking officers, while the lower-ranking officers and orderlies were kept further down in the casemates. The orderlies slept 14 men to a room, with the high-ranking officers in much less cramped quarters. However, the prisoners (including the orderlies) enjoyed a relatively high level of freedom of movement within the camp and were able to interact with one another readily.[2] The commandant of the camp between February 1941 and April 1942 was Generalleutnant Friedrich Genthe.

The first prisoners to arrive at Oflag IV B were Polish officers captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939; among them were some of the highest-ranking Polish officers in German captivity. By December 1939, there were 213 Polish officers and 59 orderlies in the camp. In the spring of 1940, the Polish officers were transferred out to other camps and replaced by French officers. After that time, the camp's population consisted of predominantly French officers; however, small numbers of officers of a variety of other nationalities (including Belgian, British, Dutch, Greek, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Serbian, Slovak, and Soviet) were intermittently present in the camp. After the departure of the Polish prisoners in 1940, Oflag IV

B remained a very small camp, with the total population of prisoners and orderlies rarely exceeding 200.[3] Oflag IV B held some of the highest-ranking Allied officers in German captivity—including French Generals Henri Giraud and René Prioux, and General Otto Ruge, the highest-ranking general in the Norwegian Army. Since officers could not be compelled to work under the Geneva Convention of 1929, there were no work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) attached to this camp, and the prisoners remained within the main camp.

Conditions in the camp were generally relatively good; housing was adequate and prisoners received sufficient food rations and medical care. A Red Cross report from November 16, 1944, noted that the prisoners had sufficient fuel for heating their quarters and that hygiene and food supplies were good but that some prisoners lacked sufficient clothing.[4] The prisoners' recreation activities were somewhat limited by that time, and discipline was considered strict. As French orderly Michel Bernin noted in a September 1942 *LIFE* magazine article, written after his repatriation from the camp, the prisoners realized soon after their arrival in the camp that they were under constant surveillance through microphones placed throughout the camp by the Germans.[5] Conditions became harsher after the famous escape of General Giraud—who lowered himself down from a window in the camp on a makeshift rope—on April 17, 1942.[6]

Despite the strict discipline in the camp, there were few reports of abuse by the German guards. One notable exception, however, was the murder of French general Gustave Mesny, who was shot in the back by SS men in Wehrmacht uniforms during a sham transfer to Oflag IV C in Colditz on January 19, 1945. Mesny was allegedly killed in retribution for the death of German general Fritz von Brodowski in French captivity on October 28, 1944.[7] After Brodowski's death, Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW), declared "we can do that too!" (*"So was können wir auch!"*) and began drawing up a list of potential victims among the Allied officers in German captivity (ostensibly on a verbal order from Hitler).[8] The direct order for the killing was given by SS-Oberführer Friedrich Panzinger on behalf of the head

of the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*), SS-Obergruppenführer Ernst Kaltenbrunner, on November 18, 1944.[9]

Oflag IV B was liberated by French forces on May 8, 1945. Some of the prisoners had been transferred to Oflag IV D in Elsterhorst prior to its liberation.[10] Friedrich Panzinger was held in Soviet captivity from 1946 to 1956 and committed suicide in 1959 after being arrested and charged for his involvement in General Mesny's murder.[11] In 1961, SS-Oberführer Hans Jüttner—who had already served four years in prison on war crimes charges—was also investigated by the Baden-Württemberg State Office of Criminal Investigation (*Landeskriminalamt Baden-Württemberg*) for his role in Mesny's killing; however, the case was abandoned due to lack of evidence. Jüttner died in 1965.[12]

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag IV B is located in BArch B 162/25986: "Ermittlungen gg. den SS-Oberführer Hans Jüttner wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Tötung des Kriegsgefangenen französischen General Mesny auf der Festung Königstein am 19.1.1945" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2039.00000050–00000091) and NARA (RG 263 and RG 389, Box 2144, Camp Reports: Germany: Oflag 4B, Konigstein Ebe [*sic*]).

Additional information about Oflag IV B can be found in the following publications: Michel Bernin, "Königstein Prison," *LIFE* (September 21, 1942): 124–136; Yves Durand, *La Vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Henri Giraud, *Mes évasions* (Paris: Juillard, 1946); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen: Handbuch und Katalog. Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 7; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 188–189; G. Ward Price, *Giraud and the African Scene* (London: Macmillan, 1944); Dieter Weber, *Festung Königstein* (Leipzig: VEB Brockhaus, 1972); and

Sebastian Weitkamp, "'Mord mit reiner Weste': die Ermordung des Generals Maurice Mesny im Januar 1945," in *Krieg und Verbrechen: Situation und Intention: Beispiele*, ed. Timm C. Richter (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 31–41. See also Festung Königstein, at www.festung-koenigstein.de/de/.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 7.
2. Bernin, "Königstein Prison," *LIFE* (September 21, 1942): 126.
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 188–189.
4. Telegram from the ICRC, November 16, 1944, NARA, RG 389, Box 2144, Camp Reports: Germany, Oflag 4B, Konigstein Ebe [*sic*].
5. Bernin, "Königstein Prison," *LIFE* (September 21, 1942): 126, 129.
6. General Giraud's first-person account of his escape was published as *Mes évasions* (Paris: Julliard, 1946).
7. BArch B 162/25986, Bl. 11–15 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2039.00000067–00000071).
8. Weitkamp, "'Mord mit reiner Weste,'" p. 31.
9. Ibid., p. 34.
10. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 7.
11. "Friedrich Panzinger," NARA, RG 263.
12. BArch B 162/25986, Bl. 33 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2039.00000090).

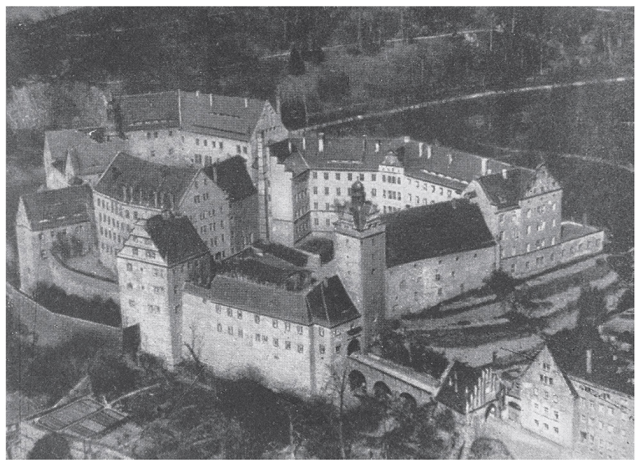
OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IV C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag IV C on October 10, 1939, in Colditz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. The camp was located inside the Colditz Castle (*Schloss Colditz*), which overlooks the town of Colditz. From November 1940 to May 1943, the camp also functioned as a special camp (*Sonderlager*) for officers from other Oflags who caused trouble by repeatedly violating camp rules or attempting to escape.[1] Oflag IV C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

Oflag IV C was one of the most infamous prisoner of war (POW) camps in Nazi Germany. Colditz Castle was built in the eleventh century. Early in the Nazi era, between 1933 and 1934, it had been used for security confinement (*Sicherheitsverwahrung*) of political prisoners.[2] The outer courtyard of the castle held the administrative buildings, while the inner courtyard and the northern half of the castle itself housed the prisoners. In most of the camp's buildings, the ground floors were used for administrative and practical functions (the camp kitchen, infirmary, etc.) while the upper floors were used as the prisoners' quarters.[3]

The prisoners marched to the camp from the Colditz train station, located on the opposite side of the Mulde River; according to Oflag IV C's duty officer, Hauptmann Reinhold Eggers, this march took about 15 minutes.[4] Upon their arrival, they were "processed," which included the confiscation of any money or civilian clothing they possessed; this step was particularly important during the camp's time as a Sonderlager, due to its psychological effect.[5] However, some of the activities that took place during the "processing" period were improper under the international laws regarding the treatment of POWs. Lieutenant Maurice C. Shannon, an American prisoner who arrived at the camp on March 5, 1945, was held by himself in a room for several

hours and had all of his clothing confiscated; in addition, he was still recovering from a shrapnel wound to his leg and was not given medical attention for the wound during this time.[6]



Oflag IV C at Colditz. Colditz Castle, after May 1945. USHMM, COURTESY OF DOKUMENTATIONSARCHIV DES OESTERREICHISCHEN WIDERSTANDES, WS #63215.

The first commandant of Oflag IV C was Oberst Max Schmidt. Schmidt, in his late sixties, was considered an "old school" Prussian officer who was very demanding of his staff and required them to show deference to prisoners who outranked them. In June 1942, he was replaced by Oberst Edgar Gläsche. Gläsche was a stricter prisoner disciplinarian than Schmidt had been; however, he followed the requirements of the Geneva Conventions strictly and tolerated some rules violations (such as smoking during roll call). The final commandant was Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Gerhard Prawitt, who succeeded Gläsche in February 1943. Prawitt was regarded as a martinet, who imposed harsh disciplinary measures on both the prisoners and his own personnel and strengthened the camp's security by modernizing its defensive structures and installing new watchtowers to prevent escapes.[7]

The deputy commandant at Oflag IV C was Major Menz and the adjutant was Hauptmann Kunze.[8] The first camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Paul Priem. He was succeeded by

Hauptmann Hans Püpke. The final camp officer was Reinhold Eggers, who had previously served as the duty officer in the camp. While Priem and Püpke were generally well liked by the prisoners (Priem, in particular, being noted for his good sense of humor), Eggers was treated with more suspicion, although he still treated the prisoners decently.[9] Eggers—a former schoolteacher—noted in his memoir of his service in the camp that he viewed himself as "a teacher dealing with a lot of naughty boys" and remarked that while the Polish and Dutch prisoners were generally well behaved, the French and British prisoners deliberately tried the guards' patience; for example, Eggers recalled that during the winters, the prisoners frequently hit the guards with snowballs.[10] The camp was guarded by personnel from the 4th Company of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 395, which was commanded by Hauptmann Georg Thomann.[11]

Oflag IV C held American, Belgian, British, Canadian, Dutch, French, Polish, and Serbian officers. Despite its infamy, Oflag IV C was not a particularly large camp; its maximum population was 725 officers and 153 orderlies (batmen) in November 1941. The first prisoners to arrive in the camp were Polish officers captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 19, 1939, there were 632 Polish officers and 101 orderlies in the camp.[12] However, during this period, the camp mainly functioned as a transit camp for Polish officers, and, shortly thereafter, they were transferred out to other camps.[13] French officers were first brought to the camp in the spring of 1940, after the German campaign in Western Europe. Canadian RAF officers arrived at the camp from Oflag IX A/H in Spangenberg on November 6, 1940. The first British and Belgian officers arrived in the camp in early 1941, along with another (permanent) contingent of Polish officers. On November 7, 1941, six British captains—the so-called Laufen Six, who were to be central figures in future British escape attempts—arrived from Oflag VII C in Laufen.[14] The first Dutch and Serbian prisoners were brought to the camp in the late summer of 1941. American officers were brought to the camp in the late summer of 1944.[15]

Several transfers of prisoners out of the camp occurred in 1943. In June, the Dutch officers were transferred to Stalag 371 in Stanislau (today Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine). During the first two

weeks of July, the French and Belgian officers were sent to Oflag X C in Lübeck, and in August, the remaining Polish officers were sent to Oflag VI B in Warburg. By September 1943, only British officers remained in the camp. For the remainder of the war, Oflag IV C would hold only Anglo-American prisoners, aside from a small number of French generals who were brought to the camp in January 1945 from Oflag IV B in Königstein and a prominent Polish Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*) General, Tadeusz Komorowski.[16]

One unique feature of the prisoner population of Oflag IV C was the presence of several high-profile internees, mainly relatives of important political or military figures in Allied countries. These so-called celebrities (*Prominenten*) were viewed by the Germans as potential hostages who could be used to extract concessions from Allied leaders or be exchanged for prominent German prisoners. Because of their strategic importance, the guards were informed that they were to carefully ensure the security and safety of these prisoners and would face severe punishment if they were harmed. Among the celebrities was British reporter Giles Samuel Romilly, the nephew of British prime minister Winston Churchill.[17] Others included the children of British nobility or military leaders, such as George Haig, the son of World War I general Douglas Haig.[18] On May 2, 1945, the celebrities were evacuated to Stalag 317 (XVIII C) in Markt Pongau, Austria, where they faced execution before being spared by the orders of SS-Obergruppenführer und General der Waffen-SS Gottlob Berger.[19]

Conditions in Oflag IV C were mostly good, despite its notoriety, and the Germans generally treated the prisoners in the camp according to the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929.[20] Nonetheless, since the camp also functioned as a Sonderlager for much of its existence, discipline was often stricter than in other Oflags. Early in the war, conditions were somewhat difficult, as the camp was overcrowded after the arrival of French prisoners in the spring of 1940, which also strained the camp's sanitary facilities. However, unlike many camps, Oflag IV C had running water and indoor toilets, showers, and washbasins. The prisoners' quarters had electric lights and stoves for heating and cooking, although the electric utilities were unreliable due to faulty

wiring and the strain placed on the system by the number of prisoners using it simultaneously.[21] The prisoners slept in rooms that were 15 meters by 30 meters (49 feet by 98 feet), and, in many cases, received very little sunlight during the day.[22] Red Cross inspectors generally regarded the prisoners' food rations as adequate if not abundant (supplemented by Red Cross food parcels) and considered the medical care provided to be sufficient; as of March 1944, there were four doctors and two dentists for the approximately 200 prisoners in the camp at that time.[23] Late in the war, conditions declined again due to shortages of food and medical supplies throughout Germany, which affected almost every POW camp in the Reich.[24]

The prisoners in Oflag IV C had access to some recreational and cultural activities within the camp. Religious services were provided by Catholic and Protestant ministers within the camp. The prisoners had a substantial library in the camp, described as "first-class" by a YMCA delegate who visited the camp in June 1943. The delegate also noted that the prisoners had organized educational courses on a wide variety of subjects and that there were theater productions in a room with a capacity of about 300 men, as well as a camp orchestra, which used instruments provided by the Red Cross and YMCA.[25] Nonetheless, the prisoners often found themselves bored due to the sheer amount of time they had on their hands; unlike enlisted men, officers could not be required to work under the Geneva Convention, so they remained in the camp at all times rather than being sent out in work details like most prisoners in the Stalags. The prisoners did not have enough space for most types of sporting activities and had to improvise physical activities suited to their close quarters. They also took their boredom out on the guards, a practice referred to among the prisoners as "goon-baiting."[26]

Another favorite pastime of the prisoners, and the bane of the German commandants and guards, was planning and carrying out escape attempts. Although Colditz was intended to be a high-security camp that could safely confine troublemakers and attempted escapees from other camps, there were nonetheless a number of successful escapes from the camp (sources conflict on the precise number, but most cite a figure between 30 and 32).[27] After escape attempts mounted by members of each national group

on their own failed early in the camp's existence, each group selected an "escape officer" who would act as the liaison to the other groups, allowing them to coordinate their escapes. The first successful escape attempt was made by French Lieutenant Alain LeRay on April 11, 1941, who fled while the prisoners were returning from their exercise grounds.[28] After LeRay's escape, Oberst Schmidt tightened security in the camp with measures including random roll calls, additional guard patrols, and the installation of searchlights.[29] The "high water mark" for prisoner escapes was 1942, when 16 of 80 escape attempts were successful. From 1943 on, Oberst Prawitt's restrictive disciplinary measures made it more difficult for prisoners to escape.[30] One of the most ambitious escape plans was the so-called Colditz Cock, a two-seated glider that British prisoners constructed from bed sheets and scraps of wood and wire found around the camp; however, the war ended before they could use the glider.[31]

On March 2, 1944, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler authorized "Aktion K" ("K" for *Kugel*, "bullet"), under which all escaped POWs who were recaptured would be sent to Mauthausen concentration camp and executed. One of those executed under "Aktion K" was Canadian Lieutenant Bill Millar, who escaped from Oflag IV C on January 28, 1944, and was killed at Mauthausen in July 1944.[32]

As American forces approached from the west in April 1945, Oberst Prawitt was ordered to prepare for the evacuation of the prisoners in Oflag IV C. However, the prisoner leadership convinced him to turn the camp over to them instead, which he did on April 16.[33] Oflag IV C was liberated by the 9th Armored Division of the American First Army on April 16, 1945.[34] Reinhold Eggers was arrested by the Soviet occupation forces in 1946. He was tried for war crimes, convicted, and sentenced to 10 years of hard labor in the NKVD penal camps in Sachsenhausen and Torgau; he was released in 1956 and often met with former captives from the camp until his death in 1974.[35]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag IV C is located in BA-MA; NARA (RG 153, Box 46, File 100-476, Oflag IV-C [Colditz, Germany]); and USHMMA (RG-15.499; RG-15.591; RG-30.007M, Reel 1, pp. 565–574).

Additional information about Oflag IV C can be found in the following publications: Ron Baybutt, *Colditz: The Great Escapes* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982); Henry Chancellor, *Colditz: The Untold Story of World War II's Great Escapes* (New York: William Morrow, 2002); Peter Clay, *Voices of Colditz: Handwritten Account by Allied Officers inside Oflag IV-C* (Stroud, UK: Fonthill, 2014); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Reinhold Eggers, *Col-ditz: The German Side of the Story* (New York: Norton, 1961); David Alden Foy, *For You the War Is Over: American Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (New York: Stein and Day, 1984); J. M. Green, *From Colditz in Code* (Glenvil, 1989); S. P. Mac-Kenzie, *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 7; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 189–190; Michael Mc-Nally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C* (Oxford: Osprey, 2010); P. R. Reid, *Colditz: The Full Story* (New York, St. Martin's, 1984); David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's Captives 1939–1945* (Kent: Coronet Books, 1988); Anthony Sternberg, *Vie de château et oflags de discipline souvenirs de captivité (Colditz, Lübeck)* (Paris: self-published, 1948); Patrick Wilson, *War behind the Wire: Experiences in Captivity during the Second World War* (London: Leo Cooper, 2000); and J. E. R. Wood, *Detour: The Story of Oflag IV C* (London: Falcon, 1946).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 7.

2. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 5.

3. Ibid., p. 28.

4. Eggers, *Colditz: German Side of the Story*, p. 11.

5. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, pp. 28–29.

6. Testimony of Lt. Maurice C. Shannon, NARA, RG 153, Box 46, File 100-479, Oflag IV C (Colditz, Germany).

7. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, pp. 111–112; McNally, *Col-ditz: Oflag IV-C*, pp. 49–52.

8. Reid, *Colditz: Full Story*, p. 21.

9. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, pp. 118–119.

10. Eggers, *Colditz: German Side of the Story*, pp. 27–29.

11. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 25.

12. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 189–190.

13. Reid, *Colditz: Full Story*, p. 6.

14. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 22; Reid, *Colditz: Full Story*, p. 23.

15. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 189–190.

16. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 57.

17. Ibid., p. 43.

18. Wilson, *War behind the Wire*, pp. 63–64.

19. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 61.

20. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, p. 93.

21. Ibid., pp. 106–107.

22. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 119.

23. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, pp. 178–179.

24. Ibid., p. 98; Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (November 24, 1944), NARA, RG 153, Box 46, File 100-479, Oflag IV C (Colditz, Germany).

25. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 1, p. 565.

26. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, pp. 216–220.

27. Reid states that there were 31 successful escapes, while Chancellor cites 32 and Baybutt counts 30.

28. Baybutt, *Colditz: Great Escapes*, p. 22; Eggers, *Colditz: German Side of the Story*, p. 31.

29. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 35.

30. Ibid., p. 51.

31. "Escape from Nazi Alcatraz," USHMMA, DVD-1080.

32. McNally, *Colditz: Oflag IV-C*, p. 57.

33. Ibid., p. 61.

34. Baybutt, *Colditz: Great Escapes*, p. 9.

35. Reid, *Colditz: Full Story*, p. 347.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IV D

The Germans created Oflag IV D (map 4e) on June 5, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV and deployed it to Elsterhorst (today Nardt), near Hoyerswerda.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

Oflag IV D held Allied officers. The majority of the prisoners were French, but the camp population also included Belgians, Poles, and Serbians. The number of officers in the camp was at most 6,000.[2] On November 3, 1943, there were 4,000 officers and 400 orderlies in the camp, and, on July 15, 1944, there were only 2,506 French officers. On November 28, 1944, 5,000 officers were in the camp.[3]

The camp occupied an area of 25–30 hectares (62–74 acres) and consisted of 35 barracks. About 120–190 prisoners lived in each of the barracks, on plank beds, arranged in three tiers.[4] The conditions in the camp were satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The prisoners created their own theater in which they presented a thousand performances of about 80 different plays, for which they made more than 1,500 costumes.[5] They also organized courses on a variety of historical, theological, scientific, and technical subjects and even had an archaeological society that carried out digs in the area.

There was a resistance movement in the camp, which mainly took the form of attempts to escape. A large-scale escape took place on the night of March 29–30, 1941, through a tunnel. Some 30 officers managed to get out.[6]

Reserve-Lazarett 742 was also located in Elsterhorst. The Germans evacuated many of the prisoners from Oflag IV D between February 17 and February 19, 1945, after the bombing of Dresden, leaving 600 sick officers and French officer-physicians in

the camp. The marches took groups of around 800 prisoners each to various destinations, usually over 150 kilometers (93 miles) away, in terrible conditions. The Red Army liberated Oflag IV D on April 20, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag IV D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag IV D).

Additional information about Oflag IV D can be found in the following publications: Georgeon-Delance, *Oflag IV D, répertoire d'adresses* (Quinquette, 1942); Patricia Gillet, "Le théâtre dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre français, 1940–1945," *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui, Époque moderne et contemporaine*, Actes du 115ème congrès national des sociétés savantes (Paris: CTHS, 1991), pp. 269–270; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 8; Louis-René Nougier, "La Préhistoire à l'Oflag IV D, à Elsterhorst (Haute-Lusace)," *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique de France, Année 1942* 39, nos. 10–12 (1942): 253–255; "Oflag IV D," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, 1945), pp. 81–83; *Oflag IV D Répertoire d'adresses camp d'Hoyerswerda Oflag IV D et camp d'Osterode Oflag XI A* (Quinquette, 1942); Paul Rivet, André Faivre, and R. Grély, *Groupe des instituteurs de l'Oflag IV D: Les Cahiers de pédagogie pratique de l'Oflag IV D* (Paris: S.U.D.E.L.; Villeneuve-St-Georges; Seine-et-Oise: l'Union typographique, 1946); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 263; Jacques de la Vaissière, *Silésie, morne plaine—Cahier dans un grenier* (Paris: France Empire, 1991). For a partial collection of camp newsletters from 1942–1943, see Centre d'entr'aide de l'Oflag IV D (1943), *Extraits des bulletins de liaison décembre 1942 à juillet 1943*. See also http://

monne.fr/03_l_oflag_4_d.htm; information on Reserve-Lazarett 742 is available at https://web.archive.org/web/20070314011138/http://www.nardt.de/elsterhorst/zeitzeugenberichte/britisch_darmanin.htm.

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1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 8.
3. "Oflag IV D," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, 1945), pp. 81, 83.
4. Ibid.
5. Gillet, "Le théâtre dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre français," pp. 269–270.
6. See, in particular, Maxime Monne, Guerre de 1940: Evasion de l'Oflag IVD en 1941, http://monne.fr/01_sommaire.htm.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) V A

On November 29, 1939, the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) ordered the formation of Oflag V A (map 4f) in Weinsberg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V, as the duty station of the "Commandant of Officer Prisoner of War Camp V A (Oflag V A)."[1] The camp compound was established in a former Landwehr training camp located in the am Mühlrain area of Weinsberg. The housing for the prisoners consisted of wooden and stone barracks.

Field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 15 895 was assigned to Oflag V A before January 1, 1940.[2] This measure, which dates from the period before mobilization planning, seems, in retrospect, to have been unnecessary, as field post numbers were meant for units stationed outside the Reich proper. Until it was shut down, Oflag V A remained in Weinsberg. It never left the territory of the Reich, and its postal service functioned under the stated place name. The entire time, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen in Wehrkreis* V).

The commandant of the camp from March 28 to September 2, 1940, was Major Wegner. He was succeeded by Major Seeger, who served as commandant from September 3, 1940, to January 15, 1941. He was followed by Oberstleutnant Baumgärtl, who held the position from July 15 to November 12, 1941. He was replaced by Oberstleutnant Comlicki, who remained at the camp until May 15, 1942, when he was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Alfred Teubner. The final known commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Neugebauer who took control on October 7, 1942.[3] The camp was guarded by Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 970.

Oflag V A was a very small prisoner of war (POW) camp. From 1940 to the beginning of 1945, the prisoner strength averaged only around 1,000 officers and, at most, 200 orderlies (enlisted

personnel).[4] The first POWs arrived on June 10, 1940. They were Dutch officers, who stayed in the camp for only a few weeks. Their presence is not mentioned in the monthly reports of the OKW. This was evidently just a short stopover to break the journey to the camp that was their ultimate destination. On June 22, 1940, the first French POWs arrived, and, until October 1943, the camp was used solely for French POWs. From December 1943 onward, almost all of these officers were replaced with British officers. One Belgian and three Americans also were in the camp, in each case for only a few weeks.

There were no fixed work detachments in keeping with the Geneva Convention, though a few French officers voluntarily joined work units. More precise information on this sensitive subject, however, has not survived, as these officers were charged after the war, in France, with collaboration. Activities in support of internal camp operations, however, were customary.

The treatment of the POWs in the camp met the highest standard, and there was a reason for this. All the prisoners were nationals of Western countries, and because of this they received extensive support from relief organizations and certain concessions from the Germans. Beginning in mid-1944, the conditions became considerably worse, because the wartime circumstances permitted care packages to reach the camps only to a limited extent. As a result, the rations supplied by the Germans were all that was available to the prisoners. These rations did comply with the regulations, but the food was not to the prisoners' liking and, in the final analysis, was insufficient in quantity. In addition, the problems in postal service due to the interruption of communications with foreign countries substantially lowered morale in the camp.

The POWs had a library available, and they organized their own orchestra and had a theater group. There was a major focus on lectures and classes, known as "université libre" by the prisoners. They had workshops for handicrafts, equipped with the appropriate tools. POWs in the group who were members of the clergy held religious services on a regular basis. Several attempts to escape were made, but none of them ended in success. There were also high-profile prisoners in the camp, such as Jacques Georges (later president of UEFA, the Union of European Football

Associations) and Guy Mollet (later French prime minister).

Oflag V A received numerous visits from delegations, which then produced corresponding reports. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited on November 4, 1940, November 11, 1940, March 12, 1941, August 23, 1941, February 5, 1942, June 7, 1944, and November 8, 1944. The YMCA visited in November 1940, December 3, 1940, and December 22, 1940. Finally, the Scapini Mission visited on July 17, 1941, August 22, 1941, and November 12, 1941.

Oflag V A at Weinsberg. Visit by the ICRC delegate, Dr. Roulet, November 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The visit reports of the ICRC, in particular, covered the full range of living conditions. Each report also contained an overall evaluation. In the first years, it was judged to be an "excellent camp."[5] During this time, Weinsberg was regarded as a "model camp," a showpiece for foreign delegations.

Medical care was provided to the prisoners at two levels. Treatment began first in the camp medical center, which was operated by physician prisoners and personnel under German supervision. More serious cases were referred to a military hospital outside the combat zone (with a POW ward), in Heilbronn.

The operations of the camp began to wind down in the spring of

1945. On March 31, 1945, the prisoners were evacuated by rail and transported to Stalag VII A in Moosburg and Oflag VII B in Eichstätt. On May 12, 1945, the now-empty camp compound was destroyed by an Allied air attack. The compound was liberated by American forces on April 13, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag V A is located in AN (F 9/3277); BA-MA (RH 35/5, 49/12; RL 2 III/956; RW 6/486, 48/12); PAAA (R 40705, 40973, 40976, 40981, 40982, 40988, 40989a, 40991, 67011); and Ts-GAMORF (500-12450-41). The Weinsberg camp has a documentation center, which can be visited upon request. Contact can be established through the tourist information website www.weinsberg.de.

Additional information about Oflag V A can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris: Fédération Nationale des Combattants Prisonniers de Guerre, 1982); *Revue Internationale du Croix Rouge*, December 1998, 28:267; David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's captives 1939–45* (London: Leo Cooper, 1989); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War 1939–45 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi, self-published, 2003); and Stadt Weinsberg, ed., *Lager Weinsberg—Eine Dokumentation der Geschichte des Lagers 1937– 1944* (Weinsberg, 1987).

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NOTES

1. OKW, KrGef Ic, Az 2fr 24 11a, Nr. 457/39, geheim, vom 29.11.39 (OrgBefehl no. 8)—BA-MA PL 2 III/956; Stammtafel Oflag V A (BA-MA, RH 53-5/18) and Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/453).

2. Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–45* (Osnabrück, 1980).

3. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the "card file of commandants"); see

also Günter Wegmann and Christian Zweng, *Die Dienststellen, Kommandobehörden und Truppenteile des Heeres 1935–45* (Osnabrück, 2000).

4. For detailed prisoner population figures, see Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.

5. ICRC visit reports dated March 12, 1941 (PAAA R 40973) and February 5, 1942 (PAAA, R 40976).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) V B

The Germans established Oflag V B on August 28, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V, and deployed it from 1940 to 1941 at Biberach an der Riss (map 4f).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V). It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 16 510 between April 28 and September 14, 1940.

The camp held approximately 900 British officers. On October 14, 1941, the officers were moved to Oflag VI B in War-burg, and during the transfer Lieutenant Michael Sturton was shot while attempting to escape.[2] Generally speaking, however, the German administration and guards treated the prisoners humanely, and their conditions of confinement were satisfactory and basically in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[3] The prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities, including musical groups and a theater troupe.[4]

There was a resistance movement in the camp, which took the form of escapes or attempts to escape. One of the largest escapes took place on September 13, 1941, when 26 prisoners made their way through a tunnel dug underneath Barrack No. 6. Four of them managed to reach Switzerland (110 kilometers/68 miles from the camp). The remaining prisoners were recaptured.[5]

The Germans stopped using the camp in October 1941, possibly because of its proximity to Switzerland, but perhaps also as part of a larger prisoner of war (POW) camp reorganization that the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) had ordered. Its grounds were used in the winter of 1941–1942 to confine Soviet POWs from Stalag V A, and, starting in March 1942, the grounds were occupied by Oflag V D/Oflag 55.[6] Officially, Oflag V B was not disbanded until April 17, 1942. Its field post number was struck between February 15 and July 30,

1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag V B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-5/18: Offizierslager V A-C); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag V B); BArch B 162/17651–17652: Überprüfung des Oflag V B; TNA (FO 916/17: Oflag IV E, V B, VI B, VII B, VII D; WO 311/989: Shooting of a British prisoner of war from Oflag V B, Biberach, at Biberach railway station, Germany, October 1941; WO 224/72: Oflag V B; WO/208/3307/26: Lt. Duncan's report; WO/208/3307/28: Cpt. O'Sullivan's report); and Städtische Archive Biberach. The successful escapes by Lt. Duncan and Cpt O'Sullivan were documented extensively at the time by British Intelligence. Lt. Duncan's report is in the file M.I.9/S/P.G.(G) 639 (subsequently released by the British National Archives under WO/208/3307/26) with a more extensive autobiographical account written up and published in the 1950s under the title of "Underground from Posen." Cpt O'Sullivan's report is in the file M.I.9/S/P.G.(G) 637 (subsequently released by TNA under WO/208/3307/28).

Additional information about Oflag V B can be found in the following publications: Reinhold Adler, *Das war nicht nur "Karneval im August": Das Internierungslager Biberach an der Riss 1942–1945* (Städt. Archive Biberach/Riss, 2002); Michael Duncan, *Underground from Posen* (London: New English Library, 1974); Alan J. Levine, *Captivity, Flight, and Survival in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 98–100; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 8; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1*-5 (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 310. See also http://www.pegasusarchive.org/pow/pOf_5B.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 8; Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20. Today the grounds are part of the Institut für Ausbildung und Training (IAuT) of the Hochschule für Polizei Baden-Württemberg.

2. TNA, WO 311/989: Shooting of a British prisoner of war from Oflag V B, Biberach, at Biberach railway station, Germany, October 1941.

3. Oflag V B, in TNA, WO 224/72; Überprüfung des Oflag V B, BArch B 162/17651.

4. USHMM, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, p. 585. (Originals held at National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.)

5. TNA, WO/208/3307/26: Lt. Duncan's report; Dun-can, *Underground from Posen*; Levine, *Captivity, Flight, and Survival*, 98–100.

6. Adler, *Das war nicht nur "Karneval im August"*; Rein-hold Adler, Short history of Lindele Camp at Biberach/Riss; http://www.weberberg.de/prolog/li_history.html.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) V C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag V C in Ulm, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V, as a commandant's office/headquarters (*Kommandantur*) on August 30, 1940.[1] On September 1, 1940, the office was transferred to Wurzach (map 4f), and camp operations began there. The officer prisoners were housed in rooms of Castle Wurzach, and the noncommissioned officers (NCOs) or enlisted personnel were quartered in barracks on the castle grounds. The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Between April 28 and September 14, 1940, field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 17 725 was issued for Oflag V C, and the number was canceled on September 5, 1944.[2] The reason the number was canceled was probably part of a plan to deploy this Oflag outside the territory of the Reich at a later time. Assignment of a field post number for the deployment period in Wurzach had no practical purpose, as mail service openly used the place name. After the transfer to Lubny and reorganization as Kommandantur Oflag 65, 17 725 continued to be used by Oflag 65 without this fact being noted in the Field Post Oversight and Survey Office (*Feldpostübersicht*).

Oberstleutnant August Langfeld served as commandant of the camp from January 15 to June 3, 1942. He was followed by Oberst z.V. Max Schmidt, who began his brief tenure on July 2, 1942. He was replaced shortly thereafter by the last known commandant, Oberst Gläsche, who served from July 14, 1942, to February 7, 1943.[3] The Wurzach camp was guarded by units of Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 411 and 424.

On May 26, 1942, the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*, AHA) issued an order to reorganize the headquarters of Oflag V C as Oflag 65 and, in addition, to transfer it to Lubny. On June 4, 1942, Oflag V C ceased its operation as an independent

Oflag and handed over the prisoners of war (POWs) and the camp compound to Oflag 55 (V D) for use as a subcamp. The formal conclusion of the shutdown process took place on June 27, 1942; at that time, the headquarters was already in Lubny.

Oflag V C was designed as a small camp for around 500 officers and 80 orderlies. These plans, however, were not accomplished with regard to either the size or the composition of the prisoner population. During the entire period from 1941 to 1942, the camp held approximately 100 officers and, on average, 460 NCOs and 80 enlisted personnel.[4] These prisoners, without exception, were French POWs.

This unusual distribution of military ranks in an Oflag came about as follows: Oflag V C was the central assembly camp for all French prisoners from Corsica. The Germans, hoping to take advantage of the Corsicans' extremely strong desire to gain independence from France, attempted to use these prisoners for their own political purposes. Italy also laid claim to Corsica, however, and tried to gain influence there by sending its own propaganda groups to the camp. For these reasons, the officers and the enlisted men from Corsica were placed together in the same Oflag. The Germans tried to prevent contact between the two groups but never completely succeeded in doing so.

The treatment of the POWs was the very best. All the POWs were French nationals, who received substantial support from relief organizations. They also were granted concessions by the Germans. The POWs had a library available, and they organized their own orchestra and a theater ensemble. Workshops with tools for handicrafts were available to them. Prisoners who were members of the clergy held religious services on a regular basis.

There were several attempts to escape, but none was successful. A French NCO was shot by the German guards during one such attempt.

For officers, there were no work squads, as the terms of the Geneva Convention did not require them to work. Activities in support of internal camp operations were customary. The NCOs also had no work requirement, but it was permissible to use them for oversight there. "Voluntary" work was possible in principle and, under pressure from the Germans with the strong support of

the Vichy government, was also accepted. The work squads were utilized for agricultural tasks in the region.[5]

Oflag V C was visited by several delegations, which then produced corresponding reports. It was visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on July 16, 1941, September 19, 1941, February 26, 1942, March 11, 1942, and June 10, 1942, and by the Scapini Mission on July 16, 1941, August 26, 1941, and November 23, 1941.

The visit reports of the ICRC in particular dealt with the entire range of living conditions in the camp. The overall assessment provided in each case was generally positive, owing to the positive underlying conditions; the reports used the term "excellent camp."[6]

Medical care was provided first in the camp's medical center, which was run by prisoner physicians and personnel under German supervision. More serious cases were referred to a military hospital outside the combat zone (with a POW ward), in Heilbronn. After Oflag V C was transferred, all French POWs from Corsica were attached to Oflag 55 (V D) in the form of a subcamp.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag V C is located in AN (F 9/2909, 2910, 3277, 3877); BA-MA (RH 49/5, 21, 22, 53/5-18; MSg 200/810); BArch B 162/17653; PAAA (R 40973, 40978, 40988, 40989a, 40991, 67011); and Ts-GAMORF (500-12450-41, 500-12451-641).

Additional information about Oflag V C can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisoniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris: Fédération Nationale des Combattants Prisonniers de Guerre, 1982); Roger E. Harris, *Islanders Deported* (Ilford: C.I.S.S., 1979); Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–45* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1980); Günter Wegmann and Christian Zweng, *Die Dienststellen, Kommandobehörden und Truppenteile des Heeres 1935–45* (Osnabrück 2000); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War 1939–45 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi, self-published,

2003); and Gisela Rothenhäusler, *Das Wurzacher Schloss 1940–45, ein kleines Kapitel europäischer Geschichte* (Bad Wurzach: Josef Fink, 2008).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Oflag V C (BA-MA, RH 53-5/18) und Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/453).
2. Kannapin, *Deutsche Feldpostübersicht*.
3. Wegmann and Zweng, *Dienststellen, Kommandobehörden und Truppenteile*.
4. For detailed prisoner population figures, see Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.
5. Besuchsbericht des IKRK vom 19.09.41 (BA-MA, R 40973).
6. Besuchsbericht des IKRK vom 26.02.42 (BA-MA, R 40978).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VI A

The small town of Soest (map 4a), the site of Oflag VI A, is located in the central part of present-day Germany, on the eastern edge of the Ruhr region. With 25,000 inhabitants (as of 1939), Soest was the seat of government for the Soest kreis and the major town of the region known as the Soest Börde, one of Germany's most fertile agricultural areas. Soest was important to the wartime economy because it was home to one of the German railroad system's largest classification yards; a large transit camp for civilian forced laborers, operated by the regional employment office; and a factory belonging to the firm Akku Hagen, which manufactured batteries.

The prisoner of war (POW) camp was set up on Meiningser Weg, the road from Soest to Neheim, in a military barracks that was under construction at the time. Originally, the plan was to use the facility as a POW camp as early as the fall of 1939. In the end, Oflag VI A was not organized until June 1940, through a reorganization of Stalag VI E. It was guarded by Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) XVI/VI (later renamed 466), XX/VI (later renamed 478), and 489.

The plan called for four buildings as housing for around 2,000 officers, aided by approximately 600 orderlies, and an administration area (*Vorlager*), where the camp administration was located. From the end of 1943, the outbuildings provided space for a large work detachment of Soviet POWs. Organizationally, however, the work detachment was not part of Oflag VI A but rather of Stalag VI A (also in Soest), whose accommodations had been destroyed in a bombing raid. During the final phase of the war, the superior authority of the Oflag, the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI), was also located in these barracks.

In June 1940, when the first POWs—Belgian officers— arrived,

the buildings scheduled to house them had not yet been completed. Some of the officers had to sleep in the garages where the Soviet POWs were later lodged. In November 1940, the expansion of the camp was finished, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) assessed it as follows: "Magnificent camp, even according to the man of confidence [*Vertrauensmann*]."

The Germans also held Dutch officers in the camp. In July 1940, when the Belgians were moved to Oflag III B in Tibor (today Cibórz, Poland), the Dutch occupied the best quarters, so the French who had arrived in the meantime had to make do with what remained. In November 1940, the Dutch, too, left the camp. From then, until Oflag VI A was closed, it was considered a French camp, if one disregards the work detachment of Soviet POWs also housed there.

Because the group of French officers included men who had been highly qualified professionals in the civilian world, and because the officers had an abundance of free time, a lively cultural life soon developed, as in other Oflags, with support from their home country and the international aid organizations. The POWs could have newspapers and periodicals sent from their homeland; the library, with 25,000 volumes, was larger than the German city library in Soest at that time. Like other camps for officers, Oflag VI A had a camp university, a theater, an orchestra, a cabaret, a jazz band, and other activities.

Although the prisoners received reduced rations rather than the full portions of barracked soldiers—in violation of international law—they did not suffer want, because they received additional provisions from their home country. On average, every French POW got approximately 2.5 kilograms (5.5 pounds) of additional foodstuffs per month. Also, there were precious items such as cigarettes, which could be either used to bribe the guards or sold for cash.

In accordance with the agreements between the Vichy government and the German Reich, the Pétain movement was in charge of the camp at first. There was a *Cercle Pétain*, which also supplied the surrounding Stalags and work detachments with propaganda material. As the western Allies—and thus de Gaulle also—gained in military strength, the influence of the Pétain

supporters diminished. Beginning in 1942, a de Gaulle movement arose. But there were other political movements as well, such as a Breton separatists' group and a group with an antisemitic orientation. The extent to which this is related to the presence in the camp of one of the most prominent Jewish officers, Lieutenant Alain de Rothschild, is unknown.

In the POW camp system as a whole, the POW groups most inclined to try to escape were the British and the Dutch. Because there were very few British or Dutch prisoners in Soest, it is not surprising that only one sizable escape attempt took place. It occurred on May 8, 1941; of the 14 French participants, only 10 actually managed to get out of the camp before the attempted escape was discovered. The escape culminated in success for only 3 of the 10.

In accordance with the majority situation in the French population, the Catholic faith was the prevailing religion in the camp, and the prisoner population included a number of priests. As early as 1940, a chapel was set up in an attic room, decorated in the French national colors. In addition, there was a small Protestant community and a Masonic lodge.

As previously mentioned, in 1940 the camp initially won high praise from the ICRC inspectors. As time passed, however, the prisoner population increased from around 2,000 to twice that number. The food became worse and worse, and the length of the captivity was a strain on the prisoners' nerves. In 1942, inspectors described the relationship between the prisoners and the camp administration, highly praised at the outset, only as "strict and correct." From the fall of 1943 onward, the heating and power supply no longer functioned properly. Beginning in the summer of 1944, postal service to the home country functioned only intermittently. In 1944, there was still recognition that the camp commandant was making an effort, but the overall condition of the camp was categorized as unacceptable. The situation became even more acute in the fall of 1944 and early 1945, when Oflags VI A and VI D also were moved to Soest. In total, there were approximately 5,000 French officers in the Soest camp.

Even though the living conditions deteriorated drastically as the war continued, the mortality rate remained low. There are 15

French prisoners buried in the camp cemetery. The greatest losses were caused by the Allied bombing raid on December 5, 1944, which was followed by other air raids, as well as strafing from low-flying Allied aircraft. On April 6, 1945, the camp was liberated by American troops, and the French POWs were repatriated within a few weeks.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag VI A is located in BA-MA (RH 49/157) and PAAA (R 40768, R 40741, R 40974, R. 40980, R 40990, R 40992, R 67011, R 67055).

Additional information about Oflag VI A can be found in the following publications: Mechtild Brand, *Weggesperrt: Kriegsgefangenschaft im Oflag VI A in Soest* (Essen: Klartext, 2014); Yves Durand, *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français 1939–1945* (Paris: Fédération nationale des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie Tunisie Maroc, 1980); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalags, les Oflags et les Kommandos, 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); M. Huckebrink, *"Jetzt kann ich in Ruhe sterben": Rückkehr nach 50 Jahren ins Oflag VI A. Soester Schau-Plätze: historische Orte neu erinnert; Festschrift zum 125-jährigen Bestehen des Vereins für Geschichte und Heimatpflege Soest* (Soest: Westfälische Mocker and Jahn, 2006), pp. 385–387; Barbara Köster, *Die Französische Kapelle in Soest* (Essen: Klartext, 2004); Horst Leise, "Franz Stock: Gemälde und Wandmalerei im 'Stacheldrahtseminar,'" in *Kunst und Stacheldraht*, ed. Verein Geschichtswerkstatt Französische Kapelle (Soest, October 17, 2009); Norbert Ohler, "Kriegsgefangenschaft und Heiligenverehrung: Verbindungen zwischen dem Offizierslager VI A in Soest und dem Limousin," *Soester Zeitschrift, Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte von Soest und der Börde* 101 (1989): 184–187; Gisela Rogge, ed., *Das Oflag VI A, Gefangen in Westfalen: Die Geschichte der französischen Kriegsgefangenen in Soest* (Soest, 1999); and Stadt Soest, *Französische Kapelle des Oflag VI Ao.D.*

Contemporary accounts of Oflag VI A can be found in M.

Blancpain, *Oflag VI A* (Wuppertal, 1941) and M. Varsavaux, *La Vie á l'Oflag VI A: Kriegsgefangener No. 4428* (1943). See also www.memoireetavenir.fr; www.franzkapellesoest.de.

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OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VI B

The Germans created Oflag VI B (map 4a) on July 5, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, by transferring Oflag XI B into this Defense District. The camp was located just southwest of the village of Dössel near Warburg (Nordrhein-Westfalen), about midway between Kassel and Paderborn.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

Oflag VI B originally held French and British officers. In September 1942, the British officers were moved to another camp and replaced by 1,077 Polish officers who were brought from Romania (where they had been interned in the Târgu Jiu camp in September 1939) and 1,500 officers brought from other camps in Germany. On October 1, 1944, the camp held 2,222 Polish officers and orderlies (batmen) and 15 Soviet officers.[2]

The conditions in Oflag VI B were satisfactory and generally in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The prisoners had access to religious services. French prisoners held a Catholic mass each Sunday during their time in the camp, while there were two Sunday services for Anglican prisoners and one for Presbyterians, and a mass for Catholic prisoners while British officers were interned there.[3] The Polish prisoners held three Catholic masses every Sunday. The camp also had a large library, which held more than 5,800 books by August 1944, including 265 religious texts.[4] The Polish prisoners also had musical and theater groups, and hundreds of prisoners participated in sports, including football, table tennis, boxing, and athletics.[5] Some individual Jewish prisoners (*palästinensische Gefangene*) in Oflag VI B received food parcels via the Portuguese Red Cross in 1942 and 1943.[6]

There was a resistance movement in the camp, and it primarily took the form of attempts to escape. For example, on August 30,

1942, in "Operation Olympia," also known as the "Warburg Wire Job," RAOC officer Major B. D. Skelton "Skelly" Ginn shorted out the perimeter floodlights, and 41 prisoners carrying four 3.7 meter (12-foot) scaling ladders made from bed slats rushed to the barbed-wire fence and clambered over. One ladder collapsed, so of the 41 prisoners involved, only 28 escaped, and only 3 of those made it home. On September 20, 1943, 47 Polish prisoners escaped through a tunnel. Four days later, 20 of those prisoners were caught, returned to the camp, and then transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where they were shot. A few days later, 17 other prisoners were caught and sent to the Dortmund Gestapo, where they were killed.[7]

On September 27, 1944, British aircraft bombed the nearby railroad station, and in the course of the attack a few bombs struck the camp, killing 90 officers. In total, 141 prisoners died or were killed in the camp. The prisoners were buried in the cemetery in Dössel.[8] American troops liberated the camp on April 1, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VI B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VI B); BArch B 162/9054–9056: Überprüfung des Oflag VI B in Dössel bei Warburg/Westfalen (Wehrkreis VI), insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Flucht polnischer Offiziere in der Nacht zum 20. September 1943; the USHMMA, RG-68.127 (CZA L22/19); and IWM Documents 1065, Account of Operation Olympia, the escape from Oflag VI B Warburg in 1942.

Oflag VI B at Dössel. General view of the camp, October 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Additional information about Oflag VI B can be found in the following publications: A. S. B. Arkwright, *Return Journey: Escape from Oflag VI B* (London: Service Seeley, 1948); Norbert Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich w niewoli niemieckiej i radzieckiej podczas II Wojny Światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 35; and David Wild, *Prisoner of Hope* (Leicester, UK: Book Guild, 1992). See also information about the camp in Doessel at http://www.warburg.net/doessel/expo/eoflag.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 35.
2. BA-MA, RW 6: 276.
3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, p. 609. (Originals held at NARA, College Park, MD.)
4. Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich*, p. 124.
5. USHMMA RG-30.007M, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 590– 591. (Originals held at NARA, College Park, MD.)
6. USHMMA RG-68.127 (CZA L22/19).
7. See Überprüfung des Oflag VI B in Dössel bei War-burg/ Westfalen (Wehrkreis VI), insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Flucht polnischer Offiziere in der Nacht zum 20. September 1943, BArch B 162/9054–9056.
8. POW camp (Oflag) VI B Doessel. Web. http://www.warburg.net/doessel/expo/eoflag.htm.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VI C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VI C (map 4a) on July 15, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. It deployed to Osnabrück-Eversheide (today a district of Osnabrück), where it occupied an existing Wehrmacht barracks complex on the Landwehrstrasse.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

Oflag VI C held Yugoslav (Serbian) officers and their orderlies for most of its existence, although some French prisoners were present early on. The prisoner population gradually grew from about 3,200 to a maximum of 4,855 in June 1944.[2] The German administrators and guards treated their prisoners properly, and the conditions of confinement in the camp were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). Only toward the end of the war did the prisoners' situation become significantly worse.

Oflag VI C at Eversheide. Camp barracks and food storage, November 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Cultural and recreational activities were available to the prisoners in the camp. There were four Serbian Orthodox priests to lead services for the prisoners of that faith, who constituted the vast majority. The 60 Serbian Catholics and 5 Serbian Muslims in the camp were without religious leadership. Three theater groups performed a variety of shows, including traditional stage plays and musicals, along with a choir and an orchestra. Language courses were taught by the prisoners, and there was a camp library, which held around 5,300 books. Soccer, basketball, and handball were the primary sports played in the camp, and six teams, Triglav, Jugoslavija, Zlatibor, Sava, Skokki XXI, and Iskra, were formed. The prisoners also held table tennis and boxing competitions.[3]

In a separate part of the camp, there were 463 Jewish Serbian prisoners who, until 1944, could freely hold religious services in specially assigned premises, led by a rabbi who was a prisoner.[4] Of the Jewish prisoners in the camp, at least 10 died.[5] The

administrators of the camp did not deal harshly with this group; the greatest danger for Jewish prisoners came from antisemitic Serbian officers, who, on March 21, 1943, for example, desecrated and plundered the prayer house.[6]

During an air raid on the camp by Allied aircraft on December 6, 1944, 116 Serbian prisoners perished, including a general and three colonels.[7] On December 15, the Wehrmacht ordered the camp to be disbanded. Oflag 66 took over the facilities.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VI C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-8/19: Offizierslager VI A, B, C, D, E); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VI C); StA Osnabrück; and USHMMA RG-30.007M.

Additional information about Oflag VI C can be found in the following publications: Zvi Asaria (Hermann Helfgott), *Wir sind Zeugen: Erlebnisbericht eines Juden aus deutschen Lagern* (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1975); Beschlussvorlage der Stadt Osnabrück "Konversion Quebec-Kaserne; Kriegsgefangenenlager OFLAG VI C," May 12, 2011 (Stadtarchiv Osnabrück); P. Junk and M. Sellmeyer, *Oflag VI C: Eine jüdische Gemeinde im Kriegsgefangenenlager Eversburg. Station auf dem Weg nach Auschwitz.* (Bramsche, self-published, 1989), pp. 212–216; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 10; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany, 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 196–197; Elmar Stephan, "Jüdische Gemeinde im Lager: Verein kämpft für Gedenkstätte," *Weser-Kurier* (Bremen), December 13, 2011; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 35. See also "116 Offiziere und Soldaten des Königreiches Jugoslawiens, welche im Gefangenenlager OFLAG VI/C am 6. Dezember 1944 gefallen

sind" at http://www.spc-osnabrueck.de/geschichte/116Offiziere-welche-gefallen-sind.pdf.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 10.

2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany*, pp. 196–197.

3. USHMM RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records regarding Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 610–613. (Originals held at National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.)

4. Stephan, "Jüdische Gemeinde im Lager."

5. Beschlussvorlage der Stadt Osnabrück "Konversion Quebec-Kaserne; Kriegsgefangenenlager OFLAG VI C," May 12, 2011 (Stadtarchiv Osnabrück).

6. R. Lahmann-Lammert, "'Serben sind schlecht zu behandeln.' Historiker suchen Erklärungen: Warum im Lager Eversheide manches anders war als im übrigen Hitlerdeutschland," *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, November 10, 2012, 25.

7. "116 Offiziere und Soldaten des Königreiches Jugoslawiens, welche im Gefangenenlager OFLAG VI/C am 6. Dezember 1944 gefallen sind." http://www.spc-osnabrueck.de/geschichte/116Offiziere-welche-gefallen-sind.pdf.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VI D

The Germans established Oflag VI D (map 4a) on July 10, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, and deployed it in Münster. They issued the order to disband the camp on January 25, 1945, but its prisoners had been transferred to Oflag VI A in Soest in September 1944, at which time Oflag VI D had effectively ceased to function.

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). There were six prisoner commanders over the course of the camp's existence: Fouchon, Le Mouel, Fuchs, Cohade, Magne, and Meunier, all colonels.

The camp held almost entirely French officers and enlisted orderlies, with just a few Polish and Soviet prisoners arriving in the last month of the camp's operation. The number of prisoners in the camp ranged from about 1,175 to nearly 2,600.[1]

The conditions in the camp were satisfactory and generally in compliance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The prisoners organized a theater as well as a university in which classes in various academic disciplines were held. There was also a library with up to 16,000 works.

Between 1941 and 1943, eight French officers died in the camp. They all held the rank of lieutenant: Georges Buffon, Raymond Anty, Roger de Montfort, Jean Lefevre, Gaston Tisserand, Auguste Gambet, Larcher, and Roger Febvuet.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VI D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451) and Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VI D).

Oflag VI D at Münster. General view of the camp, October 1940.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Additional information about Oflag VI D can be found in the following publications: *Annuaire de l'Oflag VI D—III C et Oflags rattachés: Münster-Soest Westphalie: 17 août 1940–6 avril 1945* (Paris: Association des Anciens Prisonniers de l'Oflag VI D, 1949); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 10; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 197–198; and "Oflag VI D," in *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, 1945), pp. 141–143.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 197–198.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VI E

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VI E (map 4a) on September 10, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. The camp deployed to Dorsten (today in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany).[1] While there, it was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). On October 4, 1941, the camp was reorganized as an "Oflag with a Stalag's tasks," and subordinated to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 285, in the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgebiet Nord*) on the eastern front. On November 22, it was put under the control of Security Division 207.[2] It operated in Pleskau (today Pskov, Russia) for at least part of the time it was deployed to the east. Oflag VI E was reorganized as Stalag 372 on May 1, 1942.[3]

Oflag VI E was assigned the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 195 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

While deployed in Dorsten, the camp held between 1,000 and 1,200 Polish officers and orderlies. The German administrators and guards treated the Polish prisoners humanely. The conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The prisoners had access to cultural and recreational activities within the camp. Catholic, Evangelical, and Orthodox religious services were held on Sundays, led by Polish clergymen; funeral services were also held for prisoners who died in the camp. There was a camp library with both religious and secular texts.[4] Educational courses were offered in a variety of subjects, both academic and religious. The Polish prisoners also had a small theater troupe and an orchestra, as well as several sports teams, which played table tennis, football, and other sports.[5]

While deployed in the occupied Soviet Union, the camp held

Soviet prisoners. No records have come to light pertaining to conditions in Oflag VI E in this period. However, unless they differed greatly from those in other camps during the period from November 1941 to May 1942, the prisoners must have suffered greatly and experienced a high death rate from executions, abuse, disease, exposure, and malnourishment.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VI E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-6/19: Offizierslager VI A, B, C, D, E), and Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VI E).

Additional information about Oflag VI E can be found in the following publications: Norbert Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich w niewoli niemieckiej i radzieckiej podczas II Wojny Światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987, p. 10; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 35.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, vol. 3: p. 35.
2. Stammtafel des Oflag VI E, 13. März 1942, BA-MA, RH 53-6/19.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, 3:7.
4. Honka, *Życie religijne żołnierzy polskich*, p. 125.

5. USHMMA, RG 30.007M, Miscellaneous Records regarding Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 628–629.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VII A (map 4f) on September 25, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII and deployed it in Murnau am Staffelsee.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII).

The first camp commandant was Oberst Dr. Frei. From December 1939 until November 1940, the camp commandant was Oberst Nikolaus von Schemmel (1873–1959). From February 1941 to June 1942, the commandant was Oberst Paul Freiherr von Troschke, from June 1942 to September 1944, Oberst Oster, and from September 8, 1944, to April 29, 1945, Generalmajor Alfred Petry (1894–1948). The camp officer *(Lageroffizier*) was Leutnant Diemmert, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Leutnant Oleschko. Other officers were the Freisinger brothers and Rittmeister Haber.

The position of camp leader, a representative who was chosen from among the prisoners, was held in turn by General Tadeusz Piskor (October 6, 1939–November 11, 1939), General (generał brygady) Antoni Szylling (November 12, 1939–July 5, 1940), and Colonel (pułkownik) Józef Korycki (July 6, 1940–April 29, 1945).

Oflag VII A at Murnau. General view of the camp with prisoners in the foreground, August 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The camp held Polish officers and orderlies (batmen). As early as October 1939, around 800 Polish officers were brought to the camp. In the following months, the number of prisoners grew quickly, reaching 2,000. On April 27, 1942, prisoners from the so-called Generals' Camp, Oflag VIII E, were transferred to Oflag VII A. In September 1942, there were already more than 4,000 prisoners in the camp. New prisoners from Poland (800 officers) were placed in the camp in October 1944, after the suppression of the uprising in Warsaw. On March 22, 1945, 381 additional prisoners were transferred from Oflag II C. On April 29, 1945, the camp held 5,457 prisoners, including 5,114 Poles.

From the very beginning, some of the prisoners were generals. Initially there were five generals in the camp. Later, quite a number of other generals came to this camp from the camp in Königstein. In total, 33 general officers passed through the camp, including the commander of the Polish Navy, Admiral Józef Unrug.

Conditions for the prisoners of war (POWs) were satisfactory, by and large, and basically in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The camp was considered a model camp, and conditions there were better than in other camps for Polish officers. The

prisoners slept in concrete rather than wooden buildings. Food supply, however, was not much better, and the prisoners depended on Red Cross packages to supplement their diets. As one prisoner noted, the rations in the camp were "too little to live, too much to die."[2]

The camp contained a sports field measuring 25 meters by 35 meters (82 feet by 115 feet); the military exercise ground in the camp was also used for recreational activities such as football and handball. The POWs also played volleyball, tennis, and table tennis and took part in boxing, swimming, and athletics.[3] The prisoners also had access to a library with 25,000 books, an officers' mess, a snack bar, and a hospital. In the fall of 1940, the prisoners opened a theater, and, by early 1945, they had put on more than 700 shows. The POWs also organized an orchestra of 70 men and a chorus with more than 60 members; the orchestra gave a total of 53 concerts. The camp received 13 different German daily newspapers, 16 weeklies, and 10 monthlies. An educational and scientific institution was created in the camp, and the prisoners could do scholarly work; some even wrote doctoral dissertations. The prisoners' diet was satisfactory until 1944. Starting in the second half of 1944, food parcels from abroad almost stopped arriving and, as a result, the prisoners' diet deteriorated drastically. Famine broke out in the camp. Now it was necessary to pay 100 cigarettes for a loaf of bread in the camp. Because of the famine, the prisoners even ate all the cats in the camp.

Various sorts of restrictions were imposed on the Jewish officers in Oflag VII A. Around 100 Jewish officers were housed in the attic of Block B, and in this way a kind of camp ghetto was created. The remaining prisoners were forbidden to associate with the Jews, but they nonetheless violated this ban on a daily basis and supported their Jewish comrades in every possible way.

The prisoners created an underground organization in the camp, headed by General Zygmunt Podhorski. This organization established ties with Poles working in the surrounding area as well as with Warsaw and London. The organization even had its own man in the Gestapo in Murnau. The chief aim of the underground organization was ensuring the safety of the prisoners in the event of real danger. The organization also assisted the prisoners in their

attempts to escape.[4] American troops liberated the camp on April 29, 1945.[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VII A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VII A).

Additional information about Oflag VII A can be found in the following publications: Stefan Majchrowski, *Za drutami Murnau* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1970); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 74; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); "Polnisches Offiziersgefangenenlager Murnau," *Historische Tatsachen* 49 (1991): 15–19; Danuta Kisielewicz, *Oflag VII A Murnau* (Opole: Centralne Museum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1990); Lucjusz Kocielski, "Wyzwolenie obozu–wspomnenia," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* (1987), 136–142; Wojciech Półchłopek, "Kultura fizyczna i sport w oficerskich obozach jeńców wojennych w III Rzeszy (na przykładzie Oflagu VII A Murnau)," *Kultura Fizyczna* 11–12 (1997): 25–28; Wojciech Rawski, *Wspomnenia wojny września 1939 i Offizierslager Murnau* (Tarnobrzeg, 1998). See also http://www.naukowy.pl/encyklopedia/Oflag_VII_A_Murnau.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 74.

2. Kisielewicz, *Oflag VII A Murnau*, p. 176.

3. Półchłopek, "Kultura fizyczna i sport," 25–26.

4. Majchrowski, *Za drutami Murnau*.

5. Kocielski, “Wyzwolenie obozu–wspomnenia,” 136–142.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VII B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VII B (map 4f) on October 13, 1939, in Eichstätt, Bavaria. The camp occupied a former police training academy southeast of the town center. Oflag VII B was divided into an upper and lower camp along a small slope in a valley, with the Altmühl River bordering its southern edge. A rocky hill lay to the north and rolling wooded countryside to either side.

Initially, Oflag VII B held Polish prisoners of war (POWs): 1,145 officers and 225 orderlies, as of December 13, 1939. In May 1940, the Germans transferred all the Polish prisoners to Oflag VII A in Murnau and replaced them with just over 1,400 Belgian officers and orderlies. Their numbers gradually dwindled, and British and Commonwealth officers and orderlies arrived in the fall of 1942; their numbers started at about 1,645 officers and 376 enlisted and shrank to about 1,500 and 230. At its peak in April 1943, the camp held 1,954 prisoners. While numbers fluctuated to a degree, the average size remained near 1,500. The camp also held a small number of American POWs.[1]

Although the facilities and sleeping quarters were well built, the camp itself suffered from chronic overcrowding. The ending of the shackling of prisoners in November 1943 eased some of the pressure, as the upper camp could be fully integrated into the lower camp. In early 1944, several new huts were constructed in the lower camp and even more were added during the summer. However, the camp for enlisted men, which held around 400 prisoners, received none of the benefits of these expansions. That sector remained overcrowded, and the facilities lacked electric lighting and proper sanitation.

From October 1942 until November 1943, prisoners in the upper camp at Eichstätt were kept handcuffed throughout the day, a result of a dispute between Germany, on the one hand, and Britain, Canada, and the United States, on the other. At its peak, German guards kept 321 officers and 60 privates shackled in this fashion.

From the time these prisoners arrived at Oflag VII B, the camp isolated them in the upper camp, surrounded it with extra barbed wire fencing, and kept the prisoners shackled daily.

Initially, the camp guards were strict about shackling the prisoners. From 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., they remained handcuffed. Isolated from the rest of the camp, they were under constant surveillance to prevent any attempt to remove the bonds. As the months went on, however, the guards relaxed their oversight. Writing in March 1943, Major E. Booth entered into his journal: "The tying of my hands behind the back is a farce, this much will appear from the writing of the diary."[2] By the time the handcuffing stopped in November, even the International Red Cross noted that "local authorities appear to disapprove" of the orders. Guards merely left handcuffs in the cells, and prisoners wore them only twice daily for roll call to maintain appearances.[3]

One of the more notable escape attempts of the war came from British officers in Oflag VII B. In September 1942, a group of officers arrived at Eichstätt after recapture from an attempted escape from Oflag VI B in Warburg. By January 1943, Lieutenant Jock Hamilton-Baillie and Captain Frank Weldon had formed an escape committee and were at work on a tunnel north through the rocky hillside. Although German guards discovered soil and suspected that a tunnel was being built, they focused their search efforts on the southern border of the camp, assuming the rocky conditions of the north made tunneling impossible. During the night of June 3–4, 1943, 65 officers escaped through the tunnel and into the German countryside in small groups, with an intended target of reaching Switzerland. Eventually, the Germans recaptured all 65 but at the expense of substantial police and military investment. The escapees were then transferred to Oflag IV C at Colditz castle.[4]

The escape led to the revocation of a number of privileges for the remaining POWs at Eichstätt and a deterioration of morale in the camp. In addition to the ongoing manacling of prisoners in the upper camp, the Germans closed the theater, limited movement within the camp, and curtailed additional recreation opportunities. Several prisoners attempted suicide in the fall of 1943.[5]

Tensions subsided by the winter of 1943 when a new officer

from the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) assumed control of recreational facilities. He organized daily walks outside the camp for the prisoners and regular visits to the cinema in town. Arranged in shifts, prisoners were able to take a three-hour walk through the nearby countryside once per fortnight and see a German film each month. Soon the theater was again operational, a well-stocked library and continued education courses allowed for study, hundreds of ice skates were on hand for winter hockey, and the YMCA provided materials for a camp newsletter.

German oversight remained strict and often punitive. From 1943 until liberation, the prisoners received only two-thirds rations, with the commandant claiming this was necessary due to the prisoners' wasting of food on full rations.[6] On February 25, two prisoners were killed for leaving their barracks during an air raid. The German leadership insisted that during such raids, the prison becomes an active war zone and any noncompliant prisoners would be treated as active combatants.[7] Regarding this incident as "cold-blooded murder," the prisoners collectively avoided guards as much as possible and refused to salute, often turning their backs on the German leadership.

With the US Army approaching, the German guards marched the remaining prisoners out of the camp on April 14, 1945. An American aircraft confused this column for German soldiers and opened fire, killing 14 British officers and wounding 46. The Americans liberated the camp itself on April 25.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag VII B is located in NARA (RG 389).

Additional information about Oflag VII B can be found in the following publications: Arieh Kochavi, *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 199–200; and Dianne Rutherford, "An Officer's First Duty," *Wartime* 52 (October 2010).

Patrick Tobin

NOTES

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 199–200.
2. Major E. Booth, diary entry March 31, 1943, in Kochavi, *Confronting Captivity*, p. 49.
3. Report of the International Red Cross (November 5, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
4. Rutherford, "An Officer's First Duty."
5. Report by the International Red Cross (November 5, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
6. Ibid.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (February 29, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VII C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VII C (map 4f) on November 29, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII and deployed it to Laufen. On July 9, 1940, the camp was renamed Oflag VII C/H (*Hauptlager* or "main camp") when the sub-camp, Oflag VII C/Z (*Zweiglager*), opened in Tittmoning; on January 31, 1941, its former name was restored. On January 28, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Ilag VII and the imprisoned officers were transferred to Oflag VII B.

The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis VII*). The commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Dr. von Frey.

At first, the camp held Polish officers, but from mid-1940 on it held British officers and orderlies (batmen). The prisoners were housed in a five-story stone building, the former seat of the archbishopric of Salzburg. This building had a capacity of 500 prisoners but, for a brief period, housed nearly 1,500. This situation required up to 90 men to live together in 13.6 meter by 7.6 meter (45 foot by 25 foot) rooms. Initially, there were no latrines or bathing or laundry facilities.[1] Food supplies were also poor. Meals consisted mostly of thin soup; sometimes small potatoes were added, but these were frequently rotten. Many men rapidly lost weight, some as much as 27 kilograms (60 pounds), and it was not uncommon for prisoners to faint from weakness.[2] However, as prisoners began to be moved out to other camps (including Oflag VII C/Z) and the population returned to a level closer to the camp's intended capacity, conditions improved. By the spring of 1941, the population had shrunk to under 700. The prisoners had opportunities to read, write letters home, receive food parcels, and take part in sports and various types of arts.

Oflag VII C at Laufen. View of camp buildings, March 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

However, the commandant of the camp, who hated the British, could be harsh toward the prisoners and permitted the guards to shoot to kill prisoners who were attempting to violate his rules.[3] For example, Oberstleutnant Dr. von Frey ordered prisoners not to lean out the windows of the barracks, lest they be thought by the guards to be attempting to jump out and escape. In February 1941, a British prisoner named Lieutenant Deeds was shot and killed while standing at a window in his barrack. The guard who shot him claimed that he had been attempting to escape; however, the British man of confidence confirmed that Lieutenant Deeds was in fact not attempting to escape but had instead been standing at the window because he was sketching.[4] The order to close the camp was issued on January 21, 1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VII C (C/H) is located in TNA (files TS 26/230: Oflag VII C/H—murder of

Lieutenant Deas [*sic*]; WO 309/2166—murder of British prisoner of war at Wauffen Oflag VII C, Laufen, Germany, August 1940; and WO 309/2057—death of Lieutenant Dees [*sic*] at Oflag VII C, Laufen, Germany, 25 January 1941).

Additional information about Oflag VII C (C/H) can be found in the following publications: Leslie C. Hunt, *The Prisoners Progress: An Illustrated Diary of the March into Captivity of the Last of the British Army in France, June 1940* (London: Hutchinson, 1941); S. P. Mackenzie, *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939– 1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 11; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 74; David Wild, *Prisoner of Hope* (Leicester, UK: Book Guild, 1992).

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NOTES

1. Mackenzie, *Colditz Myth*, p. 96.
2. Ibid., p. 157.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. General Notes on Visit by Miss Collins 24th September–1st October 1946 to War Crimes Division, Wiesbaden, 6.1.1/82511066/International Tracing Service.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VII C/Z

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VII C/Z (map 4f) on July 25, 1940, in the castle at Tittmoning. Oflag VII C/Z was a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Oflag VII C/H in Laufen, 18.7 kilo-meters (11.6 miles) to the southeast.

Oflag VII C/Z held British officers and their orderlies (batmen) whom the Germans transferred from Oflag VII C/H. The peak population was about 220. The conditions were satisfactory. Various kinds of sporting and artistic activities were available, and the prisoners received Red Cross parcels to supplement their rather meager rations. On February 1, 1941, the Wehrmacht redesignated the camp as Oflag VII D.

SOURCES Information about Oflag VII C/Z can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 11; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 74.

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OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VII D

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VII D (maps 4f and 5) on January 23, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII by redesignating Oflag VII C/Z. It was initially located in Tittmoning. On October 24, 1941, the camp moved to Stanislau (Polish: Stanisławów, today Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine) in the Generalgouvernement. While located in Tittmoning, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII). During the deployment in Stanislau, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the General Government of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*).

During its time in the Generalgouvernement, Oflag VII D held the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 667, which it received between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

The commandant of the camp during its time in Tittmoning and in Stanislau until February 1942 was Major Hermann Spruner von Mertz. He was replaced by Major (later Oberstleutnant) Wilhelm Schimmer (b. 1889 in Munich), who remained the commandant after the camp was converted into a Stalag. The deputy commandant was Alexander Faber du Faur. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer at Tittmoning was Oberleutnant Walther Klau; he was replaced after the relocation by Hauptmann Konrad von Kaas.[1]

Oflag VII D held British prisoners of war (POWs) in both Tittmoning and Stanislau; while at Stanislau it also held Soviet POWs. The treatment of the British prisoners was satisfactory. The living conditions and treatment faced by the Soviet prisoners were significantly worse and the death rate among them was high. Sanitary conditions in the camp were poor; at least 25 men died of typhus in April 1942.[2] On April 17, 1942, the camp was

repurposed as a camp for enlisted men and redesignated as Stalag 371.[3] The British prisoners were transferred to other camps and only Soviet prisoners remained in the new Stalag.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VII D is in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453), Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VII D), and BArch B 162/8314– 8319: Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 371 (bis 17.4.1942: Oflag VII d) in Stanislau/Galizien.

Additional information about Oflag VII D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 74; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 4. See also https://krijgsgevangen.nl/stalag-371-stanislau/.

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NOTES

1. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 371 Stanislau, BArch B 162/8314, Bl. 96 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2740.00001870).
2. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 371 Stanislau, BArch B 162/8314, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2740.00001855).
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen, Vol. 10,* p. 4.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VIII A (map 4e) on December 14, 1939, in Kreuzburg (today Kluczbork, Poland) in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

The first prisoners in Oflag VIII A were Polish officers who had been transferred from Dulag VIII B in Lamsdorf (today Łambinowice, Poland). In the first half of 1940, the camp held 810 prisoners. In 1941, the camp held only French prisoners. On September 10, 1940, Oflag VIII A held 604 officers and 91 orderlies. From there, the population gradually declined to 394 officers and 66 orderlies on January 1, 1942.[2] Little information exists on conditions in the camp. Generally speaking, the Germans treated Polish prisoners rather poorly and French prisoners relatively well.

The Germans disbanded Oflag VIII A on July 1, 1942.[3] The officers confined in the camp were transferred to Oflag VIII F in Mährisch Trübau (today Moravská Třebová, Czech Republic).

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII A); and BArch B 162/17601–17603: Überprüfung des Oflag VIII A.

Additional information about Oflag VIII A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 202; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy*

hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 233; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 113; and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław; Zaklad Narodowy in Osslinskinskinch, 1972), pp. 159, 166.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.

2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 202.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VIII B (map 4e) on December 15, 1939, in Silberberg (today Srebrna Góra, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). Oflag VIII B was briefly assigned a field post number (*Feldpostnummer*), 18 392, which was both issued and struck between July 19, 1941, and February 14, 1942.

Initially, Oflag VIII B was a punishment camp (*Straflager*), with a strict regime and living conditions that were worse than in other camps. In December 1940, it was transformed into a regular Oflag. The camp was located in the casemates of Frederican Fort Silberberg in the Sowie Mountains. The prisoners were almost exclusively Polish officers captured during the September Campaign.[2]

Some of the Silberberg fort buildings were adapted for the needs of the prisoners, including Fort Ostróg (Spitzberg), which from 1913 had been a youth hostel, and later Fort Wysoka Skałka (Hohenstein), which in the 1920s had been a school for police and from 1935 had been used by the Wehrmacht. The prisoners were probably also held in the main building in the fort, Donżon. There was also a camp in the town, in a factory building near the Srebrna Góra railway station. The Oflag's command office was also located in the town, in one of the apartments at 10 Letnia Street.[3]

The name of the first camp commander is not known. His successor was Major von Zerboni, a veteran of World War I. He lost a leg during a battle. The Polish prisoners gave him the nickname "Kuternoga" ("lame duck") and "Gräueltata" (from *Gräueltaten* or acts of cruelty). He accused the prisoners of crimes he claimed had been committed against German soldiers in Bydgoszcz in 1939. The next commander of the camp, from May 1940, was Major Biess. The identity of the final commandant is

unknown, but he was involved in the liquidation of Oflag VIII B. The permanent staff comprised several noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 1 officer, and 20 to 30 soldiers.[4]

Oflag VIII B held approximately 230 officers.[5] The first prisoners arrived in January 1940. In the period from January 15 to June 12, 1940, 99 officers and NCOs were brought to Fort Ostróg. In September, there were 140 inmates, including a Frenchman and 29 orderlies. On November 1, 1940, just about all the prisoners were taken to Oflag IV C in Colditz, except for five officers who remained for reasons that are unknown.[6] On December 15, 1940, 183 officers and 41 convalescent soldiers from the September Campaign arrived. After the initial selection, they were quartered in Fort Ostróg and a factory building in the town.[7] Turnover was substantial in the prisoner population. In January 1941, there were 218 officers and 52 orderlies, but, in the following two months, 33 officers were transported to other Oflags.[8] In March 1941, 26 officers returned to Silberberg from Oflag IV C.[9] According to the figures from May 1, 1941, there were 156 officers and 36 enlisted men in Oflag VIII B.[10] On July 1, there was an action to clear the camp as a result of the invasion of the Soviet Union and the expected wave of Red Army prisoners of war.[11] From that point forward, the camp was not in use. It was formally liquidated by an order dated October 17, 1941.[12]

Among those imprisoned in Oflag VIII B were General Tadeusz Piskor, chief of the headquarters of the Polish army; Vice-Admiral Józef Unrug, head of the Coastal Defense in 1939; and Commander Stefan Frankowski, commander of the Polish fleet.[13] In addition to these and other military officers, police officers and gendarmes were detained at Fort Wysoka Skałka. They were held at the camp from March to April 1940.[14] There are three recorded deaths: Commander Stefan Frankowski, Lieutenant Olgierd Roman, and Lieutenant Aleksander Ciechanowski, all of whom died in the Langenbiel Hospital in present-day Bielawa.[15]

In Fort Ostróg, the officers were held in a building that was fenced off from the remainder of the camp by barbed wire. The older officers were lodged on higher floors, while the younger officers were in two oblong casemates with bunk beds. In each, there were 30 prisoners. In the quarters there was low light and stifling air, which had a negative impact on the prisoners' health.

The prisoners' uniforms were covered with mildew. The camp had access to running water and once a week the prisoners were able to use the communal showers to wash. One of the areas housed a toilet. In front of the buildings was a 30-meter by 15-meter (98-feet by 49-feet) square on which roll call was held.[16] The conditions in Fort Wysoka Skałka were decidedly better. The living areas were dry and well lit and the windows faced the fort's courtyard. There were no toilets, but it was equipped with a portable latrine.[17] In the factory building in the town, where those convalescing were quartered, conditions were more difficult due to a lack of running water. The prisoners carried the water from the administration building. Initially, there were no beds. The sick were quartered on straw or wooden wool, temporarily spread across the concrete floor. The temperature never got above 8° Celsius (46° Fahrenheit).[18] The meager food rations were supplemented with products from Red Cross or private parcels. Letters were handed out once a week after being censored.[19]

Officers were not required to work. Their day began at 7:00 a.m., after reveille, and ended at 9:00 p.m., after roll call. Roll calls occurred between three and five times a day.[20] One of the prisoners recalled that "each day we had a number of roll calls which were called by a whistle…. Between roll calls we tidied up our quarters, aired our clothes, some did exercises and walked around the yard. Admiral Unrug gave English lessons even though he only had available one tiny book … or he told about his journeys around the world which were part of his service in the navy."[21] The prisoners had opportunities to read, and obtained German books and newspapers, including "Militärwochenblatt," which had a military theme.[22] Prisoners also used their free time to learn foreign languages, including English.[23] Once a fortnight, the prisoners could participate in religious services, which were led by a German priest. The camp command prohibited confessions, however.[24]

The prisoners in Oflag VIII B tried to escape on a regular basis.[25] The first, unsuccessful attempts took place in March 1940.[26] The fundamental problem was the lack of knowledge of the local topography and the location of the camp. On the night of May 5–6, 1940, a group of 10 officers, at that time one half of the officers at Fort Ostróg, started another escape attempt. Their initial

plan was to reach Hungary and from there go on to France to join the Polish Armed Forces. Three prisoners, Felicjan Pawlak, Jan Gerstel, and Tadeusz Wesołowski, managed to escape from the camp and then followed a route from Hungary through Yugoslavia and Turkey to Palestine.[27] In retribution for the escape, the prisoners who remained in the camp were prohibited from praying together, the canteen was closed, and the number of roll calls was increased to five each day.[28]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII B).

Additional information about Oflag VIII B can be found in the following publications: Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 113; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972), pp. 159–160, 166; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 466; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and A. Verstraeten and M. Momin, "Das Oflag VIII B Silberberg," *AGZ-Rundbrief* 51 (1986): 49–50.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbande und Truppen*, p. 113; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 12.

2. P. Sroka, "Oflag VIII B Silberberg. Niedoceniony fragment historii twierdzy," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 34

(2011): 111; P. Sroka, "Oflag VIII 'b'—historia i legenda," in *Twierdza Srebrnogórska*, ed. G. Podruczny and T. Przerwa (Srebrna Góra: Srebrnogórska Oficyna Wydawnicza Jacek Grużlewski, 2006), 104; Por. T. Zielińska, "Oficerskie obozy specjalne—Silberberg, Colditz, Lübeck," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 13 (1989): 7–32.

3. Podruczny and Przerwa, eds., *Twierdza Srebrna Góra* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2010), pp. 412–418, 424–428; Przerwa, "Schronisko PTTK w Srebrnej Górze—rys historyczny," *Pielgrzymy* (2001): 36; S. M. Bobow, "Oflag VIII B w Srebrnej Górze (Spitzberg-Hohenstein-Donjon-Fabrik) 15 grudnia 1939 r.–1 września 1941 r.," *Rocznik Dolnośląski* 4 (1976): 388; J. Organiścik, "O karnym Oflagu VIII B w Srebrnej Górze raz jeszcze," *Informator Krajoznawczy* 43 (1986): 5; Archiwum Centralnego Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambiniwicach-Opolu (ACMJW), Relacje i Wspomnienia (RiW), sygn. 925 and 966.

4. J. Giertych, *Wrześniowcy* (London, 1959), pp. 177–178; Bobow, "Oflag VIII B," 387–388.

5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 12.

6. ACMJW, Materiały i Dokumenty (MiD). Statystyka Genewska, sygn. 16, k. 11; Bobow, "Oflag VIII B," 400–401.

7. Bobow, "Oflag VIII B," 2.

8. ACMJW; WASt, Ofl. VIII B, l. 37; MiD, sygn. 16, k. 30, 45; J. Hlebowicz, "Wspomnienia z niewoli. 2," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików* 26 (1980): 6.

9. ACMJW, MiD, WASt, Ofl. VIII B, l. 45; J. Hlebowicz, "Jeszcze o Oflagu VIII B w Srebrnej Górze," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików* 47 (1971): 7.

10. ACMJW, MiD. Statystyka Genewska, sygn. 4, Statystyka 1941, k. 55.

11. ACMJW, MiD. Statystyka Genewska, sygn. 4, Statystyka

1941, k. 79 and 88.

12. Hlebowicz, "Jeszcze o Oflagu VIII B," 7.

13. J. Hlebowicz, "Wykaz oficerów—jeńców obozu specjalnego Oflagu VIII B Srebrna Góra (1940 r.)," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików* 4 (1974): 17; J. Izdebski, "Generał Tadeusz Piskor (1889–1951)," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 32 (2009): 12–13; M. Borowiak, *Admirał Unrug 1884–1973* (Warsaw, 2009), pp. 268–269.

14. ACMJW, WASt, Ofl. VIII B, l. 12; Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 272–273; E. Schubert, "Życie w Forcie Hohenstein," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 13 (1989): 33.

15. ACMJW, WASt, Ofl. VIII B, l. 33, 38; G. Trzaskowska, *Cmentarze wojenne we Wrocławiu w latach 1939–2002*, (Wrocław, 2008), 118.

16. B. Kozłowska, *Pułkownik Mozdyniewicz. Żołnierz Polski niepodległej*, W. Grochowalski, ed. (Łódź, 2003), 70; T. Jakubiec, "Stan sanitarny obozów i opieka lekarska w Srebrnej Górze i w Colditz," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 13 (1989): 61–62; L. Wernic, "Nieznana historia Festung Silberberg," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików* 39 (1969): 5; Hlebowicz, "Wspomnienia z niewoli," 6; Sroka, "Oflag VIII B Silberberg," 115.

17. Jakubiec, "Stan sanitarny obozów," 62.

18. J. Wilk, "Wspomnienia z pobytu w Srebrnej Górze i Lubece," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 13 (1989): 176–177.

19. Bobow, "Oflag VIII B," 405–407; Sroka, "Oflag VIII B Silberberg," 116.

20. Bobow, "Oflag VIII B," 407; ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 925.

21. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 925.

22. Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 175, 198–199.

23. Schubert, "Życie w Forcie Hohenstein," 33.

24. Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 188–189.

25. Sroka, “Oflag VIII B Silberberg,” 118–121.

26. Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 205–217.

27. F. Pawlak, “Oflag VIII B I … znowu wolność,” *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 13 (1989): 36–60; Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 223–253.

28. ACMJW, Relacje i Wspomnienia, sygn. 1106, k. 15– 16; Giertych, *Wrześniowcy*, pp. 263–267; J. Iwanowski, “Podkop w forcie Spitzberg został wykryty,” *Express Wieczorny* 257–258 (1971): 30 X-1 XI: 4.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VIII C (map 4e) on May 20, 1940, in Juliusburg (today Dobroszyce, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

The first available population reports, from September and October 1940, show a few French officers and orderlies (17 total in October) and greater numbers of Belgian officers and orderlies (379 and 77, respectively). The number of Belgians varied over time, occasionally rising to nearly 600. A small number of Dutch prisoners (66–68) were in the camp from late 1940 until July 1941.[2]

The Germans set up the camp inside two-thirds of the Amalienstift monastery; the other third remained a Catholic orphanage, supervised by nuns. Little information exists about conditions in the camp, although the Germans generally treated Belgian and Dutch prisoners well. Some Dutch prisoners succeeded in escaping, which prompted the Germans to hold extra roll calls and cut back on Red Cross parcels and mail privileges.

One letter from a prisoner contained this list of items that could, or could not, be sent to prisoners:[3]

> Letter from Lieutenant Raymond TASSIER to his wife, dated June 22, 1940
>
> WARNING !
>
> To prevent items that are subject to confiscation being sent to prisoners of war by their next of kin, here is a list of items that are allowed to be sent and one that is not allowed to be sent.
>
> Items allowed to be sent:

Military clothing, footwear, linen, food of every kind, commodities and refreshments of all kinds;

Smoking and chewing tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, pipes, chewing gum, cosmetic articles / except those mentioned below;

fun games, playing cards, books.

Items that are not allowed to be sent:

Civilian clothes …, dressing gowns that can be used as civilian clothes to go out;

bandages for unauthorized persons;

weapons, weapon-like tools, large pocket knives, scissors (large), ammunition and explosive materials, solidified alcohol and alcoholic beverages;

Ink, steel quills … pens, charcoal and tracing paper;

Compasses, backpacks, maps, cameras, eyeglasses, magnifying glasses, electric lamps, lighters, wicks of all kinds, candles, alcohol, flammable materials, heaters;

Spare parts for telephone and TSF / transmitters and receivers; pharmaceutical articles in any form, vaseline tubes, ammonia (solid or solution), hair lotions, toothpaste, perfumes, waxing cream, … chemicals, acids;

Books and printed matter of a reprehensible or indecent character, foreign newspapers, atlases, or books with maps;

paper cigar holders, notebooks, writing paper, postcards.

Money and foreign currency.

The Germans disbanded the camp with an order dated September 4, 1942. The prisoners were transferred to Oflag X D in Hamburg-Fischbek and Oflag II A in Prenzlau.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII C); and BArch B 162/17604–17605: Überprüfung des Oflag VIII C.

Additional information about Oflag VIII C can be found in the

following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 202–203; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 160; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972), pp. 161, 166; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 113. See also https://krijgsgevangen.nl/oflag-viii-c-juliusburg/; and http://users.skynet.be/bertinj/Oflags_blog/archives/cat_oflagviiicjuliusburg.html.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 202–203.
3. http://users.skynet.be/bertinj/Oflags_blog/archives/cat_oflagviiicjuliusburg.html.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII E

The Germans established Oflag VIII E (map 4e) on July 23, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it to Johannisbrunn/Troppau (today Jánské Koupele, Czech Republic). The camp was disbanded on July 1, 1942.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

The commandant of Oflag VIII E was Oberst Hencker from October 29, 1940, to June 30, 1941. On July 1, 1941, he was succeeded by Generalmajor Johann Janusz (1882–1952), who remained in command until May 19, 1942. The camp, located in the former Spa Hotel in Johannisbrunn, held imprisoned officers and their batmen. The conditions were generally good and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). In total, 30 generals from Poland, 30 from France, 9 from the Netherlands, and 1 from Great Britain, as well as a colonel from Norway, passed through the camp.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII E is located in BA-MA (RW 6; RH 53-8/18) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII E).

Additional information about Oflag VIII E can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 13; Zbigniew Moszumański, "Sprawozdanie gen. Emila Krukowicza-Przedrzymirskiego z pobytu w niewoli," *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 3 (2007): 145–164; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); and

Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 113.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.

2. Moszumański, "Sprawozdanie gen. Emila Krukowicza-Przedrzymirskiego," 145–164.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII F

The Germans established Oflag VIII F (map 4e) on July 24, 1940, in Wahlstatt (today Legnickie Pole, Poland) near the city of Liegnitz (today Legnica) in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). On July 1, 1942, Oflag VIII F was deployed to Mährisch Trübau (today Moravská Třebová, Czech Republic).[2] Until December 1, 1942, a so-called remaining detachment (*Restkommando*) was located in Wahlstatt.

Oflag VIII F at Mährisch Trübau. General view of the camp, December 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

In Wahlstatt, Oflag VIII F occupied a former Benedictine abbey dedicated to Saint Hedwig of Silesia. The building had been a military school between 1840 and 1920, and the Nazis had used it as a "National Political Educational Institution" starting in 1934.

The camp mainly held French officers and their orderlies. The population ranged from about 650 to just over 1,000 in Wahlstatt and from 1,045 to about 2,120 in Mährisch Trübau. Small numbers of Yugoslav and Italian officers were in the camp for brief periods.[3] No specific information on conditions in the camp is available, but the Germans generally treated French prisoners well. The Germans disbanded the camp with an order dated May 9, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII F is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII F); and BArch B 162/17607: Überprüfung des Oflag VIII F.

Additional information about Oflag VIII F can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 265–266; Rémy, *Avec l'Oflag VIII-F* (Paris: Presse de la Cité, 1972); Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972), pp. 161–163, 166–167; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 113.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.

2. Ibid., p. 113.

3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 203–204.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII G

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VIII G (map 4e) on July 5, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it to Weidenau (today Vidnava, Czech Republic). The camp was disbanded on September 22, 1942.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

Oflag VIII G held British (1940–1941) and French (1940–1942) officers and batmen. It was a relatively small camp, with a population between 550 and 635 prisoners in 1941 and 1942.[2] Detailed information on conditions in this camp is unavailable, but the Germans normally treated British and French officers relatively well.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII G is located in BA-MA (RW 6; RH 53-8/18); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII G); and Special Collections of Stanford University Library, "Journals with photographs of French officer performances in German Oflag VIII G and Oflag VIII F POW camps, 1940–1942."

Oflag VIII G at Weidenau. View of camp buildings, December 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Additional information about Oflag VIII G can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 13; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1972), p. 113.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) VIII H

The Wehrmacht established Oflag VIII H (map 4e) on August 1, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it to Oberlangendorf (today Horni Dlouha Loučka, Czech Republic). The camp had one branch, Oflag VIII H/Z Eulenburg (today Sovinec, Czech Republic). The camp was disbanded on August 18, 1942.[1]

Oflag VIII H was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Hugo von Willamowitz-Möllendorf.[2] The commandant of the camp at Eulenburg was Oberst Donner-Grobois. The staff of the main camp consisted of 3 officers and 25 enlisted men. The camp was guarded by reserve (*Landesschützen*) personnel.

The camp held French, Belgian, and British (until 1941) officers and batmen. The camp in Eulenburg also held French officers. The population of the camp ranged from 430 to 720 prisoners in 1941 and 1942.[3] Specific details on conditions in Oflag VIII H are not available, but the Germans generally treated Western officers well.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag VIII H is located in BArch B 162/27796 (copy at USHMM RG-14. 101M.2619.00001003–00001047); BA-MA (RW 6; RH 53-8/18); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag VIII H).

Additional information about Oflag VIII H can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 13; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945*

(Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); *Souvenirs d'Oberlangendorf: Oflag VIII. H, Moravie, septembre 1940* (Paris: Librairie de Montsouris, 1945); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1972), p. 113.

Oflag VIII H at Oberlangendorf. View of camp buildings, December 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13. Mattiello and Vogt and Tessin mistakenly give August 18, 1943, as the date of the

camp's dissolution. In OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, there is no mention of the camp after August 1942. The disbanding of the camp is mentioned in OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 49: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1942. In accordance with this order, the camp buildings were turned over to the Hitler Youth for elementary military training.

2. Vorermittlung gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Oflag VIII H, BArch B 162/27795, Bl. 31R (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2619.00001024).

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IX A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag IX A (map 4d) on October 2, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX, and deployed it in Spangenberg from 1939 to 1945. Starting on June 3, 1940, after Oflag IX C in Rotenburg an der Fulda became its sub-camp (*Zweiglager*), then designated Oflag IX A/Z, the original camp was known as Oflag IX A/H (*Hauptlager*).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX).

Oflag IX A/Z at Rotenburg an der Fulda. Prisoners in the camp courtyard, March 1943. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Oflag IX A/H consisted of an upper and lower camp. The upper camp occupied the picturesque Schloss Spangenberg, a castle dating to the fourteenth century. An American air raid destroyed the castle in 1945, just after the camp's evacuation. The lower camp was fenced off in the center of the small town of Elbersdorf. The subcamp at Rotenburg an der Fulda, Oflag IX A/Z, occupied

the premises of a former girls' training school.[2] The buildings had earlier provided the background to iconic scenes in the late Weimar classic film, *Mädchen in Uniform*.[3]

Oflag IX A/H held British, French, American, Polish, Belgian, and Serbian officers and batmen.[4] The British (mostly RAF personnel) constituted the largest group throughout, with an initial population of 225 officers and 48 batmen in September 1940, rising to 800 and 126, respectively, in November 1944. There were never more than about 50 French officers. The first 154 American officers arrived in March 1943; their numbers dropped to 19 three months later, then gradually grew to 170 by September 1944. The other nationalities were only present in small numbers. Oflag IX A/Z held about 450 Belgian officers and 60 batmen from September 1940 on. In early 1942, 217 French officers and 36 batmen arrived in the camp, followed, in late summer 1943, by 488 British officers and 67 batmen.

One unusual break occurred in the main camp's history. In October 1941, for reasons that are not entirely clear but may have had to do with a high number of escapes or with a more general reorganization of prisoner of war camps, the prisoner of war authorities in the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) ordered the transfer of all the prisoners to Oflag VI B. Oflag IX A/H then sat dormant until a new batch of prisoners arrived the following January.

The German administrators and guards treated the prisoners humanely, and the prisoners' conditions of confinement in the camp were satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The evacuation of prisoners from both camps began on March 29, 1945. In an effort to avoid the rapidly approaching American forces, the prisoners were to be marched for several days before being relocated by train to Bavaria. Due to the unexpected speed of American divisions and the slower speed of the prisoner convoys, these plans were amended repeatedly and ultimately aborted as Allied forces overtook and liberated the last of the prisoners by April 13.[5]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag IX A is located

in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag IX A); National Archives (UK) (file WO208/3293); BArch B 162/27844: Überprüfung des Oflag Spangenberg, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis, des Oflag Weilburg, Landkreis Limburg-Weilburg und des Oflag Rotenburg, Landkreis Hersfeld-Rotenburg, wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft; in NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War, created 1942–1947, documenting the period 12/7/1941–11/19/1946) (45 partial records for Oflag 9A); and TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 43: Oflag 9A/H Spangenberg-Kassel Hessen-Nassau, Prussia 51-09; Code 44: Oflag 9A/Z Rotenburg an der Fulda Hessen-Nassau, Prussia 51-09). For wartime accounts of the camp, see L. Thudichum and M. P. Wyss, "Allemagne: Visites de camps de prisonniers de guerre faites par le Dr L. Thudichum et M. P. Wyss. Oflag IX A/H (Britanniques), 11 mars 1944," in *Revue internationale de la Croix Rouge* 26, no. 305 (1944): 367–376.

Further information about Oflag IX A can be found in the following publications: D. Guy Adams, ed., *Backwater: Oflag IX A/H Lower Camp* (London: Frederick Muller, 1944); Peter Green, *The March East 1945: The Final Days of Oflag IX A/H and IX A/Z* (Stroud, UK: History Press, 2012); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 206–207; Charles Rollings, *Wire and Walls: RAF prisoners of War in Itzehoe, Spangenberg and Thorn 1939–42* (Hersham, UK; Ian Allan, 2003); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 150; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (New York: Pal-grave Macmillan, 2003). See also Peter Green, "The March" (2011) at https://oflag1945.wordpress.com/the-march/; and *Oflag IX A/A Rotenburg an der Fulda Research News*, 1 (2011) at http://oflag1945.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/newsletter1-1.pdf.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 150; Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 206–207.

2. *Oflag IX A/A Rotenburg an der Fulda Research News*, 1 (2011), http://oflag1945.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/newsletter1-1.pdf.

3. "Prisoner of War Camps in Germany," Report, US Dept of State (ca. 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

4. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 206–207.

5. Peter Green, "The March" (2011), https://oflag1945.wordpress.com/the-march/.

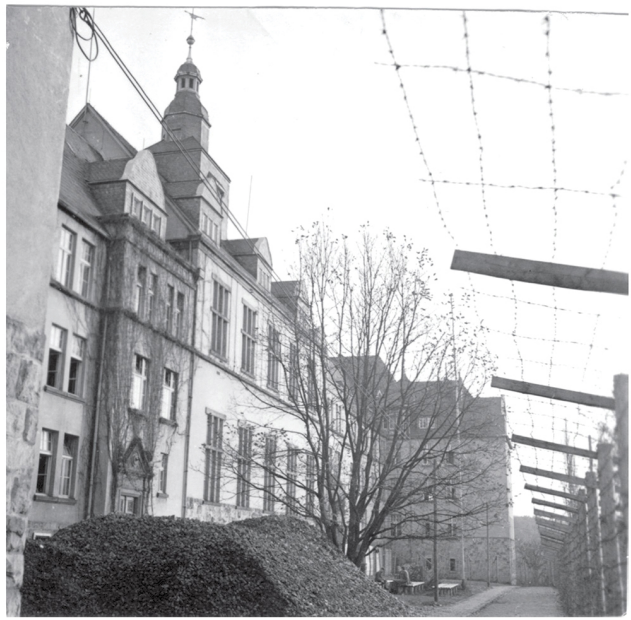
OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IX B

The Germans created Oflag IX B (map 4d) on November 7, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX, and deployed it to Weilburg. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX).

From 1939 to 1940, the camp first held about 650 Polish officers and orderlies (batmen). As of September 1940, it contained 777 Belgian officers and orderlies plus 47 French enlisted men. From that point, the population declined to 21 Belgian enlisted men in January 1941.[1]

No information concerning conditions in this camp has come to light. For the Belgian and French prisoners, at least, the treatment was likely to have corresponded to the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. The Germans began closing Oflag IX B on October 18, 1940, although some enlisted prisoners remained on the site, presumably doing work, until January 1941.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag IX B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag IX B).



Oflag IX B at Weilburg. Camp buildings and barbed wire fence, October 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Additional information about Oflag IX B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-publishing, 2003), p. 207; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 150.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 207.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) IX C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag IX C (map 4d) on November 6, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX. It was located in the building of the Jakob-Grimm-Schule in Rotenburg an der Fulda.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX). Until its closing on June 3, 1940, Oflag IX C held Polish officers and orderlies (batmen).

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag IX C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag IX C).

Additional information about Oflag IX C can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 207; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1970), p. 150.

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NOTE

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: in BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 150; Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 207.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) X A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag X A (map 4a) in the fall of 1939, in Itzehoe, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. In March 1941, it relocated to Sandbostel.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X). The camp commandant was Oberst von Fuchs.

Oflag X A held Polish officers and orderlies (batmen). On September 1, 1941, the camp held 1,853 officers and 213 batmen.[2] The Germans treated the prisoners decently and conditions were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

Oflag X A at Itzehoe. Prisoners in the camp during a religious service with camp buildings in the background, October 1939.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The prisoners in the camp had some opportunities to partake in

cultural and recreational activities. The camp had a library that held around 7,000 books as of September 1941. Several educational courses were available in subjects such as foreign languages, agriculture, and business. The prisoners took part in daily physical exercises after morning roll call, and a few were able to play sports like football, although these activities were limited by the lack of sporting equipment. No mass was held in the camp on Sundays, as there were no priests among the prisoners; an officer instead led the men in prayers on Sunday mornings, though they complained to visiting representatives of the Red Cross and YMCA about their wish for spiritual support.[3]

On April 17, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Stalag 362 and deployed to Slutsk, in occupied Belarus.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag X A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag X A), NARA (T 84, roll 463), USHMMA, and BArch B 162/9259–9262.

Additional information about Oflag X A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 15; Charles Rollings, *Wire and Walls: RAF Prisoners of War in Itzehoe, Spangenberg and Thorn 1939–42* (Shepperton: Ian Allan, 2002); Aleksander Sałacki, *Jeniec wojenny nr 335* (Warsaw: MON, 1973); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1972), p. 182.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, p. 674.

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) X B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag X B (map 4a) in Nienburg in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X in September 1939. The camp was designed to accommodate 1,000 prisoners of war (POWs).

The first POWs arrived on October 9, 1939. These POWs came from both the Polish army and the Polish navy. At first, they were housed in buildings at the Mudra Barracks in Nienburg.

Beginning in December 1939, barracks made of stone and wood were constructed on the grounds of the Mudra Barracks, for the permanent camp area. The permanent camp area was occupied by the prisoners on April 1, 1940.

Until the end of the war, the camp remained in Nienburg. It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X).

No field post number was assigned, since the camp never moved out of Germany.

The following officers served as commandant:[1]

Major Willy Probst	until May 14, 1940
Oberst Jacob Wilhelm Klein	May 15, 1940–July 31, 1942
Oberst Pallmann	from September 25, 1942
Oberstleutnant Dr. Hermann Hagen	November 9, 1942–August 24, 1943
Oberst Richard Georgi	August 25, 1943–October 1944
Oberst Reim	from October 1944

A Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp. Whether there was a connection with the Reserve Battalion responsible for the nearby Stalag X C is not documented.

On November 4, 1941, by order of Deputy Headquarters for Army Corps X (*Stellvertretende Generalkommando X Armeekorps*), Oflag X B detailed personnel for the organization of Stalag 370.[2] Oflag X B was a medium-sized camp with an average occupancy of 2,000 officers and 200 orderlies (NCOs and enlisted men).[3] From September 1940, it functioned as a key camp for French POWs, who accounted for approximately 90 percent of the population. Additional nationalities were present in varying numbers, but no more than 100 prisoners in each case: Poles, Belgians, British, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Cretans, Americans, and Italians.

Oflag X B at Nienburg. Visit by ICRC delegate, date unknown.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

There were no fixed work details (*Arbeitskommandos*), because, under the Geneva Convention, officers were not required to work. However, activities in support of internal camp operations were customary. Approximately 40 French officers worked voluntarily in a work detail (No. 1) in Hannover, 50 kilometers (31 miles) away, as craftsmen.

The POWs received the best treatment possible. The French, in particular, were supported by relief organizations, which provided them with considerable amounts of foodstuffs and material needs, and they obtained some concessions from the Germans. The

officers not only wired money to their own families and French relief organizations but also assisted (French) POWs in other camps, especially those in the directly neighboring camp, Stalag X C.

A Masonic lodge was in existence among the prisoners. Catholic and Protestant clergymen from among the POWs held religious services on a regular basis. A library was available to the prisoners, and they formed an orchestra and a theater ensemble. A considerable number of classes were offered, including in some specialized fields, such as optics (directly supported by *École Superieure des Opticiens de Paris*, E.S.O.P., Paris).

Political life and the attempt to come to terms with the defeat of France took up a good bit of the prisoners' attention. The "Pétain movement" of the Vichy government was a strong influence. The conflicts that arose in the process often had a negative effect on the communal life of the French officers.

Beginning in mid-1944, the situation of the prisoners clearly worsened, as a result of the failure of the relief parcels to appear and the disruption of postal traffic with France. There were some significant escape attempts from Stalag X B, including a tunnel originating in Barracks 7a. The attempts involved a total of around 300 officers, 21 of whom managed to reach their homeland. On February 4, 1945, Allied aircraft bombed the camp, and, in the process, several barracks were destroyed, 99 prisoners killed, and 130 prisoners wounded, most of them severely.

Oflag X B received numerous visits from delegations, and these visit reports are known. US protecting power: August 2, 1940; Scapini Mission: July 29, 1940, December 29, 1940, April 24, 1941, June 1, 1941, January 7, 1942, March 4, 1942, July 15, 1942, August 8, 1943, February 7, 1944, June 16, 1944; ICRC: June 9, 1940, November 13, 1940, July 7, 1941, November 24, 1941, August 3, 1942, November 27, 1942, December 12, 1942, June 29, 1943, February 7, 1944, March 23, 1944, August 17, 1944, October 12, 1944, March 12, 1945, March 17, 1945; YMCA: December 1940; Brazilian Embassy: April 24, 1941. It has not been possible to determine what role the Brazilian Embassy played here. The overall assessments of Oflag X B contained in the visit reports are, in each case, uniformly positive.

They range from "excellent in every respect"[4] to "satisfactory," near the end of 1944.[5]

Medical treatment always began in the camp's medical clinic, which was operated by physicians and medical personnel from the group of POWs, under German supervision. The medical clinic was enlarged several times, and, in 1944, it received the German designation of *Kriegsgefangenenlazarett*, or "prisoner-of-war hospital," although the on-site conditions could by no means live up to such a claim. The serious cases were referred to general hospitals outside the combat zone (with POW wards) or to POW hospitals, such as those in Rotenburg, Sandbostel, Bremen, and Oldenburg.

Beginning in January 1945, Oflag X B admitted numerous groups of POWs who had been evacuated from other camps. On April 5, 1945, all POWs in the camp who were fit to march were evacuated, made to walk on foot in the direction of Wietzendorf. In many cases, their liberation took place in various locations along the route of the march. On April 9, 1945, the permanent camp area in Nienburg, with the POWs who remained behind, was liberated by British forces.

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag X B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 483, RW 19: 2128, RW 48: 12, MSg 200/810); PAAA (40705, 40972b, 40975, 40980, 40988, 40991, 67011, 67054, 145077); HStA Hannover (122a-7061); TsAMO (B 500-12450-41); ICRC Geneva (Hist 01158, 01224, 01586, 01637, 01655, 02286, 02371, 03103, 03104); and WIH Warsaw (II-53-5); AN (Paris: F-9-2322, 2708, 2878, 2879, 2911, 2919, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3435, 3436).

Additional information about Oflag X B can be found in the following publications: Patrizia Berger, Frank Thomas Gatter, and Hans Klusmann-Burmeister, *In fremder Erde namenlos begraben—das Schicksal sowjetischer KrGef, Zwangsarbeiterinnen und Zwangsarbeiter in Nienburg 1941–45* (Nienburg, 1991); Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris, 1982); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalag, les Oflag et les Kommandos 1939–45*

(Hachette, 1987); Jean-Bernard Moreau, *Attitudes, moral et opinions des officiers français prisonniers de guerre en Allemagne 1940–45* (Paris, 2001); *Revue International du Croix Rouge*, No. 290; Patrick Seurat, *Bombardement de l'Oflag X B, Nienburg-sur-Weser, 4. février 1945* (Paris, 2014); Hans-Jürgen Sonnenberg, *Gefangen hinter Stacheldraht–Oflag X B und Stalag X C, KrGefLager in Nienburg* (Nienburg, 2005); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War 1939–45, Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); and Tagebücher und Erinnerungen der französischen KrGef Lemennicer, Paillon, Seurat und Villeroy (personal archives Sonnenberg und Vogt).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the so-called *Kommandanten-Kartei*, a card file of commanding officers).
2. Stammtafel Stalag 370 (BA-MA, RH 53-11/13) and Stammkarte des AHA für Stalag 370 (BA-MA, RH 15/458).
3. The monthly population reports of the Armed Forces High Command, broken down by nationality, can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.
4. Besuchsbericht IKRK vom 24.01.41 (PAAA R 40375).
5. Besuchsbericht IKRK vom 13.10.44 (PAAA R 40980).

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) X C

The Wehrmacht established the headquarters of Oflag X C in September 1939; however, it apparently did not begin operation until the following year. In June 1940, the camp was deployed in Lübeck, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. Beginning in the fall of 1941, the camp was also used as a penal camp (*Straflager*; also referred to as a special camp or *Sonderlager*) for officers from other camps who had committed serious violations of camp rules or attempted to escape.[1] Oflag X C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X).

Oflag X C was located in a former artillery barracks situated on a sandy area on the outskirts of Lübeck.[2] The camp initially made up of 16 wooden barracks, each of which consisted of 14 rooms of varying sizes. The smaller rooms, which had single beds, held between 3 and 10 prisoners, while the larger rooms held 16–18 men and had double bunk beds. In general, higher-ranking officers lived in smaller rooms. All prisoners had a straw mattress and two blankets. The rooms were generally sufficiently ventilated during the day but became stuffy at night because the prisoners were required to close the windows. The prisoners were deloused upon arrival and had access to bathing facilities in their barracks. They operated their own kitchen facilities, which were generally adequate. The camp infirmary treated only minor illnesses and injuries, since it only had one exam room and one surgery; more seriously ill prisoners were sent to the prisoner hospital in Sandbostel.[3]

The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant von Wachmeister. In July 1941, he was replaced by Oberst von Fuchs, who remained at the camp until March 1943, when he was replaced by Oberstleutnant Janssen. The final commandant was Oberst Berndt, who replaced Janssen in October 1943.[4] The camp held American, Belgian, British and Commonwealth, French, Greek, Polish, Serbian, and Soviet officers. The first prisoners

were French officers transferred to the camp in Lübeck from Oflag X A in Itzehoe in June 1940.[5] As of September 10, 1940, there were 1,197 French officers, 355 French orderlies, and 1 Belgian orderly in the camp.[6] The first Polish prisoners arrived in October 1940, although there was not a permanent Polish contingent in the camp until November 1941. The French officers were transferred out of the camp (mainly to Oflag X D in Hamburg-Fischbek) to make room for the Polish prisoners in the spring of 1941.[7] The first Serbian officers arrived in June 1941 but were only present for a short time; a small but permanent population of Serbian prisoners arrived beginning in April 1942. British and American prisoners were first brought to the camp in August 1941: the British prisoners were mainly RAF soldiers transferred from Dulag Luft West in Oberursel and British army (including Australian and New Zealander) personnel captured in Greece, while the Americans were airmen from Stalag Luft 1 in Barth.[8] The British and American prisoners were transferred to Oflag VI B in Warburg on October 7, 1941.[9] There was one Soviet officer in the camp from June 1942 to October 1943. The camp reached its maximum population with 1,836 officers and 188 orderlies in February 1942.[10]

Oflag X C at Lübeck. French POWs and their barracks, March 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Although the Germans generally treated captured officers well and observed the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929, British officers living in Oflag X C reported that the conditions were often quite difficult. Their food rations consisted of 200–300 grams (7–10.6 ounces) of bread with a tablespoon of margarine or other fat and a tablespoon of potted meat or horsemeat every morning, with a tablespoon of ersatz jam or whey cheese once every two weeks at breakfast, and a bowl of cabbage soup and three or four boiled potatoes at lunch and dinner, with a cup of mint tea at each meal and an occasional piece of blutwurst in the evening. The prisoners found these rations, which amounted to between 1,400 and 1,500 calories, insufficient for their dietary needs.[11] Many of the British and Commonwealth prisoners in the camp lost significant amounts of weight and were given double Red Cross rations after their arrival at Oflag VI B to help them regain weight.[12] In addition, the German Feldwebel who ran the kitchen often stole the prisoners' food rations to sell on the black market. Red Cross food parcels were only delivered intermittently, and the camp canteen was poorly stocked. The prisoners received 20 cigarettes per week.[13]

Medical care was provided in the camp (mainly by prisoner physicians), although it was often not sufficient due to shortages of both personnel and supplies.[14] British army prisoners captured in southeastern Europe, who were frequently ill with dysentery and malaria when they arrived, were particularly badly affected by these shortcomings. Many prisoners lacked sufficient clothing, as the Germans took the prisoners' good British uniforms and replaced them with surplus French or Polish uniforms. The coal ration was very small—one and a half briquettes per room every two days— which meant that the prisoners' quarters were often not sufficiently heated. The camp became very crowded and the atmosphere in the camp was described as "spiritless." The prisoners' morale was made even worse by the camp commandant, an "old Prussian" who hated the British prisoners. However, in early October, shortly before their transfer to Oflag VI B, an American embassy official visited the prisoners, noted their complaints, and relayed them to Geneva, which resulted in increased food and cigarette rations and the delivery of Red Cross parcels, which were subsequently shipped to Warburg along with the prisoners. The prisoners were taken to Warburg in open cattle

trucks, a trip that took 36 hours.[15]

The French officers at Oflag X C also reported that the conditions in the camp were difficult early in their captivity but improved somewhat over time. Some of the French prisoners were simply officers who had been captured by the Germans, but others were prisoners who had attempted to escape from other camps—such as Oflag IV C at Colditz—or were classified as "refractory" or "anti-German" (*deutschfeindlich*). Although Oflag X C was intended to be a place of stricter confinement for these prisoners, there were, nonetheless, escape attempts. Between January and May 1944, at least 14 prisoners escaped from the camp and were recaptured; 11 of these prisoners were deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp after they were recaptured. The prisoners engaged in clandestine political activities in the camp, forming a "popular front" of socialist, communist, and various other radical orientations.[16]

French officer Antony Sternberg was one of the prisoners who was transferred to Oflag X C from Oflag IV C. His group left Colditz late in the morning of May 28, 1942, and arrived at Lübeck at noon the following day.[17] Among the prisoners who were shipped to Oflag X C at this time was Captain Robert Blum, son of the former French Socialist prime minister Léon Blum (who was himself imprisoned at Buchenwald from 1943 to 1945). Blum was taken out of the regular barracks and kept in solitary confinement in a special barrack for prominent prisoners. One of the other prisoners who was held in this barrack was Lieutenant Iakov Dzhugashvili, Joseph Stalin's son, who later died at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. According to Sternberg, Dzhugashvili received no letters or packages from outside the camp during his time there.[18] Sternberg also recalled an incident in which a Polish officer who had gone out for a walk around the camp for exercise prior to reveille was shot by a German officer.[19] Sternberg and most of the other French officers who were sent to Oflag X C from Oflag IV C remained there until the liberation of the camp.

Strict discipline was enforced on the prisoners who were sent to Oflag X C as punishment for their actions in other camps. The German officers in the camp were given orders to shoot without warning if the prisoners interacted with civilians outside the camp,

threw objects through the fence, attempted to climb the fence or flee from the camp by other means, stole camp property, left their barracks without permission, or even stood too close to the camp gate. These prisoners were also required to wear an identification card with their photo around their neck, which was periodically inspected by the guards. The approximately 60 Jewish officers were kept separate from the other officers in a special barrack marked with a Star of David. The majority of the French doctors in the camp—who were not allowed to practice medicine—were Jewish. However, the Jewish prisoners were only kept separate from the other prisoners at night; they were able to interact freely with one another during the day.[20]

Information about the cultural and recreational activities during the British and American officers' time in Oflag X C is limited. However, by March 1942, the remaining prisoners in the camp had begun to develop a cultural life within the camp. A YMCA delegate reported that the prisoners had organized educational courses on a variety of subjects and that there was a 20-man orchestra in the camp.[21] One of the French officers in the camp, Lieutenant Fernand Braudel, was a historian who taught courses in the camp university and wrote a book, *La Méditerranée et le mond méditerranéan à l'époque de Philippe II* (*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Period of Philip II*) while imprisoned there, receiving materials he needed for his research and sending chapters to Paris via the International Committee of the Red Cross.[22] There was a Polish Catholic priest who conducted religious services in the camp. The prisoners also requested additional sports equipment.[23] By October 1942, the prisoners had built up a library in the camp that totaled 5,775 volumes and a number of sports had been organized, including lawn bowling, table tennis, and boxing.[24]

Oflag X C was liberated by British forces on May 9, 1945.[25] The prisoners were gradually repatriated over the following weeks.[26]

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag X C is located in BA-MA and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 1, pp. 676–688).

Additional information about Oflag X C can be found in the following publications: Jean-Marie d'Hoop, "Oflag X C," *Revue d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale* 10 (1960): 15–29; Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987), pp. 220–221; Gerhard Hoch, "Lübeck, Offizierslager X C," in *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit. Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig-Holstein*, ed. Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz (Alveslohe: self-published, 1985), pp. 59–68; Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954), pp. 84–85; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen: Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 16; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 209–210; David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's Captives 1939–1945* (Kent: Coronet Books, 1988), p. 36; Charles Rollings, *Wire and Worse: RAF Prisoners of War in Laufen, Biberach, Lübeck and Warburg, 1940– 1942* (Hersham: Ian Allan, 2004), pp. 84–160; Peter Schöttler, "Fernand Braudel as Prisoner in Germany: Confronting the Long-Term and the Present Time," in *Wartime Captivity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp. 103–114; Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 348; and Antony Sternberg, *Vie de château et oflags de discipline souvenirs de captivité (Colditz, Lübeck)* (Paris: self-published, 1948), pp. 73–133.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16; Hoch, "Lübeck,

Offizierslager X C," p. 61.

2. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, p. 75.
3. Hoch, "Lübeck, Offizierslager X C," p. 62–63.
4. Ibid., p. 64.
5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.
6. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 209.
7. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, p. 77.
8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 209; Rollings, *Wire and Worse*, p. 86.
9. Rollings, *Wire and Worse*, p. 155.
10. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 209–210.
11. Rollings, *Wire and Worse*, p. 96.
12. Mason, *Official History*, p. 85.
13. Rollings, *Wire and Worse*, p. 96.
14. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, p. 95.
15. Rollings, *Wire and Worse*, pp. 152–157.
16. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 220–221.
17. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, pp. 73–74.
18. Ibid., pp. 85–86; Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait*, p. 348. NB: it is unlikely that Iakov Dzhugashvili was the single Soviet officer listed in the official camp population statistics, since that officer was listed as present in the camp until November 1943, while Dzhugashvili was killed on April 26, 1943.
19. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, p. 90.

20. Hoch, “Lübeck, Offizierslager X C,” p. 61.

21. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 1, pp. 687–688.

22. Schöttler, “Fernand Braudel as Prisoner in Germany,” pp. 105–107.

23. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 1, pp. 687–688.

24. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 1, p. 684.

25. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.

26. Sternberg, *Vie de château*, pp. 135–137.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) X D

The Wehrmacht established Oflag X D (map 4a) in April 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. The camp was deployed in Hamburg-Fischbek.[1] British troops liberated the camp on May 3, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X).

Oflag X D held Allied officers. On June 22, 1943, Belgian officers were transferred into the camp from Oflag II A, and, on October 1, 1944, the camp held 1,594 Belgian officers.[2] The German administrators and guards treated the officers humanely, and the conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[3]

Oflag X D at Fischbek. French POWs playing sports, July 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

In 1944, members of the Masonic organization Grand Orient of Belgium (*Grand Orient de Belgique*) established a Masonic lodge, *L'Obstinée* ("persevering, determined").[4] The orator of this lodge was Jean Rey, who after the war became president of the European Commission, the highest executive body of the European Union, from 1967 to 1970.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag X D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag X D).

Additional information about Oflag X D can be found in the following publications: Georges Hautecler, *Evasions réussies* (Liège: Soledi, 1966); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Raymond Troye, *Meurtre dans un Oflag* (Brussels: Atalante, 1947).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.
2. BA-MA, RW 6: 276.
3. Troye, *Meurtre dans un Oflag*; Hautecler, *Evasions réussies*.
4. Troye, *Meurtre dans un Oflag*.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XI A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XI A (map 4a) on August 7, 1939, and deployed it to Osterode am Harz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI. Beginning on September 9, 1941, the camp was located in Vladimir-Volynskii (today Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Ukraine).[1] On April 17, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Stalag 365.[2] The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 453 between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

In Osterode, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI). In Vladimir-Volynskii, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*).

The camp commandants were, in chronological order: Oberst Friedrich Schönberg (until June 15, 1940), Oberst zur Verfügung August Schmidt Edler von Luisingen (from June 15, 1940, to February 10, 1941), and Oberst zur Verfügung von Alten (from February 10, 1941, to June 21, 1942). The deputy commandant of the camp was Major zur Verfügung Stadie (as of May 29, 1941). The following officers are known to have been at the camp in 1941: Oberleutnant Duval and Oberleutnant Lössenhop (both counterintelligence, *Abwehr*), Zahlmeister Schwarting, Kriegsverwaltungsinspektor Jahns, Telthörster, Bittins, Sieben, and Böttel.

While the camp was deployed in Osterode, it held Polish officers and orderlies. The conditions were generally satisfactory. The prisoners lived in heated barracks, furnished with two-tier plank beds; about 200 prisoners of war (POWs) lived in each barrack, 8–12 men in each room, while more senior officers lived three to five to a room. In each barrack, there were toilets and

washbasins. With the permission of the camp administrators, prisoners organized four soccer teams, a volleyball team, a theater, foreign language courses, and music groups. The camp had a library with books provided by the prisoners' families and the Red Cross. Every officer, depending on his rank, received a certain amount of money each month in the form of so-called *Lagermark*; for example, a lieutenant received 72 marks. In exchange for this money, one could buy, in the camp store, beer, apples, toothpaste, eau de cologne, playing cards, and razor blades. Later, the beer and fruit disappeared, and the food became increasingly poor. Basically, it was rutabaga soup, in which it was hard to find any potatoes. However, the families of the prisoners could send food parcels to the camp, and the prisoners themselves could send money to their families, which they used to buy foodstuffs.

During the camp's deployment in Vladimir-Volynskii, it held Soviet POWs. There were two sections of the camp: one for officers (Oflag) and one for enlisted personnel (Stalag). On February 1, 1942, there were 7,000 POWs in the camp; on May 1, 1942, there were 6,000.[3] Former POW Viktor Kolmakov described the conditions in the camp:

> They brought us, a group of commanders who had been wounded, to the town of Vladimir-Volynskii, to a so-called "officers' camp." What is it like? A former military garrison, a few buildings surrounded with eight rows of barbed wire, which carried an electric current, and machine guns were set up at the corners. They brought us all to the camp naked and almost barefooted—the Germans had robbed us, taking not only our boots and outer clothing, but even our undergarments. People wrapped themselves in rags, pieces of sackcloth, tar paper, and the like. Freezing temperatures struck, and people began to die. They gave us no wood, the buildings were not heated, all the windows were broken, and we slept on the concrete floor without any straw…. On November 9, 1941, registration began; each commander was given a personal number on a tag hung on his chest. As if we were convicts, they marked our clothes, both outer clothing and underwear, with "SU" (Soviet Union) in red on the back,

all along the spine; on our chest was a triangle, on the buttocks two triangles, and on the registration card, besides biographical particulars, they wrote the personal ID number and put our fingerprints. Then each prisoner went up to the German and took off his trousers, and the German physician inspected his sexual organ to determine whether he was a Jew or a non-Jew. The Jews were separated and placed in a barn. They were given nothing to eat or drink, and then, in December 1941, 600 were shot. The undergarments of the dead men were removed and sold. At the same time, between 100 and 300 persons died of starvation each day. In short, of 12,000 prisoners in the fall of 1941, 700 remained by the spring of 1942. The hunger was such that we ate all the grass in the camp, belts, bones, horns, and hooves. We stripped the bark and leaves from the trees; we ate hay and boots, frying them beforehand. And this is what they fed us: in the morning, "bread" made of millet with sawdust, 100–150 grams [3.5–5.3 ounces] apiece; and for dinner, 1 liter [1 quart] of *balanda*, consisting of water and bran. Over the course of half a year, there was no bath. We were plagued by millions of lice, and there was an outbreak of typhus. No kind of care was provided to those who were ill; they were simply dragged into a semi-basement and laid there side by side on the floor; Soviet citizens died in filth. As a result of the typhus, in February the Germans carried out a "measure": they issued an order—a Russian prisoner is not supposed to come closer than 15 steps to a German; if he comes closer, he will be shot, and the Germans were shooting right and left. They established "walking and physical exercises." In the morning, in icy cold … we all were herded into the street naked and barefooted, and we began doing "physical exercises"—for three hours, until people were falling down in a dead faint, and their bare feet were frostbitten.[4]

Kolmakov's testimony is supplemented by the testimony of another POW, Yurii Sokolovskii:

> On October 3, 1941, we arrived at Vladimir-Volynsk [*sic*]. Most of the people were so enfeebled that they could not get

out of the train, could not walk. They herded us into a camp for prisoners of war. Here I spent 18 months. We received food once a day: soup—this was water with a few cabbage leaves or water with the nice smell of Soviet food concentrate, but of this concentrate there was so little that only its smell was noticeable in the soup. To get this soup, the entire camp of several thousand men was lined up, and the Germans served, under strict escort, one or two persons at a time. Bread was handed out in the form of a tinned loaf to be shared by 10 persons, but because POWs, who were starving since the very first days, stole bread twice, and therefore two or three tinned loaves were lacking, the entire camp population was punished, and the next day each tinned loaf was issued for sharing among not 10, but 20, persons, that is, 75 grams [2.65 ounces] apiece. This happened several times…. We did not work, with the exception of a few who served in the prisoners' kitchen or the German kitchen. In addition, every now and then work parties were assigned to lay in firewood. A daily inspection was carried out for the purpose of preventing escapes. During the inspections, people were taken out into the courtyard, in extreme icy cold … and were kept there for two to three hours, after which the only thing possible was to return to the barracks. This led to a great many cases of illness, particularly lung problems, which resulted in a large number of POWs with tuberculosis. During the inspections in the presence of the camp's German command personnel, who came into the camp once a day only for the duration of the inspection, corporal punishment was conducted. The Soviet officer at fault, who from their point of view had violated the internal order, was laid by six to eight *politsais* onto two little benches, which had been brought out in advance, and 25 fierce blows were administered. Moreover, this was always done in the presence of the entire POW camp and the German headquarters staff. The head of the police at the Vladimir-Volynsk camp initially was the well-known Major Dzhigasov. It was said of him that he had voluntarily gone over to the side of the Germans and handed over to them several artillery pieces. Then, after Dzhigasov left, the head of the police force was Bushuev. The last chief of police during my stay was Lieutenant Colonel

> Matveenok. From October to December 1941 the people in the camp became greatly enfeebled, and a typhus epidemic began to develop. Over the three months from November [he means October] to December, there was not a single hygienic measure, and therefore most officers had myriad lice. The main occupation of all the POWs was killing lice. As soon as daybreak came, they set to "work," which was interrupted by lining up for food distribution, and again went back to the same work: killing lice. At night, next to the dim electric lamp, dozens of people lined up and engaged in the very same pursuit. It is not surprising—for three months, there was not a single bath, and not once did we have a change of clothes. By the end of December the typhus epidemic was spreading, along with an epidemic of diarrhea related to lack of protein. These diseases affected hundreds of persons, the infirmary expanded, and there were as many as a thousand persons in it; the other people, for whom the infirmary proper did not have enough room, lay in the consulting areas and received no medical care.[5]

In November and December 1941, Sonderführer E. Kumming from the Army High Command/Foreign Armies East Division (*Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost*) was at Vladimir-Volynskii. In his report on December 9, 1941, he noted that, in the camp,

> the hunger is so great that cannibalism is occurring. Of 4,600 prisoners, 2,400 remained alive. Every day 150 persons die. The undersigned saw, on November 12, 1941, sick, starved Russians with protruding bones and an entire platoon on stretchers. Their bellies were carved open; at night the prisoners had fallen upon their comrades lying at death's door and torn out their kidneys and livers. As I was told by the officers and Wehrmacht employees in the officers' club in Vladimir, who were named above in Paragraph I, in the Vladimir Oflag people are now eating mice and rats, as well as potato peels. In one case, food leavings sprinkled with quicklime were pulled out of the garbage bin and eaten.

Kumming also recorded the shooting of 53 Jewish POWs on December 5, 1941. More Jews were supposed to be shot, but after

an hour the execution was stopped, because "a) identified among the executed, after the event, was Armenian Senior Lieutenant Khachaturian, prisoner number 1258, who had been included in error; b) walking past by chance, Oberstabsarzt Greinwald stopped the execution with the remark that where there is no judge, there should be no executioner either."[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XI A is located in BA-MA (RH 53-11/13: Offizierslager XI A, B); BArch B 162/9785 (Ermittlungen gg. E. Kumming, H. Dietz wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der "Aussonderung" und Tötung jüdischer Kriegsgefangener im Oflag XI A in Zamosc [*sic*] im Jahr 1941), 5305, and 25336; GARF (file 7021-55-1); TsDAGO (file 57-4-2); NARA; YVA; and DAVoO.

Additional information about Oflag XI A can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 206–208; Danuta Kisielewicz, *Oficerowie polscy w niewoli niemieckiej w czasie II Wojny Światowej* (Łambinowice: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel* (Koblenz: self-published, 1986–1987), vol. 1: p. 52; vol. 2: p. 16; Aron Shneer, *Plen: Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii, 1941–1945*, vol. I, book II (Moscow: Mosty kul'tury; Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2005); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 214.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 214.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 52.

3. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, p. 208.

4. Letter from V. P. Kolmakov dated December 29, 1943, to First Deputy of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR A. Ia. Vyshinskii, GARF, 7021-55-359.

5. YVA, M-37/1176.

6. Sonderführer (B) E. Kumming, an Abt. Frd. Heere Ost (II c), vom 9.12.41, NARA, T 1021, roll 18.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XI B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XI B on September 20, 1939, in Braunschweig (map 4a), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI. The camp was located in the Leutnant-Müller-Kaserne.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI). The commandant was Oberst Georg von Alten.

Oflag XI B held approximately 1,050 Polish officers and 130 enlisted orderlies, most of whom the Germans captured during the battles for Kraków and Warsaw. The total number of Poles who went through the camp in 1939 and 1940 was over 2,000. Most of them were reserve officers with a variety of civilian backgrounds, from industrial workers and salespeople to doctors and artists.

In contrast to the situation in many camps for Polish prisoners of war (POWs), the Germans treated the POWs in Oflag XI B in strict accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929. They did not have to work, and the Germans did not abuse them. Books and newspapers were available, and the prisoners took part in a variety of recreation activities, such as choir, lectures, theater productions, and sports. Each officer received a bottle of wine at Christmas.

The Germans disbanded Oflag XI B on June 24, 1940. Its staff was transferred to Dössel, where it was redesignated as Oflag VI B. The prisoners were transferred to Oflag II C in Woldenberg.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XI B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XI B).

Additional information about Oflag XI B can be found in the following publications: A. Bukowski, *Za drutami oflagów: Dziennik oficera 1939–1945* (Warsaw: PWN, 1993); J. Kuropieska, *Obozowe refleksje* (Warsaw, 1974); G. Mattiello and

W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 16; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945*, *Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 214; and Harald Duin, "Das vergessene Lager der 2000 polnischen Offiziere," *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, November 21, 2013.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XII A on November 16, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. The camp was located in Hadamar (map 4d), about 20 miles (32 kilometers) east-northeast of Koblenz. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII). Oflag XII A received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 088, issued between January 2 and April 27, 1940, and struck between January 27 and July 14, 1941. The commandant was Oberst Wilhelm Eilker and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Josef Brühl.[1] The prisoners were guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 765, commanded by Hauptmann Schilp.

Oflag XII A held mainly Polish officers. The prisoners were treated decently by the German administration and guards, and the conditions in the camp were satisfactory and in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[2] In accordance with the Geneva Convention, the officers in the camp were not required to work.

Some cultural and recreational activities were available to the prisoners. A Catholic priest held mass in an elongated meeting hall on the campgrounds; however, this hall only held a few hundred prisoners at a time. The camp library held over 3,000 volumes, of which more than 2,300 were in Polish. Educational courses were offered in foreign languages (German, French, and English), mathematics, and stenography. The camp had a prisoner orchestra and a jazz band. An open area of the campgrounds served as a football field, which was the primary sporting activity for the prisoners.[3] There was a resistance movement in the camp, which mainly took the form of escape attempts. For example, in May 1941, a group of about 20 officers managed to break out of the prison; two of the escapees were killed and the remainder were

later recaptured.[4]

The Germans transferred the prisoners to Oflag VI B and Oflag VII A on May 27, 1942.[5] On June 20, 1942, the camp was redesignated Oflag XII B.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XII A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-12/19); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XII A); USHMMA (RG-30.008M, Reel 1); and BArch B 162/7986, 17316–17318.

Additional information about Oflag XII A can be found in the following publications: Danuta Kisielewicz, *Oficerowie polscy w niewoli niemieckiej w czasie II Wojny Światowej* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 16; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1972), p. 250.

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NOTES

1. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Oflag XII A, BArch B 162/7986, Bl. 4 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2717.00002274).

2. Überprüfung des Oflag XII A in Hadamar bei Limburg (Wehrkreis XII), BArch B 162/17316–17318.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 694–695.

4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Oflag XII A, BArch B 162/7986, Bl. 5 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2717.00002275).

5. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 250.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XII B

The Germans established Oflag XII B with an order dated July 25, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. From 1940 to 1942, the camp was deployed at the citadel in Mainz (map 4d). In June 1942, the Germans transferred the camp to Hadamar (map 4d), about 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-northeast of Koblenz.[1] American troops liberated the camp on March 26 or 27, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

The camp held Belgian, French, and British officers. On October 1, 1944, there were 38 French and 380 British officers in the camp.[2] The German administrative personnel and guards treated the prisoners humanely and the conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XII B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XII B); BArch B 162/17319–17320: Überprüfung des Oflag XII B in Mainz; and NARA (RG 389).

Additional information about Oflag XII B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Überprüfung des Oflag XII B in Mainz, BArch B 162/17319.

2. BA-MA, RW 6: 276.

3. Überprüfung des Oflag XII B in Mainz, BArch B 162/17319–17320.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XIII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XIII A on August 9, 1940, in Nürnberg-Langwasser (see map 4d), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. It was located adjacent to Stalag XIII A. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). It received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 738 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942; the number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Oflag XIII A was divided into three sections: the main camp and two subcamps, Unterlager A and Unterlager B. It held primarily French officers whom the Germans captured during the 1940 campaign in Western Europe, with small numbers of British, Belgian, Polish, and Serbian prisoners intermittently present. The camp population generally ranged between 12,000 and 15,000 prisoners, divided between the three sections of the camp.[1] The Germans disbanded the camp on May 3, 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about Oflag XIII A can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 213–214.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 213–214.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XIII B

The Wehrmacht created Oflag XIII B in March 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. Until April 1943, the camp was deployed in Nürnberg-Langwasser (map 4d), and, from April 1943 on, it was in Hammelburg (map 4d).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). The camp commandant (as of May 15, 1944) was Generalmajor Gunther von Goeckel (1889–1979). His deputy was Oberst Giese, the head of the Serbian block was Hauptmann Fuchs, and the head of the American block was Hauptmann Kempf. Company 3 of the 828th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp.[2]

Oflag XIII B comprised 126 barracks divided into seven blocks. There were watchtowers with floodlights and machine guns at each corner of the camp. The camp initially held Serbian officers. The first prisoners arrived on May 20, 1941. By October 1, 1944, there were 4,453 Serbian officers in the camp.[3] In the period from January to March 1945, 1,291 American officers and 127 orderlies were brought to the camp.[4] The leader among the prisoners in the camp was General Kalafatović; in each block, the highest-ranking officer assumed command.

The prisoners were treated humanely by the German guards, in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).[5] However, conditions in the camp were still harsh. In particular, the prisoners' food rations were insufficient: approximately 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, 300–500 grams (10.6–17.6 ounces) of potatoes, 5–10 grams (0.18–0.35 ounces) of ersatz coffee, 15–30 grams (0.53–1 ounce) of sugar, and 20 grams (0.71 ounces) of margarine per day.[6] The food difficulties in the camp were mitigated somewhat by food packages from the Red Cross, which the prisoners began to receive in late 1941. The prisoners were required to stand for roll call (*Appell*) twice a day, at 8:45 a.m. and 5:30 p.m.

The prisoners had opportunities to participate in cultural and religious activities in the camp. An Orthodox chapel with an ornate altar was built in the camp, and three priests led religious services for the prisoners. There was a theater troupe, as well as a 36-man orchestra and an 80-man choir, led by the chaplain of the National Opera in Belgrade, Lieutenant Melošević. The theater (Barrack No. 78, which could hold 500), as well as the prisoner canteen, were located in Block V; a second theater was located in Block II.[7] There were educational courses led by the prisoners on subjects such as mathematics, physics, architecture, and chemistry, though they struggled to obtain the necessary textbooks despite cooperation with the German authorities and the YMCA. At least three camp newspapers were published by the prisoners: *Novo Vreme*, *Obnova*, and *Kolo*. The prisoners participated in sports such as handball and boxing; twice a week, they were given access to the sporting ground of the German military exercise ground (*Truppenübungsplatz*).[8]

The camp was hit by wayward bombs from an American bombing raid on Nuremberg in early March 1943; the northern section of the camp, including the entrance and a total of 12 barracks in Blocks I, II, and III, was heavily damaged by fire.[9] On March 27, 1945, Colonel Goode, the senior American officer at Oflag XIII B, was notified that the camp was about to be evacuated by a force of American armored division. The Germans agreed to surrender the camp and with a white flag went to the main gate where they met elements of the 10th Armored Infantry Battalion and B Company of the 37th Tank Battalion, organized as Task Force Baum after its commander, Major Abe Baum. General George S. Patton had ordered the raid to release the prisoners (including his son-in-law, Lieutenant Colonel John K. Waters), and General Creighton Abrams selected the raiders. The raid began at the city of Aschaffenburg, a small town south of Frankfurt am Main, and drove east where the Task Force met a German force of mobile tank destroyers. After losing several lead vehicles, Major Baum ordered the surviving units to turn south toward Hammelburg. Arriving at the edge of the camp, Baum ordered his tanks and light infantry to charge.

Once inside the camp, Major Baum appeared to have won the day. The swastika came down, and a crude American flag rose.

Then events turned sour. Lieutenant Colonel Waters was shot in the hip and hospitalized; 1,500 prisoners saw the tanks, nearly out of gas, and jumped on them for the easy ride back to American lines, while German combat engineers surrounded Task Force Baum. Firing Panzerfausts, the German attackers pulverized Task Force Baum and prevented it from removing any prisoners from Hammelburg. Major Baum surrendered his force of 53 vehicles and 294 men at the city of Reussenburg, and the American attackers became prisoners in the camp they came to liberate. General Patton remarked in his journal, "I know of no error I made except that of failing to send a combat command to Hammelburg."

When the Germans returned, they began to disperse the Oflag 64 and Oflag XIII B prisoners to other camps, and, on April 6, 1945, those still at Hammelburg were liberated by the 14th Armored Division of the American Seventh Army. Most of the others were marched to Stalag VII A in Moosburg, where the Americans liberated 30,000 Allied POWs on April 29.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XIII B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XIII B); NARA (RG 389); TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 46: Oflag 13B Hammelburg Bavaria 50-10); USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 1); and Historical Museum of Serbia (Lagerfonds).

Additional information about Oflag XIII B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Richard Baron, Major Abe Baum, and Richard Goldhurst, *Raid! The Untold Story of Patton's Secret Mission* (New York: Putnam, 1981); and Lloyd R. Shoemaker, *The Escape Factory* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5.
2. U.S Military Intelligence Service War Department Report, November 1, 1945; www.taskforcebaum.de/oflag13/report1.html.
3. BA-MA, RW 6: 276.
4. U.S Military Intelligence Service War Department Report, November 1, 1945; http://www.taskforcebaum.de/oflag13/report1.html.
5. Ibid.
6. Stojković, *Oflag XIII B*, p. 220.
7. Ibid., p. 224.
8. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 702–703.
9. Stojković, *Oflag XIII B*, p. 227.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XIII D

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XIII D on August 23, 1941, in Hammelburg (map 4d), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII, from Oflag 62 (XIII D). It was located adjacent to Stalag XIII D. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII).

Oflag XIII D held Soviet officers and orderlies, with small numbers of Serbian officers intermittently present. The camp population was generally between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners; however, the population spiked to 15,677 in September 1942, before declining to fewer than 2,000 the following month, as prisoners were transferred to other camps in anticipation of the closure of the camp.[1] Little information is available on the conditions in the camp, but conditions in most camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were terrible, especially in the first year of the Nazi-Soviet war, with inadequate housing, food, and medical care; it is likely that this was the case in Oflag XIII D as well. Between November 1 and November 15, 1942, the camp was dissolved and incorporated into Stalag XIII D.

SOURCES Additional information about Oflag XIII D can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2002), pp. 215–216.

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NOTE

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 215.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XVII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XVII A on June 15, 1940, on a site about 4.5 kilometers (2.8 miles) south of the town of Allentsteig (map 4f) in northeastern Austria, on the grounds of what is now the Allentsteig troop training area. Within a few days, the camp had a population of 4,780 French officers, as well as 174 Polish and 2 Belgian officers (among the French, there were initially around 800 orderlies, who were permanently used for labor; from September 1942, their number was reduced to approximately 400). Departures due to repatriations were repeatedly offset by arrivals from other camps.

Oflag XVII A at Allentsteig. General view of the camp, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Oflag XVII A's staff consisted of 140 men in October 1943, plus 382 men of Company 2 of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 893 as the guard battalion.[1] The camp commandants were the distinctly pro-French old Austrian Generalmajor z.V. Anton Unger and—in the wake of the "Great

Escape"—from late 1943–early 1944, Generalmajor Hans Ehrenberg, a native of Saxony.

The mortality rate among the French officers was not high, although it began to increase toward the end of the war. The total number of French prisoners who met their death in the camp environment (including the military hospitals in Allentsteig, Gneixendorf/Krems, and Vienna) was probably 25 (in addition to approximately 10 Poles).[2]

At the start, the German supply system was not organized, and care packages were not yet arriving, so the prisoners suffered through a period of hunger that lasted until September 1940. After that, physical conditions began to improve. Already, though, two main, overlapping themes had emerged that would dominate the camp's history: relations with the German camp authorities, and tensions between factions within the camp.

As early as July 1940, the prisoners began to establish what became known as the "camp university." Sanctioned ex post facto by the First Communiqué of the Minister of Education in the Vichy government, Jérôme Carcopino, dated September 11, 1941, the teaching and research operation was integrated into the French educational system but was hierarchically subordinate to the established universities. In 1944, the camp university had three sections: *Sciences* (natural sciences), *Lettres* (humanities), and *Droit* (law). Theological studies were conducted separately.

For a time, the university, which was anti-Vichy in sentiment, existed in competition with the "Légion du Maréchal" and then the "Centre Pétain," two pro-Vichy organizations that familiarized the prisoner population with the new French ideology and supported Pétain's policies. Naturally, the Germans supported those two groups; they attempted to gain the support of the French for a joint "New Europe" in line with Hitler's policies by accommodating the POWs in their political, intellectual, artistic, and soon sports activities. This encouraged the development of a French camp command with a *Représentant général* at its head.

Because of the official policy of collaboration, the anti-Vichy "patriots" offered opposition both to the Germans and to Laval's government in Vichy and its extreme advocates in the camp. The police force that the German commandant created, under Capitaine

Georges Brécard, was termed, among other things, the "French Gestapo."[3] In April 1942, when the Pétainists, besides recruiting for the Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism and similar organizations, even began arranging for placement of "voluntary labor in Germany," the "patriots" known as "Maffia" became active. Essentially, there were around 10 of them, including young Lieutenant Pierre Buchoud. The sometimes-violent efforts at persuasion made by their "raiding squads" were prosecuted by the Germans as "obstruction of the German war economy." The camp physician, Dr. Lucien Raffalli, was found guilty on this charge and sentenced to two years in the Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*) in Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland). His codefendant Lieutenant Bouillot was still in Graudenz at the end of the war.[4] At the latest in 1944, the Maffia handed over the management of resistance activities to the representative of the French camp command, which had come into being in July 1942.

Gradually, the anti-Vichy forces came to dominate. Raymond Laporte established a *Cercle gaulliste* toward the end of 1942, and it soon gained access also to the French camp command. The *Cercle*'s members discussed the vision of a liberal France and allegedly prepared a draft of a French constitution on behalf of *Défense de la France*, a part of the French Resistance with a more intellectual and theoretical orientation.[5] The university council was the moral authority in the camp, and to some extent it was also involved in the resistance and escape activities in the camp. Soon the key pro-Vichy figures were transferred out of the camp, and the pro-Vichy forces' influence was marginal thereafter.

Although the confiscations by the Wehrmacht and the procurement of teaching materials, consumable supplies, and research equipment caused the greatest difficulties, the camp university and its library, after overcoming the competing Centre Pétain (which was insignificant after the end of 1942) and integrating almost all the cultural facilities, influenced cultural and intellectual life in the camp and contributed decisively to rebuilding the morale of the French. Furthermore, the protests of members of the camp university as opponents of the Vichy regime had an effect on the German camp command from the very outset and, for a time, prevented antisemitic measures in the camp.[6] In

the end, however, the approximately 150 Jews (including the biologist and embryologist Etienne Wolff) were transferred to the "ghetto" of Barracks 21.

Charitable activity (especially donation campaigns) and cultural life were extraordinarily intense. *Le Canard en … K.G.*, which was published from January 18, 1941, was perhaps the best edited and best illustrated of all the camp newspapers. The impression given of loyalty to Vichy was intended (at least later on) to deceive the German censors, so that faked identification papers, escape maps, and the like also could be produced in the print shop.[7] The camp movie theater, encouraged by the Germans but financed by the French, was used primarily for German propaganda purposes. Secretly, the French filmed *Sous le Manteau*, a possibly unique documentation of life in a POW camp. There was a camp radio station, in addition to choruses, orchestras, at least one jazz band and 10 drama groups, and a large "open-air theater," which was used also for religious services as well as a few authorized political ceremonies. These, like the numerous exhibitions, strengthened the internal cohesion of the French.

Relations with the German authorities varied over time. There was little tension at first, when the pro-Vichy elements held sway, but starting in the spring of 1942, a series of small-scale escapes, shootings by the guards, and a general trend toward resistance, which tensions between the factions exacerbated, created more hostility between the two sides. In 1943, after the Pétainists lost power, the atmosphere became calmer—but only temporarily. The resistance movement in the camp used this time to organize itself more thoroughly and eliminate competing structures.

Over the course of the camp's history, the resistance engaged in a number of activities. These included the preservation of evidence through photos and film; destruction of German propaganda posters and posting of the resistance movement's own important information; noisy protests; systematic bribery of Germans; provoking brawls; bold escapes; falsification of file cards and documents; "legally supported" utilization of the rights internationally guaranteed to the French; protests in cases that were no longer covered by the Geneva Convention and served only to keep the Germans "on the go"; and at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943, removal of pro-German French officers from

influential positions in the camp leadership.

The culmination of these efforts was the *Grande Évasion*, the French "Great Escape," on the nights of September 18–19 and 19–20, 1943. Around 132 prisoners escaped, by way of a tunnel that some claimed should have been obvious to the guards, but an internal German investigation assigned no culpability to the guard force.[8] The Germans recaptured all but 10–13 of the escapees, and proceeded to punish all the prisoners in the camp, collectively. The Germans placed the recaptured men under close arrest for 10–21 days, while civilians who had helped with the escape were severely punished (18–30 months in prison).[9] Ehrenberg, the new German camp commandant, created an additional "ring of defensive fortification" in April 1944, to protect against possible relief attacks or insurrections in the camp.

Some French officers suffered and died because of their Jewish background. Lieutenant Lantz perished in Auschwitz in March 1942, having been deported there after his repatriation or demobilization. A similar fate befell at least seven other French officers: Lieutenants Marx (Auschwitz), Cassagne (April 1945 in Neuengamme), Goudchaux (September 1944), Leborgne (during deportation), de Liocourt (May 1944 in Buchenwald), Henri Jonval (1945 during deportation), and Capitaine Dumesne (died returning from deportation). Paul Franck, however, took his own life to avoid deportation.[10]

Also worthy of mention are at least two other officers from Oflag XVII A who suffered for their (alleged) activities: Capitaine Levacher and Lieutenant Choné, who had allowed themselves to be "transformed" into "voluntary laborers" in Vienna, were arrested for espionage in October 1943 and sentenced to death in Torgau on December 8, 1943; in February 1945, their punishment was changed to forced labor.[11]

In the summer of 1944, the Western Allies' advance through France cut off communications and care packages, so conditions in the camp worsened considerably. The following winter, they became life threatening.

On April 17, 1945, the evacuation of the majority of the camp inmates began. They were forced to march in the direction of Braunau am Inn; only approximately 250 POWs who were

absolutely unable to walk, as well as around 350 *réfractaires* ("refractory" prisoners), were permitted to stay behind in the camp (according to other sources, 840 men in total).[12]

During the march, around 800 totally exhausted men remained behind at an early stage, in the area of Gratzen (today Nové Hrady, Czech Republic). After liberating them, the Soviets sent the "Gratzener" on another march on May 16, this time in the direction of Odessa. Plucky leaders brought about a late return of the Gratzener via Gmünd.

The majority of Oflag XVII A made it all the way to the Kaplitz (today Kaplice)-Einsiedl (today Mníšek)-Unterhaid (today Dolní Dvořiště) area in the present-day Czech Republic. After the last Germans had vanished, the French raised the tricolor on the early morning of May 6, 1945, and proclaimed a sort of "French zone" between the Americans and the Red Army. A "corps of volunteer fighters" disarmed parts of the German Eighth Army, which was making its way toward the Americans, while Représentant général Gibert himself probably made the contact with Linz, from which the Americans airlifted these French POWs to France in a concerted effort beginning on May 10.

The men remaining in Edelbach took over the camp on May 8 and were liberated on May 9 by a unit of the Red Army, which, however, immediately moved on. American forces liberated Oflag XVII A on May 9–10, 1945. American trucks, under French leadership, picked up the prisoners still in Edelbach around May 16 and took them to Linz; they were then taken by airlift to France around May 20. Scattered groups in some cases did not reach France until September 1945, in journeys that often were hazardous.

SOURCES The information about the Edelbach camp comes primarily from AN (F 9) and DMPA Caen (Mappe "Oflag XVII A, bes. Endberichte") but also from BA-MA (RH 53-17/187) and private archives; a camp chronicle in text format: Henri Natter and A. Refregier, *6000 à l'Oflag 17 A ou cinqu ans de captivité au fil des jours* (Paris: Jacques Vautrain, 1946); and one in pictorial form: Marcel Corre, *Défense de photographier: Reportage photographique clandestine sur la vie d'un camp de*

prisonniers français (Clermont-Ferrand: Montagne, 1954); contemporary letters (some of them secret letters); eyewitness accounts by French inmates and German-Austrian guards, as well as physical objects from the "Edelbach trunk," all now in the Kusternig Collection, Lower Austrian Regional Museum. Particularly valuable documents are the above-cited report on camp visits by the Armed Forces High Command in 1943, the final reports, statements of accounts, and morale reports, as well as the diaries of Armand Oldrà and those of Commandant Pierre Brusaut and François Ellenberger about the evacuation.

Fundamental references (in particular, regarding physical conditions and cultural life, the "camp university," and the "Great Escape," with extensive quotations) include: Andreas Kusternig, "Die 'Grosse Flucht' und die 'Lageruniversität.' Das Lager für kriegsgefangene französische Offiziere Oflag XVII A Edelbach," in *Heimat Allentsteig 1848–2002 mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Katastralgemeinden Bernschlag, Reinsbach, Thaua, Zwinzen,* ed. Ernst Bezemek (Allentsteig, 2002), pp. 271–317; and Andreas Kusternig, *La "Grande Evasion" et l' "Université du camp" de l'Oflag XVII A Edelbach*, trans. Henri Giraud and Bénédicte Guermonprez (Paris, 2002).

The resistance movement in the camp is treated in the greatest detail in Andreas Kusternig, "Zwischen 'Lageruniversität' und Widerstand: Französische kriegsgefangene Offiziere im Oflag XVII A Edelbach," in *Kriegsgefangene des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Gefangennahme–Lagerleben–Rückkehr* (*Kriegsfolgen-Forschung* 4), ed. Günter Bischof, Stefan Karner, and Barbara Stelzl-Marx (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2005), pp. 352–397.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See Rapport über die Besichtigung des Oflag XVII A durch den Generalinspekteur für das KGW. 28.10.1943. BAMA, RH 53-17/187. The report was sent extraordinarily late to the Armed Forces High Command, not until November 11 or 12,

1943. See also n. 3.

2. *Notre Canard. Bulletin de l'Association Amicale de l'Oflag 17 A 1-3 (1946) Spalten In memoriam I–III.*

3. DMPA Caen, Mappe "Oflag XVII A Edelbach," Bericht Rupied-Buchoud, p. 3.

4. AN, F 9, Karton 2400 No. 041; DMPA Caen, Mappe "Oflag XVII A Edelbach," Bericht Gibert, p. 6.

5. According to Pierre Racine, "Souvenirs de Captivité" (Paris, ca. 1990) as well as oral accounts by Racine, who helped to develop the École Nationale d'Administration (ENA) after the war.

6. Bericht des Lagerkommandanten Unger an das Wehrkreiskommando XVII vom 2. Oktober 1941. BA-MA, RH 53-17/186.

7. DMPA Caen, Mappe "Oflag XVII A Edelbach," Bericht Rupied-Buchoud, p. 5.

8. cf. the official report cited in n. 1, where the escape is not even mentioned!

9. Urteil des SG beim LG Wien gegen Julien Demangel u.a. 2.12.1943. DÖW LG Wien SHv 7304/47, reproduced in *Widerstand und Verfolgung in Wien 1934–1945: Eine Dokumentation, hrsg. vom Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes*, vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1984), pp. 370–371.

10. *Notre Canard 1–3, Spalten in memoriam I–III*. Christophe, Purgatoire, p. 134 (stating that Lantz perished in a salt mine).

11. AN, F 9, Karton 2400 No. 114. See n. 10.

12. Natter and Refregier, p. 154. In contrast, see DMPA Caen, Mappe "Oflag XVII A Edelbach," amerikanische Notiz 0 49/R 63.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XVIII A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XVIII A on October 16, 1939, in Lienz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII. Sometime between June and August 1943, the camp was transferred to Wagna, 212 kilometers (131 miles) to the east.[1] Oflag XVIII A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).

Oflag XVIII A at Lienz. Camp entrance and guards, August 1940.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Oflag XVIII A was first located in the Franz Josef Kaserne (barracks) in Grafenangen, a district in the northern part of the

town of Lienz, in eastern Tyrol. There were about 30 barracks for the prisoners as well as several other barracks that served other functions, including a kitchen, an infirmary, and offices and quarters for the camp staff. The camp staff comprised 66 men, a relatively small number compared to the staff of most camps for enlisted men (Stalags).[2] The commandant of the camp was Oberst (later General) Plammer and his adjutant was Hauptmann Zuber. The paymaster (*Zahlmeister*) was Viktor Walter Glückstein.[3]

Oflag XVIII A originally held Polish officers who had been captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 13, 1939, there were 600 Polish officers and 120 orderlies (batmen) in the camp.[4] By the spring of 1941, all of the Polish officers had been transferred to other camps in the Reich. The first French prisoners arrived on August 17–18, 1940.[5] While small numbers of British, Dutch, and Italian officers were intermittently present in the camp after August 1940, the camp population consisted almost entirely of French officers for the rest of its existence. The camp population was relatively stable throughout its operation, with a population generally between 800 and 1,000 French officers and 100 and 150 orderlies; the maximum population of the camp was 1,037 officers and 167 orderlies in October 1942.[6]

Conditions in Oflag XVIII A during its deployment in Lienz were generally regarded as good. The Germans generally observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929 in their treatment of French prisoners, and it seems that they did so in Oflag XVIII A. The International Committee of the Red Cross representatives who visited the camp in September 1940, shortly after the arrival of the first transports of French prisoners, gave a positive report about the prisoners' accommodations and indicated that the prisoners had told them that the Oflag was a significant improvement over the conditions in the Frontstalags in France from which they had arrived at Oflag XVIII A. The food rations in the camp were considered adequate, and while there was a shortage of clothing, this problem was ameliorated by the arrival of shipments of clothing from France.[7] The prisoners worked hard to maintain morale within the camp, and there was a substantial Gaullist movement among the officers that encouraged an attitude of defiance toward their German captors. Morale was further

improved when news of the Allied landings in North Africa and later in Normandy reached the prisoners.[8]

In the summer of 1943, the camp was relocated to Wagna, in Styria. The campsite in Wagna had been used as a prisoner of war camp during World War I, and, between September and mid-November 1942, the main camp of Stalag XVIII B had been located there. The Wagna camp consisted of a barracks with three rooms each, each room holding 20 men. There was also a canteen, an infirmary, and a theater. The camp population seems to have remained relatively constant after the transfer; however, records about this period of the camp's existence are limited. The Wehrmacht ordered the dissolution of the camp on September 21, 1944; the prisoners were transferred to Oflag XI B in Braunschweig.[9]

SOURCES Primary source information about Oflag XVIII A is located in BA-MA and BArch B 162/27873 Überprüfung des Oflag XVIII A in Lienz (copies at USHMMA, RG-14. 101M.2622.0000648–00000707).

Additional information about Oflag XVIII A can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 18; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 217–218; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 322–326.

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NOTES

1. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 322–324.

2. Ibid., pp. 322–323.

3. "Vernehmungsniederschrift—Zeuge—Viktor Walter Glückstein," BArch B 162/27873, Bl. 17-17R (copies at USHMM, RG-14.101M.2622.00000667–00000668).

4. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 217.

5. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 322.

6. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 217–218.

7. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 323.

8. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 219, 248.

9. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 325–326.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XVIII B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XVIII B on October 19, 1939, in Wolfsberg (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII. On April 25, 1940, the camp's staff was transferred to Woldenberg, in Pomerania, and redesignated as Oflag II C. However, Oflag XVIII B was reestablished on May 31, 1940.[1] Both iterations of the camp were subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).

Oflag XVIII B was located in the former barracks of the III Bataillon, Gebirgsjägerregiment 139 in the Priel district of Wolfsberg.[2] It initially held Polish officers captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 1939, there were 506 Polish officers and 117 orderlies (batmen) in the camp.[3] In April 1940, the Polish prisoners were transferred to Woldenberg along with the original camp staff.[4] After the camp was reestablished in May 1940, it held Belgian officers as well as small numbers of French officers on an intermittent basis. As of September 1940, there were 636 Belgian officers and 131 orderlies in the camp. By January 1941, the population had decreased to 549 Belgian officers and 107 orderlies.[5]

Oflag XVIII B at Wolfsberg. Camp buildings with prisoners in the foreground, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

On March 1, 1941, Oflag XVIII B was converted into Stalag XVIII A. The Belgian officers were transferred to Oflag XVIII A in Lienz.[6] The headquarters of Oflag XVIII B was officially dissolved on March 10, 1941.

SOURCES Additional information about Oflag XVIII B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 18; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 218; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 275–277; and Barbara Stelzl-Marx, "Das Oflag XVIII B/Stalag XVIII A Wolfsberg 1939–1945," in *Wolfsberg*, ed. Robert Gratzer (Wolfsberg, 2001), pp. 182–206.

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NOTES

1. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, 275.
2. Ibid., 276–277.
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, 218.
4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, 18.

5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, 218.

6. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, 275.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XVIII C

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XVIII C on October 15, 1939, in Spittal an der Drau, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII. It was the first prisoner of war camp established in Defense District XVIII. The camp was closed on May 9, 1940, and the prisoners were transferred to Oflag II C in Woldenberg (today Dobiegniew, Poland). Oflag XVIII C was reestablished on July 2, 1940.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).

Oflag XVIII C at Spittal an der Drau. Camp entrance, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The first prisoners in Oflag XVIII C were Polish officers whom the Germans captured during their invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 1939, there were 897 Polish

officers and 220 Polish orderlies (batmen) in the camp.[2] The Polish prisoners were transferred to Oflag II C on May 30, 1940.[3] After the camp was reestablished (under the same commandant, Oberstleutnant Bienbacher), 951 French officers and 100 orderlies were brought to the camp in three transports between July 9 and August 3, 1940.[4] The camp reached its maximum population of 1,189 French officers and 149 orderlies in September 1940. By January 1941, the population had decreased to 669 French officers and 90 orderlies.[5]

Oflag XVIII C was closed on March 1, 1941. On May 1, 1941, the campsite was converted into Stalag XVIII B, with a new staff and new prisoners.[6]

SOURCES Additional information about Oflag XVIII C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 18; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 218; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), p. 296.

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NOTES

1. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 296.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 218.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 18.

4. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 296.

5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 218.

6. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 296.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XXI A

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XXI A on September 1, 1940, in Schokken (today Skoki, Poland) (map 4c), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI, from Stalag XXI B/Z.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). Oflag XXI A received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 47 486 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

Oflag XXI A held French officers and orderlies (batmen). It was a small camp, with a maximum population of 467 (351 officers and 116 batmen) in February 1941.[2] Conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and compliant with the Geneva Convention of 1929.

In October 1941, the camp headquarters redeployed to Bobruisk, in occupied Belarus, where it was subordinate to the 339th Infantry Division, the 203rd Guard Brigade, and the Prisoner of War District Commandant (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) P.[3] On May 2, 1942, the camp was redesignated as Stalag 373.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XXI A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450; RH 22: 225, 230, 231, 247, 248), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XXI A, Stalag 373), and NARB.

Additional information about Oflag XXI A may be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus, 1941–1944: Ein Nachschlagewerk* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 90–91; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2

(Koblenz, self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 455; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167, and *Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 10.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167
2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 455.
3. Adamuschko et al., *Lager sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener in Belarus*, pp. 90–91.
4. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 10.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XXI B

The Wehrmacht established Oflag XXI B on September 18, 1940, in Schubin (known as Altburgund from 1941–1945; today Szubin, Poland) (map 4c), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). It was located in a boys' school, which had been expanded through the construction of additional barracks for the camp.

Oflag XXI B initially held French officers and orderlies, in numbers ranging from about 600 to nearly 1,500. Almost all of them were transferred out in September 1942, after which the largest group of prisoners were British officers and orderlies, numbering between 570 and 760. Eighteen American officers arrived in January 1943; their numbers grew to 126 by April 1.[2]

After the departure of the French prisoners, the Wehrmacht used Oflag XXI B as a special camp to hold problematic British officers. Many of the officers there had previously attempted to escape from other camps or had fallen afoul of disciplinary standards within their camps. The nature of these prisoners helps explain the high number of escape attempts from Oflag XXI B.[3] In March 1943, for example, 35 prisoners from the camp carried out an escape attempt, although none of them successfully reached neutral territory.[4]

Prisoners also took advantage of frequent opportunities to disrupt regular functions in the camp. Men frequently reported late to morning parades. Although such actions resulted in prisoners being sent to "the cooler" (the penal cells), they occurred with such frequency that the detention facilities became overwhelmed. Prisoners would have to report weeks later for punishment. When they were asked to give names, prisoners would provide aliases such as "M. Mouse" (i.e., Mickey Mouse) to further confuse and interrupt the Germans' ability to operate the camp effectively.[5]

Oflag XXI B at Altburgund. French POWs cooking on a stove, September 1942. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The culture within the camp reflected the variety of cultures within the British Empire and beyond. Prisoners exchanged ideas, traditions, and experiences from their own homes. A Canadian officer provided lectures on Inuit culture, a New Zealander gave a Maori dance, a South Pacific Islander described Fijian religion, and Americans sang country songs. While Anglican prisoners could attend services within the camp, the 60 British Catholic prisoners had no one to lead mass; in 1943, discussions were underway to allow them to travel to Stalag XXI D to attend religious services on Sun-days. The camp had a library with about 1,600 books and a classroom and two study rooms that afforded the prisoners the chance to take part in educational courses. The camp also had a small theater group as well as an orchestra.[6]

Outdoor experiences were similarly varied, although opportunities to play sports were somewhat limited by a lack of equipment; during a visit by the YMCA in February 1943, the American and Canadian prisoners requested that baseball and softball equipment be sent to the camp. The prisoners did manage to set up a cricket pitch in the summer and a hockey rink in the winter. Captain Partridge also led physical exercises. Those with a more naturalist inclination took advantage of the camp's surroundings. On one day in March 1943, the camp's bird-watchers observed 34 different species of migrating birds in the

camp's vicinity.[7]

The Wehrmacht disbanded the camp in November 1943. The prisoners were transferred to Stalag Luft III. Oflag 64 took over the site.

SOURCES Primary source material about Oflag XXI B is located in BA-MA (RH 53-21/9); BArch B 162/18251: Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag; WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XXI B); and TNA (WO 208/3296).

Additional information about Oflag XXI B can be found in the following publications: Tim Carroll, *Dodger: The Extraordinary Story of Churchill's American Cousin, Two World Wars, and the Great Escape* (Guilford, CT: Lyons, 2013), pp. 275–280; E. Jacheet, *Erinnerung bewahren. Erfahrungen und Pläne der Gesellschaft für Erinnerung an Oflag II D-II B-XXI B. In der Gefangenschaft und in der Freiheit. Schicksale der Kriegsgefangenen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und nach seinem Ende* (Łambinowice: Z. K. Łambinowice-Opole, 2009); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 19; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 506; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19. The information given about the camp by Mattiello and Vogt (apart from the date of its creation and

site of its deployment) is incorrect.

2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 219.

3. "Prisoner of War Camps in Germany," Report, US Department of State (ca. 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Pilichowski, *Obozy Hitlerowskie*, pp. 358, 466.

5. "An Artist in Prison Camp," *WW2 People's War* (2005), http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/63/a5283263.shtml.

6. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 1, Folder 4, pp. 708–709. (Originals held at National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.)

7. Carroll, *Dodger*, pp. 275–280.

OFFIZIERLAGER (OFLAG) XXI C

The Germans established Oflag XXI C on March 10, 1942, in Schokken (today Skoki, Poland) (map 4c). From December 1943 onward, the camp was deployed in Schildberg (today Ostrzeszów, Poland) (map 4c). The camp in Schildberg was located on the site of the former Stalag XXI A. On November 11, 1943, a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) was established in Grune (today Gronówko, Poland).[1] Oflag XXI C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). The first commander of the camp was Oberstleutnant Graf zu Solms (b. 1879). His successor, from March 1, 1944, to March 19, 1945, was Generalleutnant Peter Bielfeld (1888–1963).

Oflag XXI C at Schildberg. General view of the camp, April 1943.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Oflag XXI C held Allied officers and their orderlies. From the spring of 1942 until the middle of 1943, Serbian officers predominated in the camp. After the camp was moved from Schokken to Schildberg in the fall of 1943, the majority of the

prisoners were Norwegian officers, who comprised about 65 percent of the total population. The majority of them were arrested in Norway in August 1943 and placed in the camp in September 1943. The subcamp in Grune held British and Dutch officers, with Italian military prisoners serving as orderlies.[2] The population of Oflag XXI C varied from a minimum of 482 prisoners in April 1942 to a maximum of 1,719 prisoners in January 1944.[3]

The conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory. The Norwegian officers had their own government and lived by military rules. In order to endure the hardship of captivity more easily, they organized a camp school. In addition to typical school subjects, training was provided in the areas of fertilization of agricultural land, hunting, fishing, swimming, chess and bridge, fundamentals of masonry, drawing, and several social sciences. Courses in engineering and law also existed. Dozens of lectures were given on topics such as building a house, metallurgy and electrical engineering, aluminum, use of technology in the shipbuilding industry, power plant operations, brewing plants, aviation engines, natural gas, oil, and gasoline. The Norwegian officers elected a leader, to represent their interests to the German authorities. Until July 1944, this leader was General Liljendhal and afterward their leader was General Otto Ruge. The subcamp in Grune was closed in January 1945 and the main camp was closed on March 19 of that year.

SOURCES Primary source material about the Oflag XXI C is located in AGK (Gendarmeriekreis Hermannsbad, sygn. 11, k. 179; Zb. Fk. Sygn. II 314, k. 21, sygn. II 315, k. 6, 29); BArch B 162/9837 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2842.00000341–00000); BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Oflag XXI C); and OK P III Ds 8/73.

Additional information about Oflag XXI C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939– 1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw:

Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 358, 455; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Kraków: Ossilineum, 1972), p. 137; Edmund Serwański, *Obozy jenieckie w Ostrzeszowie, 1939– 1945* (Poznań: Ibsen T., 1960); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167.

2. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen Unbekannt wegen Verdachts des Mordes an Kriegsgefangenen in Grune, BArch B 162/9837, Bl. 64 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101.2842.00000417).

3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 358, 455.

SAMMELLAGER PILLAU

The German Third Army (AOK 3) established Sammellager Pillau in Pillau, East Prussia (now Baltiysk, Kaliningrad Oblast, Russia) (see map 4c) in October 1939. The camp closed in November 1939. The navy may also have used the site, but documentary evidence is lacking.

SOURCES There is very little information on this camp, but what there is can be found in Witold Zurawski: "Niemieckie obozy dla jenców wojennych (1939–1945). VII. I Okreg Wojskowy Wehrmachtu-Królewiec (cz. I), (Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenlager (1939–1945). VII. Der Wehrkreis I Königsberg (Teil I))," in: *Historyczno-Badawczy Biuletyn Filatelistyczny* 28 no. 2, 86–94.

Dallas Michelbacher

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 122

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 122 (map 2) in Compiègne, France, on March 8, 1944. The camp closed on September 14, 1944. An Italian Red Cross record from June 1944 suggests that Italian prisoners captured in southeastern France were sent to the camp, and the prisoners from this camp may have been subsequently deported to concentration camps, including Dachau and Mauthausen.[1]

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

NOTE

1. CNI card, Cerchiai, Armando, ITS, 0.1/C0188/01144.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 160

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 160 (map 2) in April 1941, possibly in Lunéville, Meurthe-et-Moselle, France, about 25.6 kilometers (16 miles) east-southeast of Nancy. The camp closed in September 1941.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 191

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 191 (map 2) in La Fère, France, about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Reims, in April 1941. The camp closed in September 1941.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 237

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 237 (map 5) from Stalag XVII B/Z (formerly Stalag XVII D) on November 5, 1941, in the Generalgouvernement.[1] The camp was located in Petrikau (today Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander for the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Generalgouvernement Polen*). Stalag 237 was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 235 between July 30, 1941, and March 11, 1942; the number was struck between March 12 and September 7, 1943.

The commandant of Stalag 237 was Major (later Oberstleutnant) Adolf Rengert, later the commandant of Stalag 371 in Stanislau (Stanisławów, today Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine). His deputy was Hauptmann Karl Flügel and his adjutants were Hauptmann Wilhelm Hoch and Hauptmann Karl Strolz. The camp officers (*Lageroffiziere*) were Hauptmann Alexander Beschorner and Hauptmann Paul Fournier. Hauptmann (later Major) Richard Grabner served as the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp.[2] The camp doctors were Dr. Hans Schüpferling and Drs. Scharmacher and Schneider. The camp was guarded by personnel from the 1st and 3rd Companies of the 354th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Stalag 237 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was divided into two sections: Lager A, which held both Russian and Ukrainian prisoners, and Lager B, the "Quarantine Camp," which held only Russians. On May 1, 1942, the camp contained 783 prisoners; on June 1, 1942, there were 3,628; and on August 1, 1942, there were 2,013.[3] As was the case in other camps for Soviet POWs, living conditions in the camp were poor. The prisoners suffered as a result of overcrowding, malnutrition, lack of proper

medical care, and abuse by the German guards, leading to a high mortality rate in the camp. Many prisoners who died of starvation or disease were buried in graves near the camp. Prisoners deemed fit for factory labor were transferred to the Reich to work.[4] Other prisoners were forced to work in the vicinity of the camp; the camp's labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) were under the supervision of Hauptmann Karl Auer.[5]

Camp personnel directed by Hauptmann Grabner screened the new arrivals at the camp to identify "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were then shot near the camp by a 10-man Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst,* SD) "task force" (*Einsatzkommando*) led by SS-Obersturmbannführer Hermann Altmann. In some cases, these prisoners were required to dig their own graves before they were shot. Some of the prisoners in the camp were given the opportunity to volunteer as auxiliaries (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis), who were trained to be concentration camp guards at a school established for that purpose in Petrikau. These prisoners lived in Lager A. They were taken to the school every morning and returned to the camp in the evening. While this job was undesirable, it offered an opportunity to escape the terrible conditions in the camp and the high probability of death.

On September 2, 1942, the Germans ordered the camp to be renamed Stalag 397, and transferred it to Iasinovataia (today Iasynuvata, Ukraine), while the camp in Petrikau became a subcamp of Stalag 367 in Tschenstochau (today Częstochowa, Poland) and was redesignated Stalag 367/Z.[6] Hermann Altmann was captured by the Soviets at the end of the war and held in various prisons in Poland until 1955, when he was sentenced to death for his participation in the execution of Soviet POWs. However, his sentence was commuted, and, in 1959, he was released from prison and allowed to return to Germany.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 237 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 237); and BArch B 162/6594–6596 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 237 in Petrikau [später Stalag 397]).

Additional information about Stalag 237 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*

na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1964), p. 398; I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw; 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 33; Jan Pietrzykowski, *Hitlerowcy w powiecie częstochowskim 1939–1945* (Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1972), p. 202; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 387; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 8: Die Landstreitkräfte 201-280* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167.

2. Vorermittlungsverfahren der Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg gegen u.T. wegen Verdachtes der Beihilfe zum Mord an russischen Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 237 Petrikau, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 81 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002057).

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 237 in Petrikau, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 37 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002016).

5. Stalag 237 Petrikau, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 177 (copy at

USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002133).

6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167.

7. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Altmann u.a. wegen NSG, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 327 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002288).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 301

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 301 on April 30, 1941, in Stablack, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I (map 4c). From July 17 until August 21, 1941, the camp was located in Schieratz (map 5), and from August 21 until September 22, 1941, in Lublin. In late September 1941, the camp was transferred to Kovel' (map 9e), and in August 1942, it was relocated to Slavuta (map 9e). In November 1942, it moved from Slavuta to Shepetovka (map 9e), where it remained until the end of 1943. The camp had one subcamp (*Zweiglager*), which was established at Slavuta in late September 1941; in November 1942, the subcamp was transferred to Zaslav (today Iziaslav, Ukraine) (9e). The date of the camp's dissolution is uncertain; it was still in operation on August 19, 1944.[1] While located in Kovel', Slavuta, and Shepetovka, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*).

The camp commandant, beginning on May 2, 1941, was Oberstleutnant Walther Otto. He was followed by Oberstleutnant Dr. Wiegand from October 10, 1941; Oberst Lüders, from January 24, 1943; and, finally, Oberst Helmut von Uechtritz, from April 6, 1943, to July 25, 1944. The deputy camp commandants were Major Dr. Friedrich Voigt and Hauptmann Johannes Papke. They were replaced by Oberstleutnant Fritz Meurer on September 21, 1943. From March 17, 1944, until July 25, 1944, the position was filled by Oberstleutnant Paul Pini. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Karl Flick (who died on June 26, 1942) and Hauptmann Dr. Emil Pfau. The camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Friedrich Pohlenk as of December 11, 1941. As of November 1942, the camp was guarded by Company 3 of the 568th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Stalag 301 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The maximum population of the camp was 33,139 in October 1942.[2] Approximately 12,000 prisoners are reported to have died at the camp in Kovel' from starvation, disease, and being shot.[3]

The Slavuta subcamp, also known as the major hospital (*Gross-Lazarett*) Slawuta offers a glimpse into the horrors that the Wehrmacht inflicted upon Soviet POWs.[4] The camp consisted of a barbed-wire enclosure containing 10 three-story stone buildings, located about 1.5 to 2 kilometers (0.9 to 1.2 miles) southeast of Slavuta. In six of the blocks, the Germans kept prisoners with wounds or illnesses. Three other blocks held prisoners to be shipped out or who were in work details.

There was constant turnover at the hospital, as prisoners died and new transports arrived. Many prisoners were dead upon arrival, because of the treatment that the transport guards meted out to them, on top of their medical conditions. A. I. Daniliuk, operator of a water tower located on the grounds of the former military camp, reported to the Investigative Commission that he saw "20 to 25 corpses tossed out of each car of an arriving train, and 800 to 900 corpses were left lying on the railroad branch line." Generally, the camp guards greeted groups of POWs at the gates of the hospital with blows from rifle butts and rubber truncheons, and then confiscated the new arrivals' leather footwear, warm clothing, and personal belongings.[5]

In the hospital, the prisoners lived in horribly overcrowded conditions. Many had to stand, closely pressed together; weary and exhausted, many fell to the floor and died. The German doctors often placed people suffering from typhus, tuberculosis, and dysentery with people who had minor and serious wounds, in the same block and the same ward. A. A. Kryshtop, a former POW and a Soviet physician, testified that "in a single block, there were people with typhus and tuberculosis, and the number of sick reached 1,800, while under normal conditions no more than 400 persons could have been placed there."[6] The rooms were not cleaned. The patients remained for months on end in the underwear they were wearing when they were taken prisoner. They slept without any covering. Many were half-clothed or completely naked. The premises were unheated, and the primitive stoves made by the POWs themselves fell to pieces. No

elementary medical processing of those entering the hospital was conducted. All these factors contributed to the spread of infectious diseases. In the hospital, no water was available for washing or even for drinking. As a result of the unsanitary conditions, lice infestation in the hospital assumed enormous proportions.

Former POW Maksim Ermakov recalled after the war: "In the barracks, one's breath was taken away by the unbearable odor of feces and decomposing corpses. At the entrance there stood a mobile commode made from a barrel with the top cut off, filled to overflowing with feces. Many of the wounded and sick could not get up because of exhaustion; they suffered from urinary incontinence, profuse dysentery, diarrhea related to a lack of protein, and swelling of the face and extremities. The unclean matter ran down from the upper plank beds to the lower ones."[7]

The daily rations consisted of *balanda*—a watery soup made from rotten, unpeeled potatoes, bran, and foxtail millet—and 250–300 grams (8.8–10.6 ounces) of ersatz bread, made partly of sawdust. Sometimes a "menu" of this kind included carrion: dead horses picked up from all over the region, but even this food was given out on an irregular basis in 1941 and 1942. There were times when, for five or six days, wounded POWs received no food at all. There were also instances when the German guards, for amusement, threw beets and rotten potatoes into a crowd of POWs, and, when the POWs went for the food, the Germans and the Ukrainian police shot at them. Starvation reduced the prisoners to such a state that there were instances, confirmed by eyewitnesses, of cannibalism and use of rats as food.[8]

The bread substitute was baked with special flour sent from Germany. Forensic examination established "that the 'flour' consisted of chaff with a minute amount of flour, evidently formed from grains that accidentally fell into straw during threshing. Consumption of the 'bread' made from this flour resulted in starvation and alimentary dystrophy in the forms of cachexia and dropsy (starvation edema), and contributed to the spread of serious gastrointestinal diseases, usually fatal, among the Soviet POWs."[9]

Although the camp at Slavuta officially was called a Gross-Lazarett and its staff included a substantial number of medical personnel, the sick and wounded prisoners did not receive even

basic medical care. No medications were issued to the sick and injured. Wounds were not treated surgically and not bandaged. Wounded limbs with bone damage were not immobilized. Even for the gravely wounded, no care was arranged. P. A. Molchanova, a former female POW and medical orderly, reported that "the large numbers of sick and wounded, concentrated in quarters next to us behind a partition made of boards, received no medical care of any kind. From their ward, day and night, we heard continuous prayers for help, pleas for someone to give them even a drop of water. The powerful stench of the festering and neglected wounds penetrated through the chinks between the boards."[10]

The guards exacerbated the terrible conditions. They beat the prisoners as they went to work and while distributing the rations to them. For the slightest infraction of the rules, the Germans would place sick and wounded men in bare concrete punishment cells and deny them water; many of the prisoners died there. As another form of punishment, exhausted prisoners had to run around the barracks; those who could not keep up were beaten senseless. Guards murdered prisoners for sheer amusement or for minor infractions.

The camp administration forced the sick and wounded POWs to do backbreaking physical labor despite their extreme exhaustion and weakness. The POWs carried heavy loads and moved the corpses of Soviet citizens who had died. POWs who were tired and dropped from exhaustion were killed on the spot by the guards. The route to and from work, according to Slavuta's Catholic priest, Father Milevskii, was marked with little grave mounds, like milestones.[11] According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, about 150,000 POWs perished in the camp in Slavuta between 1941 and 1943.[12] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.

Despite the strictest measures on the part of the Germans, Soviet POWs managed individual and group escapes from the hospital, finding refuge in the homes of the local population of Slavuta and the surrounding localities. As a result, on January 15, 1942, the Regional Commissar (*Gebietskommissar*) in Shepetovka, Regierungsrat Dr. Worbs, whose district included the town of Slavuta, issued a special directive warning the population that "for

giving aid of any kind whatsoever to 'outsiders,' that is, to escaped POWs, the guilty will be shot. If those directly guilty are not found, then 10 hostages will be shot in each instance." The district authority of Slavuta, in turn, declared that "all prisoners of war who have voluntarily left the hospital are declared to be outside the law and are subject to being shot wherever they may be discovered."[13] POWs who escaped and were caught, as well as the citizens who had given them aid, were arrested by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, beaten, and shot.[14]

From the second half of June until early August 1942, the camp in Slavuta was also used as a center for formation of Cossack military units. As a result of an order dated June 18, 1942, all POWs who were Cossacks by origin and regarded themselves as such had to be sent to Slavuta. By the end of the month, 5,826 prisoners had already been concentrated here, taken from various camps in the Ukraine (Vinnitsa, Kovel', Darnitsa, Belaia Tserkov', and others), and a decision was made to form a Cossack corps and set up a corresponding headquarters. As there was an acute shortage of senior and midlevel command personnel among the Cossacks, they began selecting former Red Army commanders for Cossack units, men who were not Cossacks. As a result, the Ataman Count Platov 1st Cossack Officer Cadet School was opened at the formation headquarters. In addition, there was a school for noncommission officers. The Cossack personnel were used primarily to form the 1st Ataman Regiment under the command of Oberstleutnant Freiherr von Wolff and a special half-squadron of Cossacks (*polusotnia*) intended to perform special tasks in the Soviet rear area. After testing of the increased fresh forces, formation of the 2nd Leibkosaken-Regiment and the 3rd Regiment of Don Cossacks began, followed by formation of the 4th and 5th Regiments of Kuban Cossacks and the 6th and 7th Combined Cossack Regiments. On August 6, 1942, the Cossack units that had been formed were transferred from the camp in Slavuta to Shepetovka to barracks specially set aside for them due to an outbreak of typhus at Slavuta.[15]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 301 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (files 7021-55-13; 7021-64-814,

903); DAVO; DAKhmO (file r-6960-1-249); the National Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War in Kiev; the Historical Museum in the City of Slavuta; and BArch B 162/8789-8794 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 301 in Slawuta, Schepetowka und Kowel, 1941 bis 1943) and 21885 (Slawuta).

Additional information about Stalag 301 can be found in the following publications: V. H. Berkovskyi et al., "Istoriia velykykh strazhdan': Natsysts'ki tabory dlia radians'kykh viis'kovopolonenykh u m. Slavuti na Khmel'nychchyni: doslidzhennia, dokumenty, svidchennia," *Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, Memorial'nyi kompleks "Natsional'nyi muzei istorii Velykou Vitchyznianoi Viiny 1941–1945 rokiv*," ed. V. M. Lytvyn et al. (Kiev: Aerostat, 2011); S. Drobiazko and A. Karashuk, *Vostochnye legiony i kazach'i chasti v Vermakhte* (Izdatel'stvo AST, Astrel', 2000), pp. 36–37; I. L. Druian, *Kliatvu sderzhali* (Minsk: Belarus', 1975); M. H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 208, 220; Maksim Ermakov, "'Gross-Lazaret' v Slavute—lager' smerti," *Meditsinskii vestnik* (853, no. 9 (2008); F. Khomich, *My vernulis'* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1959); Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademia, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 33; "Soobshchenie Chrezvychainoi Gosudarstvennoi Komissii po ustanovleniiu i rassledovaniiu zlodeianii nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov. Istreblenie gitlerovtsami sovetskikh voennoplennykh v 'Gross-Lazarete Slavuta' Kamenets-Podol'skoi oblasti," in *Niurnbergskii protsess: Sbornik materialov v dvukh tomakh. Tom 1*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo iuridicheskoi literatury, 1954), pp. 461–466; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 72.

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 72; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 33; Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, pp. 208, 220.
2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
3. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 215–219.
4. "Soobshchenie Chrezvychainoi " (Dokument SSSR-5); "Istreblenie gitlerovtsami sovetskikh voennoplennykh," *Niurnbergskii protsess*, pp. 461–466; *Pravda* (August 3, 1944); ChGK report, August 3, 1944.
5. ChGK report, August 3, 1944.
6. Ibid.
7. Ermakov, "'Gross-Lazaret' v Slavute."
8. Document dated January 25, 1944, TsAMORF, fond 60-I armii, opis' 10597, delo 112, pp. 178–181.
9. ChGK report, August 3, 1944.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Drobiazko and Karashuk, *Vostochnye legiony*, pp. 36–37.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 302 (II H)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 302 (II H) (map 4b) in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II on August 14, 1941, from Frontstalag 302.[1] Initially, the camp was deployed in Barkenbrügge (today Barkniewo, Poland), but, from early 1942 until September 1, 1943, it was located in Rederitz (today Nadarzyce, Poland) (both 4b), with a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Barkenbrügge (until mid-1943). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

Stalag 302 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The maximum population was 5,000 prisoners.[2] The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs: housing, food supplies, and medical care were inadequate, leading to a high death rate from malnutrition and disease. The Gestapo carried out selections (*Aussonderungen*) to discover "undesirable" prisoners such as political commissars and Jews. In October 1941, 700 such prisoners were selected and sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where some were executed shortly after arrival and others were sent to forced labor.[3] Stalag 302 was disbanded on September 1, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 302 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 302).

Additional information about Stalag 302 can be found in the following publications: Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, "Obozy jenieckie na Ziemi Koszalinskiej (1939–1945)," *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Ziemi Koszalińskiej w latach 1933–1945* (Koszalin, 1968); Tadeusz Gasztold, "Obozy jenieckie na Pomorzu Zachodnim w łatach 1939–1945," *Zapiski Koszalińskie*

vol. 2, 26 (1966); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 11, 34; Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998), pp. 36–37; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 330; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 78.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, 78; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945*, p. 34; Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 36–37.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Manuskript des Herrn Büge über die Zeit eine Inhaftierung im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.38.0/0004/0181.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 303

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 303 (map 3) in April 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III.[1] From August 1941 on, the camp was deployed in southern Norway, in the village of Jørstadmoen. The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commandant (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant*) under the Armed Forces Commander Norway (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen*). The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 941 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

Stalag 303 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp held the following numbers of prisoners on these dates: February 1, 1942, 334; April 1, 1942, 3,200; June 1, 1942, 3,166; August 1, 1942, 5,659; September 1, 1942, 6,184; October 1, 1942, 6,132; November 1, 1942, 8,043.[2] On April 1, 1945, there were 12,510 prisoners in the camp, including 12,426 Soviet citizens, 76 Finns, 6 Poles, and 2 Serbians. Of the total number of prisoners, only 1,391 were in the main camp, while 10,904 were in 92 work details (*Arbeitskommandos*), and 215 were in other places, being transported or in military regional hospitals (*Ortslazaretten*).[3] By the end of the war, Stalag 303 had 87 camps in southern Norway, according to German sources. The area that belonged to Stalag 303 stretched from Åseberg in the north to Oslo in the south and Bergen/Voss in the west.[4]

The conditions in Stalag 303 were harsh, especially during the early period of its existence. The prisoners were crammed together in a small area, the food was inadequate in both quantity and quality, there was little medical care, disease was rampant, and the guards were abusive, leading to a high death rate.[5] Former prisoner Aleksandr Kiselev described the prisoners' living conditions in one of the camp's work detachments as follows:

> Once a group of Nazis came to our camp [Stargard] and picked out 500 people, who were taken in trucks to Stettin. From there they were taken on cargo barges directly to Bergen. We reached Bergen in October 1943. At first we were settled in a small camp, where there were only a few barracks, and then we were moved to a big camp—Nygårdsmyren. In the camp, I lived near the exit, where the guards were located. I slept on the upper [second] tier of the bed; at the very top slept all the young prisoners; the elderly ones slept on the bottom tier. The bunks were covered not with straw but with dry seaweed. The head of the camp had his own informer in each barracks, people who could speak a bit of German. We took turns eating from small saucers, because there were few spoons, there were not enough of them. We ate three times a day. Starting in the morning, we drank cold tea. In the daytime there was soup made of rotten vegetables and rutabagas, and both the prisoners and the Germans called this soup "barbed wire." Some bread and tea for dinner, and 200 grams [7 ounces] of margarine for every 20 prisoners. In some barracks there were a few medications. Mainly, they all were sent to hospitals. We often were damp when we returned from work, but in each barracks there was only one stove, and not everybody managed to get dry. As a result we went around in damp clothes the next day. Once a week we had a bath, and we tossed our dirty clothes into the heated room so they could get dry. We were not allowed to go outside to the toilet at night; we had to wait until the next day. In the barracks where I lived, there was no balalaika, but we often sang, and even put on concerts in the evenings. We walked to work in five rows, and often we picked up packets of food that local inhabitants had placed along the roadsides. I worked in a bunker where there were submarines. I worked together with Norwegians, and they shared their food with us and told us news from the front. I did various jobs: I carried bags, I unloaded freight cars. Many people, to avoid work, mutilated or injured themselves.

Prisoners worked on various projects of interest to the German military in the area around the camp, as well as for other German authorities, including Organisation Todt, often doing forestry or

construction work in Lillehammer. In some cases, prisoners who worked in the labor companies and lived outside the camp could procure extra food and larger bread rations; however, they were also subject to mistreatment by the guards. In one instance of such mistreatment, two German soldiers escorted two prisoners to work at Saksenvik. The guards were distracted for a few minutes, and the prisoners took advantage of this and fled to a nearby house where they tried to find something to eat. The reaction of the guards was instantaneous. One of the prisoners fell to his knees and begged forgiveness, but the guard shot him in front of the local inhabitants. One of them tried to prevent the tragedy but was stopped by the second guard. Cases of such cruelty were common.[6] Karl Heinrich Richter, who served in the 366th Security Battalion (*Sicherungsbataillon*) and worked as a guard at Stalag 303, reported that many of the guards inflicted severe beatings on the prisoners.[7]

Irina Skretting, who worked as a translator when the Norwegians took control of the camp in Jørstadmoen, later recalled: "I never saw worse conditions than in Jørstadmoen. What we saw in this camp is impossible to describe. Especially the barracks with men suffering from TB. They were practically isolated from everyone else, because the Germans, too, were mortally afraid of becoming infected. The prisoners lay on plank beds along the walls. They lay so close together that it was almost impossible to move off the plank beds. The sanitary conditions, too, were indescribable. It was hard to imagine that people could live in these barracks."[8] At least 954 prisoners died in the camp, according to incomplete data, as a result of malnourishment, disease, exposure, and deliberate mistreatment and killings. In this camp, as in others, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were summarily executed.[9]

A total of 1,651 Soviet prisoners were registered to the socalled reinforcement service (*Ergänzungsdienst*) at Stalag 303. These prisoners, who volunteered for service in the Wehrmacht, received the same food rations and facilities as German soldiers. The categorization of these prisoners is somewhat uncertain, but it is probably correct to assume that they were *Hilfswillige*. After the liberation in May 1945, these prisoners were, however, still

considered POWs, not German soldiers, and were therefore repatriated to the Soviet Union, where they likely met harsh punishment.

The camp at Jørstadmoen was also used as a transit camp for Norwegian prisoners on their way to other camps in Nor-way. From April 1 to 12, 1942, 568 teachers from Polizeihäftlingslager Grini and 118 teachers from Hedmark and Oppland were detained at Jørstadmoen or "Jøssingmoen," as the camp also was called. These teachers had refused to join the Nazi teaching organization, the *Lærersambandet*. After nine days of internment at Jørstadmoen the teachers were sent on to prison camps in Kirkenes, in northern Norway.[10] Only 11 of the teachers were released from captivity because they agreed to join the *Lærersambandet*. In November 1942, the teachers were sent back home after they had agreed to sign the agreement on a pro forma membership in the organization. The date on which Stalag 303 disbanded is unclear, but it probably operated until the German capitulation on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 303 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B 162/9370–9374: Ermittlungen gg. O. Albrecht und weitere Angehörige des Stalag 303 in Lillehammer (Norwegen) wg. Aussonderung und Tötung sog. Untragbarer Kriegsgefangener und gg. einen unbekannten Unteroffizier wg. Ermordung von 3 russischen Kriegsgefangenen; BA, Berlin R 83, FC 3256, National Archive in Oslo, Deutsche Verwaltung alliierter KGF (DOBN) 1945; and TNA.

Additional information about Stalag 303 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 34; Marianne Neerland Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941–1945—antall, organisering og repatriering" (PhD dissertation, University of Tromsø, 2005); Marianne Neerland Soleim, *Sovjetiske krigsfanger I Norge—Antall, organisering og repatriering* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2009); M. M. Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye v Norvegii v gody Vtoroi

mirovoi voiny" (dissertation for degree of candidate of historical sciences, Arkhangel'sk, 2008); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 82; and Gunnar Tore Larsen, "Fåberg og Lillehammer. Krig og okkupasjon 1940–1945," *Årbok 1981 Fåberg og Lillehammer Historielag*.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 82; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Kommandant des Kgf.-Mannsch.-Stammlagers (Stalag) 303 an Kgf.-Bezirks-Kommandant beim W. Bfh. Norwegen v. 9.4.1945, Meldung über die Belegungsstärke nach dem Stande vom 1. April 1945, TNA.

4. RA, DOBN, Deutsche Verwaltung alliierter KGF, Verteilung und Einsatz der dem Stalag 303 unterstellten Kriegsgefangenen mit dem Stand vom 1.4.1945.

5. Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge"; Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye," pp. 38–96.

6. Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye," pp. 38–96.

7. Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge."

8. Testimony of Karl Heinrich Richter, International Tracing Service 1.2.7.22/82203867.

9. Ermittlungen gg. O. Albrecht und weitere Angehörige des Stalag 303 in Lillehammer (Norwegen) wg. Aussonderung und Tötung sog. Untragbarer Kriegsgefangener und gg. einen

unbekannten Unteroffizier wg. Ermordung von 3 russischen Kriegsgefangenen, BArch B 162/9370–9374.

10. www.forsvarsnett.no, Sambandsregimentet, Jørstadmoens historie til 1945. Det var Grini- og Jørstadkontingenten som ble sendt til Kirkenes. Kirkenesferda 1942. Oslo 1946.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 304 (IV H)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 304 (maps 2, 4e, and 6) based on Stalag IV C on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV, in Wistritz (today Bystrice, Czech Republic) near the city of Teplitz-Schönau (today Teplice, Czech Republic). It deployed to a site southeast of the village of Zeithain, about 46 kilometers (29 miles) northwest of Dresden. From September 12, 1941, onward, the camp was designated Stalag 304 (IV H).[1] From the start, the Germans intended to use this camp to confine Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

The first camp commandant was Major Moritz (April 12– May 14, 1941). The next commandant, until January 29, 1942, was Oberstleutnant Alfred Wörlen. The camp adjutant was Captain Karl Zerbes. As of October 10, 1941, the camp staff included 20 officers, 18 civilian officials, 69 noncommissioned officers, and 149 enlisted men.

The first Soviet POWs arrived in the camp in July 1941. The following table lists the number of Soviet prisoners the camp held over the course of fourteen months.[2]

The prisoners arrived at the camp via a 2-kilometer (1.2-mile) march from their disembarkation point at Bahnhof Jacobsthal. In the first months, the prisoners lived outdoors, without barracks or tents to house them. The camp territory was an open field surrounded by a double barbed wire fence. The prisoners made their own dugouts to protect themselves from the bad weather. The construction of barracks, latrines, kitchens, and wells began only when a sufficient number of prisoners became available for such work in the late summer and early fall—and only after the prisoners had built barracks for the guards, as well as other administrative buildings. The lack of wells and resulting water

shortage forced the prisoners to drink water from puddles. The water supply situation contributed to a dysentery epidemic, as well as other diseases such as typhus and typhoid, in addition to numerous deaths caused directly by thirst.

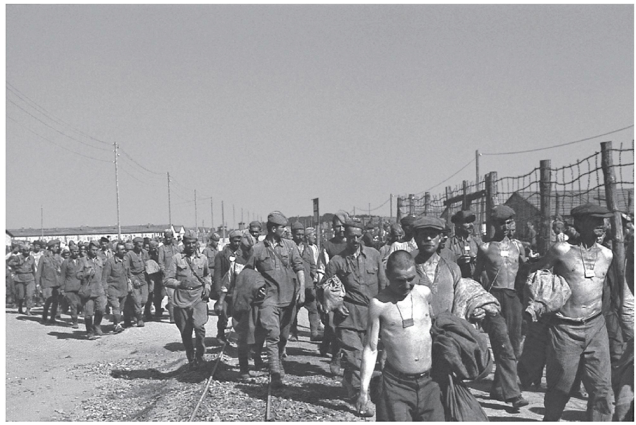
Date	Number of prisoners
July 15, 1941	2,000
August 10, 1941	31,955
October 1, 1941	11,046
December 1, 1941	10,677
January 1, 1942	7,298
February 1, 1942	5,685
April 1, 1942	3,729
May 1, 1942	3,615
June 1, 1942	3,469
August 1, 1942	2,980
September 1, 1942	21,151

The prisoners were also badly undernourished, as the

Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) had little interest in feeding Soviet POWs adequately in this early period. Those men who were working received only 1,300 calories a day, while those who were not working received even less food, around 1,000 calories a day. The prisoners' rations consisted of ersatz coffee or tea in the morning, a thin soup of beets and (occasionally) potatoes at lunch, and about a third of a kilo-gram (11.5 ounces) of so-called Russian bread (*Russenbrot*), consisting of rye grist, sugar beet pulp, and straw meal, in the evening. These meager rations led the starving, emaciated prisoners to eat anything they could find, including grass, leaves, and poisonous mushrooms. By the winter of 1941, many of the men were too weak to even feed themselves, and death from starvation became commonplace.

A dysentery epidemic began soon after the arrival of the first prisoners in the camp in July 1941. In addition to the shortage of clean water, the lack of proper hygienic facilities and latrines promoted the spread of the disease, which infected as much as 20 percent of the camp's population between July and October 1941. Though the incidence of dysentery decreased with the arrival of winter, approximately a quarter of the cases of illness among the prisoners during the winter of 1941–1942 were due to dysentery.

The cramped conditions in the camp also contributed to an outbreak of typhus, which began in the late fall of 1941 and reached its peak during the winter. Despite the fact that the camp, unlike many camps for Soviet POWs, had delousing facilities, their capacity was inadequate to deal with the population of the overcrowded camp. Furthermore, the fact that the men were unable to launder their clothing allowed lice to continue to spread. Even the camp's guards were not immune to the deadly disease spread by lice; as many as a quarter of the guards died of typhus that winter. The Germans placed the camp under quarantine from December 1941 until March 1942, because of the epidemic: the prisoners were sealed in. In total, about 7,000 prisoners died during that period, out of the 10,700 who were present at the start.[3]



Stalag 304 (IV H) at Zeithain. Soviet POWs in the camp, date/source unknown.

By the time the OKW ordered the deployment of Russian POWs for forced labor on October 31, 1941, only a few of the prisoners at Zeithain were fit to work; most were too weakened by disease and starvation to perform manual labor. Those who were able to work were sent to unload goods at Bahnhof Jacobsthal and the camp's supply areas, do excavation work near the camp, assist in the warehouses at the nearby munitions depot, dig graves and bury dead bodies, and work on nearby farms.

In the fall of 1941 and winter of 1941–1942, a group of three men from the Dresden Gestapostelle conducted a selection, or "culling" (*Aussonderung*), of "undesirable" prisoners in the camp: "known functionaries of the [Soviet] State and Party," all political commissars and their deputies, and Jews. This team selected and sent no fewer than 1,000 prisoners to the Buchenwald concentration camp through Stalag IV B. The Germans murdered the prisoners immediately upon arrival, using the so-called neck-shot installation (*Genickschussanlage*); the corpses were burned in the crematorium afterward.[4]

As of September 1, 1942, the Zeithain site became a sub-camp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag IV B Mühlberg, with the designation Stalag IV B/Z. Stalag 304 moved to Loewen (2) in Belgium, with about 10,000 Soviet prisoners. From September 8, 1942, it was subordinate to the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern

France (*Militärbefehlshaber Belgien und Nordfrankreich*).[5] Right up to the liberation of Belgium in 1944, the commandant's office in Loewen managed work teams of Soviet POWs who were engaged in the coal industry in the area. Details of conditions in the camp during this period have not come to light.

On September 1, 1943, the camp held 9,931 Soviet POWs, including 111 officers, and 7 Serbian POWs; 9,033 prisoners were used for labor. On April 1, 1944, there were 10,327 Soviet POWs in the camp, including 17 officers; 10,250 were used for labor. On May 1, 1944, there were 10,301 POWs, and on June 1, 1944, there were 9,873 Soviet POWs (9,798 of whom performed labor) and 184 Belgian officers. On July 1, 1944, there were 7,016 Soviet POWs (6,929 of whom performed labor).[6] In 1945, the camp deployed to Trieste, Italy.[7]

Because of its complicated history of moves and redesignations, Stalag 304 had a correspondingly complicated series of field post numbers (*Feldpostnummern*). The number 05 975 was assigned between May 1 and October 19, 1942, and struck between October 20, 1942, and January 9, 1943; 25 741 was both assigned and struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943; the longest-lasting number, 43 406 E, was assigned between October 20, 1942, and January 9, 1943, and struck on March 20, 1945; 07 667 was assigned on October 10, 1944, and struck on February 12, 1945.

The Chorun Commission, which studied the camp's history and the experiences of its prisoners estimated a death toll of 33,000 Soviet prisoners based on the number of bodies found in mass graves. The camp's death register only included the names of around 24,500 prisoners; however, the death toll could conceivably be as high as 40,000, as it is possible that many prisoners who died between mid-1942 and the end of 1943 were cremated, rather than buried in mass graves.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 304 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451), the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 304), and BArch B 162 / 16994–16996: "Aussonderung" und Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 304; 18251: Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag–Stalag.

Additional information about Stalag 304 is available in the

following publications: Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9*: *Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 87; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), p. 34; E. A. Brodskii, *Vo imia pobedy nad fashizmom: Antifashistskaia bor'ba sovetskikh liudei v gitlerovskoi Germanii (1941–1945 gg.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970); Jörg Osterloh, *Ein ganz normales Lager: das Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager 304 (IV H) Zeithain bei Riesa/Sa 1941 bis 1945* (Leipzig: G. Kiepenhauer, 1997); A. N. Bystritskii, V. G. Lebedev, V. V. Mukhin, and V. V. Tolochko, *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorialy i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii*, ed. G. I. Kal'chenko (Moscow: Assosiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); *Zeithain: Gedenkbuch sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, 2 vols. (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft, Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V. Dresden, 2005); *Grabstätten sowjetischer Bürger auf dem Gebiet des Freistaates Sachsen: Gedenkbuch* (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft, Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V. Dresden, 2008); Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten, ed., *Spurensuche: Stalag 304 Zeithain bei Riesa. Tagungsband* (Dresden, 1996); Klaus-Dieter Müller, et.al., eds., *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft in Deutschland und in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998); Ulrich Krause, *Das sowjetische Kriegsgefangenenstammlager 304—Zeithain* (Berlin, 1994); Jörg Osterloh, "'Der Totenwald von Zeithain.' Das Stalag 304 (IV H) Zeithain und die sowjetische Besatzungsmacht," in *In der Hand des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Rüdiger Overmans (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), pp. 461–482. See also Gedenkstätte Ehrenhain Zeithain at http://www.stsg.de/cms/zeithain/startseite.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA RH 49/10: Stammtafel des Stalag 304 (IV H); Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 87; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 34.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, in BArch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag–Stalag).

3. Müller, Nikischkin, and Wagenlehner, *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft*, 299.

4. See, specifically, "Aussonderung" und Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 304, in BArch B 162 / 16994–16996.

5. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 87.

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, in BArch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag–Stalag).

7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 87.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 305

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 305 on April 27, 1941, in Ludwigsburg (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. In August 1941, it was relocated to Reichshof (Polish: Rzeszów) (map 5) in the Generalgouvernement, and, in October 1941, it was moved again, to Kirovograd (today Kropyvnyts'kyi, Ukraine) (map 9f), where it replaced Dulag 171.[1] Stalag 305 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 226 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, then reissued on December 7, 1943, and struck for good on April 26, 1944. It is unclear exactly when the camp ceased operations. The last documented date when the camp was open was in March 1944. The last commander was not removed from the personnel roster until July, but there had been severe combat in the area that spring, and the camp may have been destroyed then.

While the camp was located in Kirovograd, it was subordinate first to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*). After March 1943, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Rear Area Commander, Army Group South (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Süd*).

Oberstleutnant Werner Hiltrop was the camp commandant from October 1941 through September 1942. He was succeeded by Major Flecker, who served until December 15 of that year, when he was himself replaced by Oberstleutnant Hossenfelder. The final commandant, an officer named Scheffler, took over from Hossenfelder sometime in the fall of 1943. The adjutant was Hauptmann (later Major) Häberle; the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Karl Kugler, Leutnant Willi

Gushurst, and Hauptmann Schmidt; and the camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was named Kientz. There were three camp doctors: Dr. Kindervater, Dr. Guter, and Dr. Elsass. The camp staff consisted of a total of about 100 men.[2]

The main camp in Kirovograd was located partly in former barracks of the 43rd Regiment (Lager 1a) and partly in a former prison (Lager 1b).[3] It had two subcamps (*Zweiglager*). One of them, at the Adabash railroad station was known as Lager 2. The commandant of Lager 2 from October 29, 1941, was Oberleutnant (later Hauptmann) Oskar Frank, and the camp officer was Oberleutnant Baron. The other subcamp, Lager 3, was located in the town of Pervomaisk (Mykolaïvs'ka oblast', Ukraine). Lager 2 consisted of a number of unheated wooden barracks and a former granary, surrounded by barbed wire. These barracks were meant to accommodate no more than 500 prisoners, but in fact they held 10–20 times that number of men.[4]

The camp was guarded by the 783rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). Until October 1941, the battalion commander was Oberstleutnant Dr. Wiegand. Hauptmann Kirchhoff then assumed the duties of battalion commander until February 1942. The 1st Company, as well as the first and fourth platoons of 2nd Company, commanded by Hauptmann Georg Garbe, guarded the main camp in Kirovograd; the second and third platoons of 2nd Company guarded Lager 2, and 3rd Company guarded Lager 3.[5]

The main camp and subcamps held 22,200 prisoners of war (POWs) in February 1942; 20,200 in June 1942; 33,700 in October 1942; 16,800 in December 1942; and 13,500 in February 1943.[6] The conditions in the camp were inhumane. The food ration consisted primarily of *balanda*, a thin soup made mostly of water with some potatoes, flour, and millet (or other grain). The balanda was cooked in metal barrels in unsanitary conditions. Each prisoner was issued 1–1.5 liters (4.2–6.3 cups) of balanda per day, and 6–15 prisoners had to share a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of low-quality bread. Because there were no eating utensils, the prisoners used tin cans that had held canned foods and other objects. The caloric value of these rations was quite low and did not exceed 1,300 calories per day. Suffering from constant hunger and brought

to the point of despair, the prisoners tried to assuage their hunger by eating grass and leaves. There were also instances of cannibalism. Conditions in the subcamps were just as bad as those in the main camp, and it is estimated that as many as 200–300 prisoners died every day in the subcamp in the winter of 1941–1942.[7]

The camp buildings were unheated and unlit, and an intolerable stench and filth prevailed. No material support was provided in the camp. The prisoners wore the clothing they were wearing when they fell into enemy hands. Such living conditions led to outbreaks of disease, especially typhoid fever and dysentery, and to extremely high mortality, to which the lack of medical care contributed. The onset of winter drove the death rate among the prisoners even higher, as most had practically nothing with which to ward off the cold.[8]

Selections (*Aussonderungen*) were conducted regularly in the camp, especially when new prisoner transports arrived, to separate out political commissars, Communist Party members, and Jews, who were subsequently executed. In the second half of November 1942, more than 100 such prisoners were selected in Lager 2. They were held for several days in three railroad cars and then shot on the order of the camp commandant. Feldwebel Otto Kempf, a platoon commander in 2nd Company, headed an execution squad of 20 men. Selections were also conducted in the main camp at Kirovograd and in Lager 3. Sometimes these shootings were carried out by the camp guards, and at other times the prisoners selected were handed over to the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) to be shot.[9] The SD carried out two massacres of Jewish civilians from Kirovograd near the camp; while the staff of the camp was undoubtedly aware of these incidents, the West German postwar investigation determined that the camp guard battalion did not participate in them.[10]

According to materials from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 54,000 POWs died in the Kirovohrads'ka oblast'.[11] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly. After the war, Georg Garbe and Otto Kempf were investigated for war crimes by the West German authorities. However, the investigation was ended on June 27, 1968, due to a lack of

evidence.

SOURCES Primary source material regarding Stalag 305 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (7021-66-122); BArch B 162/4676, 4900–4918, 6714 (copies of the latter are at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2188.00001834–000001899); and DAVO.

Additional information about Stalag 305 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny, 2000), p. 224; Christian Möller, *Massensterben und Massenvernichtung: Das Stalag 305 in der Ukraine 1941–1944* (Munich: GRIN, 2000); Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1966*, vol. 29 (Amsterdam, 2003); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945*, vol. 16, pt. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1998), pp. 291–292; and *Ukrains'ka RSR u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini Radian'skoho Soiuzu 1941–1945*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1969), p. 150.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, pp. 291–292.
2. Möller, *Massensterben und Massenvernichtung*, p. 27.
3. GARF, 7021-66-122, pp. 8, 9, 84R, 132, 114, 144.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen,* vol. 29 (Verfahren #683); Möller, *Massensterben und Massenvernichtung*, pp. 27–28.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 29 (Verfahren #683).
6. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, p. 224.

7. Möller, *Massensterben und Massenvernichtung*, p. 31.

8. Ibid., pp. 29–31.

9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 29 (Verfahren #683); Möller, *Massensterben und Massenvernichtung*, pp. 32–37, 40.

10. Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Landesschützenbataillon 783 sowie des Stalag 305, BArch B 162/6174, Bl. 44–45 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2188.00001888–00001889).

11. *Ukrains'ka RSR*, p. 150.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 306 (XVIII D)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 306 with an order dated March 26, 1941, in Marburg an der Drau (today Maribor, Slovenia) (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII. It began operation by June 1, 1941, at the latest. The camp was redesignated Stalag 306 (XVIII D) sometime before February 25, 1942. Stalag 306 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII). Stalag 306's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*), 20 199, was issued sometime between February 16 and July 18, 1941; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.[1]

Stalag 306 (XVIII D) was located on the site of an abandoned Yugoslavian Army barrack in Maribor. The prisoners' barracks were about 60 square meters (646 square feet) in area and divided into rooms that held 45 men each. An infirmary that treated minor illnesses and injuries was located near the entrance to the camp; more severe cases were transferred to the prisoner hospital (*Lazarett*) at Stalag XVIII B in Spittal an der Drau.[2] The first commandant of Stalag 306 was Major von der Marwitz, who was succeeded by Oberst Manfred Ulbrich. The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Hermann Hüttenhain and the adjutant was Hauptmann Schug. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Heinrich Küpper and Hauptmann Hernekamp, and the camp officer (*Lageroffizie*r) was Hauptmann Heinrich Gronheid.[3]

Stalag 306 (XVIII D) initially held Serbian prisoners of war (POWs) captured during the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and British and Commonwealth prisoners captured during the Axis campaign in Greece (among them 4,500 New Zealanders).[4] Stalag 306 became one of the primary camps for Australian and New Zealander (ANZAC) prisoners captured in

Greece.[5] As of June 1, 1941, there were 4,046 prisoners in the camp, of whom 3,838 were Serbian and 208 British.[6] Most of the Serbian prisoners were transferred to other camps in August 1941 because Serbian POWs were not allowed to work in labor units in Wehrkreis XVIII at that time; however, the French and British prisoners were sent out to work.[7] The first French prisoners were brought to the camp in August 1941, and they immediately became the largest group in the camp; of the 10,532 prisoners in the camp on September 1, 1941, 6,978 were French. After this point, most of the remaining prisoners in the camp were British, aside from a period between November 1941 and April 1942 when Soviet POWs were held here; the maximum number of Soviet prisoners was 5,192 in January 1942.[8]

Conditions experienced by the Serbian and Western Allied prisoners in Stalag 306 (XVIII D) were generally worse than those encountered by these groups in other German POW camps. While the Germans usually observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929 in their treatment of these prisoners, a Red Cross inspector who visited in October 1941 observed that the prisoners' quarters were inadequate and hygienic conditions were poor. British-Palestinian prisoners were forced to sleep on the floor of a granary with only straw for bedding. Between 400 and 500 men were crowded into this small building, which was infested with lice; it had previously been used by Yugoslav prisoners, many of whom had died. The inspectors regarded it as "by far the worst of the camps in [Wehrkreis] XVIII."[9] The prisoners received a cup of ersatz coffee and bread in the morning, and soup and a piece of bread for lunch and dinner. As British-Palestinian prisoner Ralf Bogo recalled, when the prisoners were awoken by the Germans in the morning, the first 10 or 15 men out the door would be allowed to push the food transport wagons; in exchange for this work, they would receive an extra cup of soup.[10]

Despite the relatively difficult conditions, the prisoners in Stalag 306, particularly the French, were able to create a wellorganized cultural life.[11] A YMCA delegate who visited the camp on November 7, 1941, reported that the prisoners had built up a library of about 2,600 books and that they partook in sports when possible despite the lack of equipment. Religious services for the Protestant and Catholic prisoners were provided by clergy in the

camp, and these clergymen were also able to visit some of the work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the surrounding area.[12] The French prisoners published a camp newspaper called *Les Dix Huit Dés* (*The eighteen dice*).[13]

Soviet prisoners in Stalag 306 experienced the worst conditions and were treated in a manner that was inconsistent with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. The Soviet prisoners lived outdoors in a huge foundation pit in the courtyard of a school. A barbed wire fence with guard towers surrounded the perimeter of the pit. To provide some shelter from the bad weather, the prisoners used makeshift materials to construct something like a tent. Their quarters were overcrowded and unsanitary and they received minimal food and medical care. Malnutrition and an epidemic of typhus led to a large number of deaths among the Soviet prisoners in the camp.[14] In total, from the end of October 1941 until the end of March 1942, 1,863 Soviet prisoners died in the camp and were buried in the Franciscan cemetery in the Pobrežje district of Maribor.[15]

As in other camps for Soviet POWs, the Soviet prisoners in Stalag 306 (XVIII D) were subject to "weeding out" actions (*Aussonderungen*) in which the counterintelligence officer screened the prisoners to identify "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then executed; it is unclear where and by whom these executions were carried out at Stalag 306, but the testimony of witnesses at subsequent war crimes trials suggests that it did take place. In addition, on at least one occasion, the Germans executed a group of between 55 and 60 Yugoslav civilians accused of partisan activity near the camp on the orders of an SS officer named Lurker (first name and rank unknown).[16]

On August 1, 1942, Stalag 306 (XVIII D) was converted into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag XVIII B in Spittal an der Drau and was redesignated Stalag XVIII B/Z. The headquarters of Stalag 306 was officially dissolved on September 4, 1942. Stalag XVIII B/Z was dissolved on November 11, 1942; however, the camp was reopened in the spring of 1943 as a subcamp of Stalag XVIII A in Wolfsberg and redesignated Stalag XVIII A/Z.[17]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag 306 (XVIII

D) is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); BArch B 162/17310–17312: "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XVIII D in Marburg a.d. Drau (Wehrkreis XVIII – Salzburg)" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2986.00000173– 0000548); TsAMORF; and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 625–626).

Additional information about Stalag 306 (XVIII D) can be found in the following publications: Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationales du Document, 1951), p. 168; A. E. Field, "Prisoners of the Germans and Italians," in *Tobruk and El Alamein*, ed. Barton Maugham (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1966), pp. 755–822; Franz J. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz von 1940 bis 1945 und das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Lünersee"* (Bludenz: Geschichtsverein Region Bludenz, 2001); Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945* (Wellington: War History Branch Department of Internal Affairs, 1954), pp. 85, 89; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 27, 35; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 143; Peter Monteath, *POW: Australian Prisoners of War in Hitler's Reich* (South Melbourne: Macmillan Australia, 2011), pp. 145–147; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 318–321.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 27, 35.
2. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 319–320.
3. "Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag XVIII D (306) in Marburg/Drau," BArch B 162/17310, Bl. 101 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2986.00000279).
4. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 143; Mason, *Official History*, p. 85.
5. Monteath, *POW*, p. 145.
6. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 143.
7. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 318–319.
8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 143.
9. Monteath, *POW*, p. 146.
10. Bogo, Ralf. Interview 11048. Segments 60–62. *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1996.
11. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 320.
12. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 625–626.
13. Bellanger and Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés*, p. 168.
14. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 319.
15. TsAMORF, 58-A64238-27.
16. "Abschlussbericht," BArch B 162/17310, Bl. 106-109 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2986.00000284–0000 0287).
17. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 318, 321.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 307

The Germans established Stalag 307 (map 5) from Frontstalag 307 on April 19, 1941, in Moosburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII. From May until October 1941, the camp was deployed in the village of Kaliłów, near Biała Podlaska in the Generalgouvernement. From late October 1941 onward, the camp was deployed in the fortress of the town of Dęblin-Irena, also in the Generalgouvernement. On January 13, 1944, the Germans reorganized the camp as Oflag 77.[1] The camp's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 08 926, issued between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

Stalag 307 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*). The camp commandant until November 1941 is reported to have been Hauptmann Reis; his replacement was Major Lasch. The deputy commandants were Major Hohenberger and Hauptmann Stiefenhofer, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Krach, and his deputy was Oberleutnant Klauss.

While deployed in Kaliłów, Stalag 307 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp was a huge sand field fenced in with barbed wire, with guards posted along the perimeter. This field was divided into 30–35 separate sections, also surrounded by barbed wire. These sections could each hold up to 4,000 people. For every four sections there was a temporary kitchen and a well. Two canvas tents served as a so-called hospital (*Lazarett*). The entire camp held about 140,000 people. The majority of the prisoners slept out in the open, though others dug holes in the sand with their hands and huddled in these holes. The prisoners were fed soup prepared from refuse of various kinds. To avoid

starvation, the prisoners ate grass and wild plants. Such inhumane conditions led to widespread malnutrition, illness, and a high mortality rate.

Stalag 307 at D˛blin-Irena. e Soviet POWs behind a barbed wire fence, May 1942-June 1943. USHMM, COURTESY OF IPN, WS #50256.

These conditions motivated the prisoners to attempt mass escapes. One night in October 1941, prisoners from one section of the camp attempted to escape. They were forced to turn back, however, after being pinned to the ground by machine-gun fire and illuminated by searchlights. As punishment, every tenth prisoner was shot. In total, the Germans killed around 1,500 prisoners that night.[2] According to the Polish commission investigating Nazi crimes, during the time the camp was deployed in Kaliłów, approximately 13,000 prisoners died.[3]

While the camp was in Kaliłów, the Germans screened the prisoner population to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars. In July 1941, the Germans selected 5,000–6,000 "undesirables" and placed them in a separate section of the camp. From September 21 to September 28, 1941, they drove those prisoners into the forest in trucks, where the 2nd Company of the 306th Police Battalion shot them. Every day, the Germans delivered 600–800 prisoners to the execution site under the pretense that they were being transferred to a "winter camp." Each evening, the top sergeant was to report to the battalion

headquarters in Lublin, telling them how many "eggs had been seized," that is, prisoners killed, that day. Thus, the action was known as "Chicken Farm."[4]

During the deployment in Dęblin-Irena, the camp held Soviet POWs as well as French prisoners (in 1942) and Italian military prisoners (in 1943 and 1944). During this time, the camp also functioned as a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for men capable of work (*Arbeitsfähige*) who were being transported back to the Reich for forced labor.[5] The maximum population of the camp while it held Soviet POWs was 12,634 in January 1942; the maximum population of Italian military prisoners was 7,765 in January 1944.[6] Two subcamps (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag 307 at Dęblin were located at Zarzecze (3,000–4,000 men) and Poniatowa (3,000 men). There was also a camp hospital at Dęblin.[7]

The conditions at the camp in Dęblin were similar to those in the camp in Kaliłów.[8] The lack of food, in both quantity and quality, combined with severe overcrowding, poor hygiene, and a lack of proper medical care led to a high death rate from starvation and disease. During a massive typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941–1942, the mortality rate reached 2,000 prisoners per day.[9] According to the Polish commission investigating Nazi crimes, around 80,000 people died in Stalag 307 in Dęblin in 1941 and 1942.[10] After the liberation of the camp, former prisoner Vladimir Sovosko, who spent three months at Dęblin, testified that the camp was known to the prisoners as a "death camp."[11]

The commander of the 2nd Company of the 306th Police Battalion, Hauptmann der Polizei Günter Waltz, was sentenced to 13 years in prison by a court in Augsburg on April 2, 1965.[12] The battalion commander, Major der Polizei Dreier, died in 1949 before he could be brought to trial.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 307 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 307); GARF (file 7021-115-6); and BArch B 162/6589–6593 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 307 zu Demblin).

Additional information about Stalag 307 may be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*

na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 389–392; Brunello Franco, *Stalag 307 (internato 25685)* (Studio Tesi, 1983); I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, ogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 35; Tadeusz Opieka, *Twierdza Śmierci—Stalag 307* (Dęblin: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Dęblina, 2010); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 153, 214; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 101;

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1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 101; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 35.

2. Testimony of former POW Leontii Chernichenko on October 27, 1947, GARF, 7021-115-6, pp. 15–17.

3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, 214.

4. Urteil LG Frankfurt/Main 4Ks1/71 gegen Rudolf Eckert u. a. vom 6.2.1973, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 38 (Amsterdam, 2007), Lfd. # 787.

5. Protokoll eines des Verdachts-Angeklagten, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/00250071.

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 153.

7. Protokoll eines des Verdachts-Angeklagten, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/00250071.

8. Testimony of former POW Leontii Chernichenko pp. 18–23; Testimony of former POW Ivan Aleksandrov on January 16, 1948, GARF, 7021-115-6, pp. 2–3; Testimony of former POW D. Kupriianov on December 5, 1947, GARF, 7021-115-6, pp. 7–13; "Zakliuchenie komissii po rassledovaniiu nemetskikh zlodeianii nad voennoplennymi v Demblinskoi kreposti," August 28, 1944, GARF, 7021-115-6, pp. 70–72.

9. "Zakliuchenie komissii," p. 71; Testimony of former POW Leontii Chernichenko, p. 21.

10. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 153.

11. Testimony of Wladimir Sowosko, ITS Digital Archive, 5.1/0102/0054.

12. Urteil LG Augsburg 7Ks1/64 gegen Günter Waltz vom 2.4.1965, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 820–822.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 308 (VIII E)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 308 (VIII E) (maps 4a and 4e) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it to Neuhammer-West (today Świętoszów, Poland). At that point its designation was Stalag 308 (VIII E). In July 1942, it was deployed to Sumy under the designation Stalag 308. The Wehrmacht ordered the camp's dissolution on November 19, 1943, but reestablished it on December 15, 1944. At that time, it was located in Bathorn, Germany, in Defense District VI, but the camp still operated as Stalag 308. Records indicate two field post numbers (*Feldpostnummern*) assigned to this camp: 09 383 and 28 393.

While deployed in Neuhammer, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). While in Sumy, the camp was under the authority of the commander of the Army Group B Rear Area (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes B*, Berück B). During the deployment in Bathorn, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI.

Stalag 308 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The first prisoners arrived in July 1941; by July 15, the camp held around 2,000 prisoners, and, by August 10, 1941, that number had risen to 30,000.[1] By the end of September 1941, more than 40,000 prisoners were registered in the camp. By the end of October 1941, when the last group of prisoners arrived in the camp, there were more than 57,000 (the last-known prisoner registration number is 57,057). Between September and November 1941, however, the Germans moved some of the prisoners to other camps.[2]

The recollections of former POWs provide an insight into the conditions in the camp. Andrei Pogozhev remembers:

In the middle of a dense, centuries-old forest was a flat area of sandy earth surrounded by a wire mesh fence. The trees were almost right up against the fenced rectangle. In front of the double gates—the only entry—which were made from intricately twisted barbed wire, on both sides from the inside, forming a passageway, were arranged three cages in a row; they measured 2 x 2 meters [6.6 x 6.6 feet], and all were made from the same wire. These were punishment cells. Every one of them was filled. None were empty. Somehow some of the guilty had the strength to stand, staggering, shifting from foot to foot. Most were lying down, curled up, their sharp shoulder blades protruding […]. Thousands of Soviet prisoners of war wandered aimlessly, alone and in groups, along this strip of land…. The second half of September 1941. In good weather, the days are warm, but the nights are terrible. There is no escape from the piercing, chilling cold. The only building inside this strip of land is the concrete latrine, which harbors several dozen prisoners from the cold, prisoners who sleep standing up, warming each other. In these incredibly crowded conditions, it is impossible to fall down, but death is certain for those who do. People seize their night-time place in the latrine during the day. The cold forced people to bury themselves in earth. The sandy soil can be easily worked. Small groups of 2 or 3 people who are willing dig holes as best they can, and sit pressed together in them. Those who have a coat or raincoat cover themselves on top. On a daily basis in the camp, there thus appeared bumpy, uneven areas with hundreds of pits, which often turned into graves for those who didn't manage to get out of them during the spontaneous swooping of the crazed crowd. Almost every day for entertainment, the camp officials had the guards throw a rutabaga over the fence into the crowd. It was thrown at different places and at different times. Having lost their minds from hunger and cold, thousands of people attacked the rutabaga. They rushed about the camp from one place to another. Dozens of bodies and hundreds of injured remained at the sites of such hard-to-imagine scuffles. Those who were not able to get out of their hole-shelters were trampled, and the hilly land turned into a flat field with arms, legs, and torsos sticking up. In spite of the constant danger of being

buried alive, the cold forced people to dig new shelters, which in a day or two would turn into graves again.[3]

Stalag 308 (VIII E) at Neuhammer-West. Soviet POWs begging for food behind a barbed wire fence, date/source unknown.

Such inhumane conditions led to high mortality from starvation and illness. The total number of prisoners who perished in the camp is said to be more than 20,000.[4] As a consequence of the high mortality rate and the transfers of prisoners to other camps, the number of prisoners in the camp dropped continuously. As of December 1, 1941, the camp held 14,916 Soviet prisoners; on January 1, 1942, 12,248; on February 1, 1942, 11,089 (as well as four British prisoners); on April 4, 1942, 7,999; on May 1, 1942, 8,264; and on June 1, 1942, 7,676.[5]

As in other camps, a Gestapo team from Breslau (today Wrocław) regularly sought out Communists and Jews from among the prisoners in Stalag 308. Those who were found were then sent away for execution. The Gestapo team arrived at the camp on August 5, 1941, at the latest. By the end of August, they had selected about 600 prisoners. This group went to the Auschwitz concentration camp for execution at the beginning of September, as the nearest concentration camp, Gross-Rosen, was not yet ready to carry out the liquidation of selected prisoners. Later, selected prisoners were sent to Gross-Rosen to be killed. From September to November 1941, around 1,400 POWs were killed in Gross-

Rosen. Owing to a typhus epidemic, the Gestapo team did not carry out prisoner selections during the winter of 1941–1942. They resumed selections in the spring of 1942. In 1941 and 1942, a total of at least 1,800 prisoners from Stalag 308 were killed in Gross-Rosen.[6]

In June 1942, the camp in Neuhammer was transformed into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag VIII C in Sagan. The staff of Stalag 308 was redeployed to Sumy, where it took over Dulag 190. In August 1942, the staff of Stalag 308 had 16 officers, 11 officials, 60 noncommissioned officers, and 112 privates, a total of 199 people. The guard company had 3 officers and 300 of other ranks, 75 Germans and 228 Ukrainians.[7] In Sumy, the camp was located in Secondary School No. 5 and in the former dormitory of a sugar refinery. More than 2,000 people died from starvation, cold, illness, and shooting in the camp during its existence. In addition, during the evacuation of the camp from Sumy to Darnitsa, guards shot all those who were too weak or unable to go on, such that 1,500 people were killed along the road.[8] The senior medical officer under the commander of the Army Group B rear area (*Leitender Sanitätsoffizier beim Befehlshaber des heeresgebiet*), who visited the camp on October 15–16, 1942, described the situation in the camp as follows:

> October 15, [19]42, 1600 hours, arrival in Sumy.
>
> Visited Stalag 308 in Sumy again. Reception camp still undergoing expansion. Crumbling buildings…. About 45 POWs needing to convalesce. But in the work parties, too, are a good many POWs who are not completely fit for work duties. It is suggested to the camp doctor that he determine which POWs are completely able to work, in order to get a clear picture of what manpower can be planned on in winter. If those who are capable of working only to a limited extent are asked to do heavy labor, they will lose the remainder of their ability to perform. Restoration of that ability will then be possible only with great difficulty. The POWs may be deployed for labor only with due regard for the camp doctor's assessment of their fitness for work….
>
> October 16, [19]42 …

> The commandant and the camp doctor are told that the camp doctor must monitor the POWs' fitness for work (completely fit for use, fit for work to a limited extent, not fit for work), and that he is responsible for hygiene in the camp —nutrition, accommodations, latrines of a new kind—and for preventive measures for control of epidemic diseases…. A POW work squad receives precisely one fairly watery, almost cold soup at midday from the Stalag kitchen. A latrine, dreadful.[9]

The prisoners at the camp were captured from various locations in the Soviet Union, including Millerovo (Millerovskii raion, Rostovskaia oblast'), Ostrogozhsk, Kursk, and Stalingrad. Upon their arrival at the camp, they were searched for "literature and arms"; in fact, they were stripped of their boots, coats, hats, and warm clothing and robbed of any valuables in their possession.[10] Many of the inmates were not POWs (perhaps as many as 10–15%) as the camp population also included boys as young as 15, women and girls, and men up to 65 years old. Most of the prisoners did not have beds and instead slept on the floor, sometimes with straw for bedding. Virtually all of the men had lice and as many as half were infected with typhus or dysentery.[11]

The prisoners were fed 200–300 grams (7–10.6 ounces) of rye bread every day, along with a broth made with table scraps and spoiled food. They would stand outside, barefoot, as early as 4:00 a.m. in order to receive their meager bread ration. Those who were too weak to get up and get their rations were taken out by the guards, tossed into ditches on the banks of the Psël River, and left to die. The guards maintained order in the bread lines by beating the prisoners with truncheons and rifle butts. Local civilians were forbidden to give food to the prisoners; if they tried, both they and the prisoner were severely beaten in view of the other prisoners.[12]

Prisoners were frequently beaten for no reason whatsoever. One particularly vicious guard, Stabsfeldwebel Franz Hansel, beat a sick prisoner named Ivan Bondriagin to death; he was promoted to the rank of Stabsfeldwebel for his actions during the forced march of prisoners from Sumy to Darnitsa, when he shot numerous stragglers.[13] Many of those who became sick at Sumy were taken to Luchansk Cemetery and left there to freeze to death. The bodies

of more than 2,000 prisoners from Stalag 308 were discovered in Luchansk Cemetery.[14]

All prisoners who were ambulatory were taken to work in Sumy. Some prisoners took their time outside the camp as an opportunity to attempt to escape. Many were successful, including 150 in December 1942 alone.[15] However, those that were caught were interrogated by an officer named Kinast and beaten severely by Feldwebel Herman Kurt. They were then sent to solitary confinement for 15 days, only infrequently receiving rations of bread and water; few survived this treatment.[16]

Because Soviet troops were nearing the town of Sumy on February 13, 1943, 3,800 prisoners were sent on foot to Darnitsa near Kiev,[17] while prisoners who could not be transported remained in the town. On the road to Darnitsa on February 14, 1943, partisans came across the marching column of prisoners and freed 700 of them. Two Germans were killed, two were wounded, and two went missing. Ten Ukrainian Hiwis were killed as well.[18]

There are indirect indications that the camp (or a subcamp or work team) was located in Kursk in the fall of 1942. In the spring of 1943, the camp was in Gorodishche (today Horodyshche, Cherkas'ka oblast', Ukraine).[19]

There is no information regarding the deployment in Bathorn. The camp was liberated by Allied forces sometime between April 3 and April 6, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 308 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), BArch B 162/16796–16798 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 308), NARA, and TsGAMORF (Todesfall-Register des Stalag 308 Neuhammer A 33948 d. 1-4).

Additional information about Stalag 308 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Prestupleniia nemetskofashistskogo vermakhta v otnoshenii voennoplennykh* (Moscow, 1963); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe,

1979), p. 513; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy in Osslinskinch, 1972), pp. 42–43, 49–50, 111, 182, 214–217; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 103; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 35; Wiesław Marczyk, *Jency radzieccy w niewoli Wehrmachtu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1941–1945* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1987); M. S. Luzin, "Germaniia. Lager' No. 308," in *Vospominaniia uznikov*, ed. A. P. Pol'shchikova (Yalta, 1994); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998), pp. 87–97; A. A. Pogozhev and P. A. Stenkin, *Pobeg iz Osventsima. Ostat'sia v zhivykh* (Moscow: Iauza, Eksmo, 2005); *Sumskaia oblast' v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1988), p. 178; *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1987), pp. 73–75; and Jerzy Horyń, *Historia obozów w Świętoszowie* (Wrocław, 1995). See also V. V. Chernovalov, "Stalag 308 (VIII E), Neuhammer–stalag 308, Neikhammer (Sventoshuv)" at http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st308.shtml.

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NOTES

1. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 87.
2. Chernovalov, "Stalag 308." http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st308.shtml.

3. Pogozhev and Stenkin, *Pobeg iz Osventsima*.

4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 513.

5. Ibid.; OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942– 1944, BArch B 162/18251.

6. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 87–96; Konieczny, "Egzekucje w obozie koncentracyjnym Gross-Rosen," *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniamy Hitlerowskimi* 4 (1979): 219, 222.

7. NARA, T 501, roll 23, frame 335.

8. See the report of the ChGK dated September 26, 1943, concerning the crimes of the occupiers in the town of Sumy, *Sumskaia oblast' v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny*, p. 178. NB: casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.

9. Leitender Sanitätsoffizier beim Befh. H. Geb. B, Bericht über die Dienstreise vom 1.-18.10.42, BA-MA, RH 22/193, 356–358.

10. *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1987), p. 73.

11. Ibid., p. 73.

12. Ibid., pp. 74–75.

13. Ibid., p. 74.

14. Ibid., p. 74.

15. Ibid., p. 75.

16. Ibid., p. 75.

17. Berück Süd/Abt. Qu./Qu. 1 v. 23.2.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 22, frame 222.

18. Berück Süd/Abt. Qu./Qu. 1 an Obkdo. H. Gr. Mitte 1c/AO v.

23.2.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 22, frame 221.

19. Berück Süd/Abt. Qu./Qu. 1/Kgf. v. 21.3.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 22, frame 59.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 309

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 309 (map 3) on April 10, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX.[1] From 1941 to 1944, the camp was located in Salla (known as Kuolajärvi until 1936), in northeastern Finland. In 1944, it was relocated to the village of Lakselv, in northern Norway. The camp was originally subordinate to the Army High Command Norway (*Armeeoberkommando* [AOK] *Norwegen*). After the resumption of hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union in June 1941, a separate command was created for Finland (*Befehlsstelle Finnland*); on January 14, 1942, this command was renamed AOK Lappland. After the German withdrawal from Finland in 1944, when the camp was relocated to Lakselv, AOK Lappland was folded back into AOK Norwegen, which was subsequently placed under the AOK of the 20th Mountain Army (*Gebirgs-Armee*). Throughout its existence, the camp was under the authority of Rear Area Command (Korück) 525. Stalag 309 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 39 294 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. The number was struck on November 11, 1944.

The first commandant of Stalag 309 was Oberstleutnant Fritz Alexander Unger, who was replaced in August 1942 by Oberst Arthur Buchwiser.[2] The final commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Karl Schirmbach. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Friedrich Deinert, who was later replaced by Oberleutnant Karl Maleika, followed by Hauptmann Weiss (investigators were unable to determine whether "Weiss" referred to August Paulus Weiss or Erich Weiss, both of whom were Wehrmacht captains). The camp doctors were Stabsarzt Dr. Förster and Stabsarzt Dr. Siegert. The camp was guarded by personnel from the 9th Reserve Replacement Battalion (*Landesschützen-Ersatz-Bataillon*).[3] They were assisted by a group of about 15 Belorussian prisoners (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis) who

volunteered to help the Germans in exchange for slightly better living conditions and food. The guards were supervised by Oberwachtmeister Friedrich Schmitz, who was later known as the "Hangman of Salla" for his role in the mistreatment and execution of prisoners.

Stalag 309 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It had 10 subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Allakurtti (today Alakurtti, Russia; an *Auffanglager* or "reception camp"), Vuojärvi, Rovajärvi, Korpijärvi, Kairala, Nurmi, Lampela, Seipäjärvi, Rovaniemi, and Ivalo. One former staff member estimated that there were about 1,000 prisoners in the main camp when he arrived in October 1941. Another estimated that there were about 2,000 prisoners in the main camp in April 1942.[4] The population may have been as high as 5,000–6,000 prisoners at times, however, according to another witness. The camp at Salla occupied an area of about 500 meters by 200 meters (547 yards by 219 yards), which was divided into two sections. The first section held about 400–500 Ukrainian prisoners who were being trained as Hiwis, while the second held the remainder of the prisoners, most of whom were of Russian or Central Asian nationality.

As in other camps for Soviet POWs, conditions in Stalag 309 were very poor. The prisoners suffered from a high rate of malnutrition and disease due to inadequate housing, poor food, lack of medical care, and poor sanitary conditions, as well as deliberate mistreatment by the guards.[5] The prisoners were required to perform hard physical labor, such as cutting timber in the nearby forests. Prisoners in the subcamps were also forced to work. Sick prisoners were kept in a separate barrack, which also contained the delousing facilities. Little information is available about the conditions in the camp in Lakselv, although they were presumably similar to those in Salla.

Newly arrived prisoners were screened by camp personnel under the supervision of the counterintelligence officer to separate out "undesirable" prisoners (such as Jews and political commissars), who were subsequently executed by a 12-man Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) commando.[6] For example, shortly before Christmas 1941, between 25 and 30 political commissars were executed near the camp. Another such execution

took place sometime in the summer of 1942. In some cases, these prisoners were not shot immediately but rather held in the camp for a time, in segregated barracks where conditions were even worse than those in the rest of the camp, before they were killed or sent elsewhere.[7] It is possible that these selection (*Aussonderung*) actions also took place in the branch camps. During the latter part of 1941, 312 Soviet prisoners died at Stalag 309, a mortality rate of 11 percent.[8] At least one act of open resistance in the camp was recorded: four Russian prisoners attacked and killed a German noncommissioned officer, a crime for which they were subsequently hanged.[9]

The camp was disbanded in mid-January 1945. The former staff members were captured on May 9, 1945, by British forces. They were later transferred to a French POW camp, where they were held until February 1947.[10]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 309 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B 162/9353–9357 (Ermittlungen gg. W. Schirp, stellv. Lagerkommandant und andere Angehörige des Stalag 309 in Salla [Finnland] wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Tötung von sowjet. Kriegsgefangenen jüdischer Herkunft und anderen sog. untragbaren Kriegsgefangenen); and USHMMA (RG-29.001M).

More information about Stalag 309 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 36; Oula Silvennoinen, *Geheime Waffenbrüderschaft—Die sicherheitspolizeiliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen Deutschland und Finnland 1939–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010); Oula Silvennoinen, *Salaiset aseveljet: Suomen ja Saksan turvallisuuspoliisiyhteistyö 1933–1944* (PhD dissertation, published as a monograph by the University of Helsinki, Faculty of Arts, Department of History, 2008); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte*

281-370 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 108; Lars Westerlund, ed., *POW Deaths and People Handed over to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939–55: A Research Report by the Finnish National Archives* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008); Lars Westerlund, *Saksan vankileirit Suomessa ja raja-alueilla 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Tammi, 2008); Lars Westerlund, ed., *Sotavangit ja internoidut: Kansallisarkiston artikkelikirja* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008); and Shimon Yantovskiy, *Lager' sovetskikh voennoplennykh-evreev v Finlyandii (1942–1944 god): sbornik vospominaniy i dokumentov* (Jerusalem: Makhanaim, 1995).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 108; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 36.

2. Westerlund, *Saksan vankileirit*, pp. 34–35.

3. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 309, BArch B 162/9353, Bl. 48–49 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00001715–00001716).

4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 309, BArch B 162/9353, Bl. 52 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00001719).

5. Westerlund, *Saksan vankileirit*, pp. 34–35.

6. cf. Silvennoinen, *Geheime Waffenbrüderschaft*.

7. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 309, BArch B 162/9353, Bl. 18–19 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00001684–00001685).

8. Westerlund, *POW deaths*, p. 119.

9. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des

Stalag 309, BArch B 162/9353, Bl. 171R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00001842).

10. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 309, BArch B 162/9353, Bl. 172 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00001843).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 310 (X D)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag X D on April 13, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. On June 19, 1941, the camp received the additional designation Stalag 310, to mark it as a camp for Soviet prisoners (*Russenlager*), and was deployed on the outskirts of the Munster Military Training Base (*Truppenübungsplatz Munster*) near Wietzendorf, Germany (map 4a).[1] It was also known as Stalag Munster or Lager Osterheide. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 339 between February 1 and July 11, 1941, which was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942. A second number, 07 465, was issued between January 27 and July 14, 1942, and struck on May 22, 1944.

The first camp commandant (from April 12, 1941, to February 27, 1942) was Oberstleutnant Paul Deichmann. The NSDAP Kreisleiter in Soltau requested that Deichmann be replaced because of his overly lenient treatment of the prisoners. Deichmann stated that "through good treatment and education it is possible to make the prisoners into good people." He prohibited the beating of prisoners, promised to arrange a religious service for Catholic prisoners, and did not support the SS squad that screened prisoners in the camp to select "Jews and Asiatics."[2]

Stalag 310 (X D) at Wietzendorf. Soviet prisoners stand among the underground holes that served as their only shelter, October 1941-February 1942. USHMM, COURTESY OF STAATSANWALT BEIM LANDGERICHT HAMBURG, WS #01704.

The first Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were sent to the camp in July 1941. At first there were no permanent structures in the camp, and the Soviet prisoners lived outdoors in a field, with barbed wire surrounding them. The prisoners dug burrows in the ground to shelter themselves from the elements. Later, they had to construct their own barracks. Overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and deliberate abuse led to a high mortality rate. From November 1941 to February 1942, the camp was under quarantine because of a typhus epidemic, and perhaps more than 14,000 of the 18,000 prisoners there succumbed to the disease. In total, around 16,000 prisoners died in the camp and were buried nearby in mass graves.[3] Many other prisoners were deployed to the camp's large number of work details (*Arbeitskommandos*).[4]

In September and October 1941, a Gestapo team regularly conducted selections of "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, in the camp. The selected prisoners were sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were shot. On September 2, 1941, 254 prisoners were sent to Sachsenhausen. On September 9, 223 more were sent; on September 24, another 203; on September 26, 193 more; and October 10, a further 151.[5]

On June 15, 1942, Stalag 310 began preparations for deployment to the occupied Soviet Union. On June 21, the camp staff received an additional 3 officers, 30 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 42 enlisted men.[6] On July 14, the headquarters of Stalag 310 arrived in Konotop, where it took over the site of Dulag 192.[7] While deployed in Konotop (9f), the camp had a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in Glukhov (today Hlukhiv, Ukraine). During this time, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II).

From July 14 to September 25, 1942, the camp commandant was Oberst Kurt von der Goltz. His successor was Oberstleutnant Richard Ballas. The camp adjutant was Hauptmann der Reserve Gustav Bolland, the counterintelligence *(Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Martin Richter, and the doctors were Dr. Walter Lange and Dr. Max Nebendahl. The commandant of the Glukhov subcamp was Hauptmann Erich Funke. He was succeeded by Hauptmann Franz Fertl.

In October 1942, the camp held 4,713 prisoners.[8] The senior medical officer for the Commander of the Army Group B Rear Area (*Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet B*), who visited the camp on October 12 and 13, characterized the situation in the camp:

> Inspection of POW Hospital I in Stalag 310. Clean, very tidy. Meat must be consumed as soon as possible. *Hiwi* [*Hilfswillige*, non-German volunteers in the German forces at the Eastern Front] guards must be in better order. Patients look well-nourished. In the infectious-disease barracks, which are otherwise fair enough, there is no disinfection chamber in the typhus ward…. POW camp. No coats, no shoes. According to information from the administrative official, 1,000 coats have been allocated by the Bef.H.Geb.B [*Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiet B*]. Caucasians look worse than the other POWs. The POWs who work in the camp are well-nourished. Of the POWs allocated by Stalag 308 for bridge construction, 200 are not fit for labor deployment. Evening soup not cooked until thick enough. Upon

questioning, POWs state that sometimes they receive a thin soup, at other times a thicker one. Discussion with the camp officers about fitness for work and measures to prevent epidemic disease. Camp commandant absent, away from camp…. Reception camp [*Auffanglager*]: earth huts. Entrance must still be protected against cold. A stove must be installed in each hut. The camp's delousing facility is good. Also the main camp (previously lacking windows and doors) and the defectors' camp [*Überläuferlager*]. Latrines in need of improvement. 1,100 POWs are ready to leave for Germany. Allegedly deloused, but not examined beforehand by the camp doctor. Camp doctor must examine every transport for danger of epidemic disease and issue a certificate. Camp doctor must inspect the POWs once a week to determine their fitness for work and weed out [the unfit], so that working capacity can be restored if at all possible. Although reference had been made yesterday afternoon to preservation of working capacity, the labor deployment officer nonetheless sent 70 men out to work who had been put into the unfit group, because I had not directly forbidden it. The camp commandant, now present, states his intention to arrange for what needs to be done. Discussed with camp commandant, as yesterday with the camp officers, the necessity of preserving the capacity for work, the measures for prevention of epidemic diseases, and the latrine construction. Rations order has not yet reached Stalag 310.[9]

In May 1943, the camp moved to the town of Zaporozh'e, where it remained until the fall of 1943. Subsequently the camp was deployed in Nikopol', Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro, Ukraine), Novoukrainka, Pomoshnaia, Pervomais'k (Mykolayiv oblast'), and Balta. From there, it was sent to Przemyśl, where it was finally dissolved. As at the camp in Wietzendorf, selections of "undesirable" prisoners were also conducted during Stalag 310's deployment in the occupied Soviet Union. The selected prisoners were shot near the camp by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or camp guards.[10] The order to dissolve the camp was issued on December 25, 1943, but the camp remained in operation until April 1944.[11]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 310 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 310); NARA (T 501, roll 18); and BArch B 162/9327–9330 (Ermittlungen gg. G. Bolland und andere Angehörige des Stalag 310 in Konotop [Ukraine] wg. der Aussonderung sow-jet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener).

Additional information about Stalag 310 may be found in the following publications: Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse: Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010); A. N. Bystritskii et al., eds., *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorialy i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii* (Moscow: Assotsiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939– 1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Barbara Meier, Detlev Gieseke, and Hans Albert Hillmann, *"Russenlager": Leiden und Sterben in den Lagern Bergen-Belsen, Fallingbostel, Oerbke, Wietzendorf* (Soltau: Schulze Soltau, 1991); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 110. See also Das Stalag X D Wietzendorf at www.relikte.com/wietzendorf/index.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 110.

2. Letter from the head of the propaganda department of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda to the minister, dated October 2, 1941, about the "Kriegsgefangenenlager Wietzendorf Krs Soltau, Gau Ost-Hannover," BArch R 55/21520.

3. Meier, Gieseke, and Hillman, *"Russenlager:"* Bystritskii et al., *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorialy*. NB: casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be treated accordingly.

4. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–451.

5. Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse*.

6. Stammtafel des Stalag 310, BArch B 162/9330, Bl. 563.

7. Testimony of a former NCO at "Stalag 310 Headquarters," Hans Genuit, on May 24, 1971, BArch B 162/9327, Bl. 192; Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiet B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11.8.1942, NARA, T 501, roll 18, frame 643.

8. Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiet B, Abt. Qu./Kgf., Beitrag zum Monatsbericht v. 5.11.1942, BArch B 162/9330, Bl. 545.

9. Leitender Sanitätsoffizier beim Befh. H. Geb. B, Bericht über die Dienstreise vom 1-18.10.42, BA-MA RH 22/193, p. 338.

10. Staatsanwaltschaft Hamburg, Einstellungsverfügung v. 28.8.1974 im Ermittlungsverfahren gegen ehem. Angehörige des Stalag 310, BArch B 162/9328, Bl. 517–518.

11. Stammtafel des Stalag 310, BArch B 162/9330, Bl. 563.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 311 (XI C)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 311 (map 4a) on May 20, 1941. On August 20, 1941, the camp deployed to Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI, near the village of Bergen-Belsen.[1] The Germans set up the camp to confine up to 20,000 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). During the deployment in Defense District XI, the camp was also known as Stalag XI C. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 555 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The field post number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942, a year before the camp was disbanded, perhaps because it had become a permanent facility within the Reich.

The first transports of Soviet POWs (around 5,000 men) arrived on July 21 and 27, 1941, from Oflag 53 in Pogegen (today Pagėgiai, Lithuania) and Oflag 52 in Ebenrode (today Nesterov, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia). On August 2 and 5, around 3,000 more men arrived at the camp from Oflag 56 in Prostken (today Prostki, Poland). For the most part, these prisoners were Red Army men whom the Germans captured in the Baltic region and Belarus. The prisoners were housed under the open sky in an area surrounded by barbed wire fencing. The food ration consisted of a tenth of a loaf of bread per day, but the prisoners did not even receive this "norm" every day. The hunger these minimal rations induced caused prisoners to eat all the grass and the bark from several trees in the fenced-in zone within a few days. They drank water from puddles, which led to a dysentery epidemic. In August 1941, the camp began to operate a hospital for sick and injured prisoners. The most widespread diagnosis was dysentery and general decline of strength (or exhaustion). From the autumn of 1941 onward, no fewer than 1,500 sick people passed through the

hospital each month.

Stalag 311 (XI C) at Bergen-Belsen. Overworked burial commandos, exhausted after digging mass graves, February 1942.
USHMM, COURTESY OF NARA, WS #88849.

From October 4 through October 8, 1941, around 10,000 more prisoners arrived in the camp, including those from Stalag 333. The total number of prisoners now reached 18,000. On October 11, some of the prisoners were transferred to Stalag XI A and Stalag 321 (XI D). Around 10,000 able-bodied prisoners were also distributed into about 150 work teams. On October 24, a number of prisoners, recorded as officers, were transferred to Oflag XIII D, and another group of prisoners was handed over to the subunit, field post number 41 321. A new group of around 1,000 prisoners arrived at the camp on October 30. More prisoners were placed in the camp between November 8 and November 10. This final group was composed of around 1,000 men captured by the Germans at Viaz'ma and El'nia.

The registration number 21,109 is the last one known to have been assigned to a POW at Stalag 311. In the beginning of December 1941, a group of prisoners was transferred to Stalag XI A and Stalag XI B because of the rising threat of typhus. A group of prisoners from Stalag XI B was then placed in the camp. With the beginning of the typhus epidemic, the camp was closed for

quarantine. According to the *Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen*, up until April 1942, around 14,000 prisoners died in the camp from typhus, starvation, or cold; the *Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung* states that as many as 18,000 prisoners died during this period.[2] On May 1, 1942, there were only 2,069 prisoners alive in the camp.[3]

Between August and October 1941, a Gestapo team from Hamburg conducted a selection of "undesirable" prisoners (Jews and Communists) in the camp, who were sent to be shot at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp; on October 10, for example, the Germans sent 300 such prisoners to Sachsenhausen.[4] Once there, they were murdered in the "neck-shot installation" (*Genickschussanlage*), and their bodies were burned in the crematorium.

In early 1942, a resistance group known as the Hannover Committee (*Hanoveraner Komitee*) was formed by the Soviet prisoners in Stalag 311.[5] On June 10, 1943, the camp was redesignated as a subcamp of Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 311 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 311).

Additional information about Stalag 311 can be found in the following publications: E. A. Brodskii, *In the Name of Victory over Fascism: Anti-fascist Struggle of the Soviet People in Nazi Germany (1941–1945)* (Moscow: Science, 1970); Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse: Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010); A. N. Bystritskii, V. G. Lebedev, V. V. Mukhin, V. V. Tolochko, and G. I. Kal'chenko, eds., *Russian (Soviet) War Memorials and Burial Sites on German Territory* (Moscow: War Memorials Association, 2000); M. I. Chernyshev, "Escape from Mautkhausen," *Ural* 5 (2005); *Bergen-Belsen: Wehrmacht POW Camp 1940–1945, Concentration Camp 1943–1945, Displaced Persons Camp 1945–1950* (Göttingen: Lower Saxony Memorials Foundation, 2010); Rolf Keller, "Bergen-

Belsen, Altengrabow, Magdeburg. Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Wehrkreis XI," *Rundbrief der landeseigenen Gedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt* 3 (2004): 1–13; Rolf Keller, "'Russenlager': Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in Bergen-Belsen, Fallingbostel-Oerbke und Wietzendorf," in *"Der Mensch gegen den Menschen," Überlegungen und Forschungen zum deutschen Überfall auf die Sowjetunion 1941*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Nolte (Hannover: Fackelträger, 1992), pp. 111– 136; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); and *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1945: Leiden und Sterben in den Lagern Bergen-Belsen, Fallingbostel, Oerbke, Wietzendorf* (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991). See also V. V. Chernovalov, Stalag 311 (XI C), Bergen-Belsen at http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st311xic.shtml, and Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen at http://bergen-belsen.stiftung-ng.de/.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 311.
2. *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1945*, p. 28.
3. See http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st311xic.shtml and http://bergen-belsen.stiftung-ng.de/de/geschichte/kriegsgefangenenlager/sowjetische-kriegsgefangene.html.
4. See Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse*.
5. *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1945*, p. 28.
6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 311.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 312 (XX C)

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 312 (XX C) on April 12, 1941, in the city of Limburg an der Lahn, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. From June 1941 until June 1942, the camp deployed to the city of Thorn (today Toruń, Poland) (map 4c), near a ring of old forts to the south of the Vistula River.

Stalag 312 (XX C) received two field post numbers (*Feldpostnummern*). The first, 37 796, was issued between February 28 and July 29, 1941, and struck between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The second, 01 242, was assigned between January 27 and July 14, 1942, and struck on November 30, 1943.

Initially, the Germans sent Polish prisoners of war (POWs) from Stalag XX A to enclose areas near the southern forts, in the Stawki, Rudak, and Podgórze districts of Thorn and the nearby village of Glinki (German: Neu Glinke). The new camp was to hold Soviet POWs.[1] The first group of Soviet POWs, which numbered around 1,500, arrived at the camp on August 4, 1941. The second group of POWs came to the camp from Stalag 315 (II F) in Hammerstein (today Czarne, Poland) on August 25 and 27. The main contingent in the camp consisted of Red Army men whom the Germans captured in August 1941 near the cities of Smolensk, Mogilev, Rogachev, Zhlobin, and Gomel'. In each transport, between 50 and 100 people died while being transferred.

There were never enough barracks for the number of prisoners in this very overcrowded camp. Some prisoners were forced to stay in the open, in dugouts they created by hand, or in makeshift shacks, regardless of the season. The camp occupied an area of approximately 36 hectares (89 acres). The premises were fenced by a double row of barbed wire entanglements with watchtowers, machine gun positions, and lights.

There is some uncertainty about the administrative history of the

camp after its arrival in Thorn. It may have been under the command of Stalag XX A, which was also in Thorn, as indicated by transport reports and prisoner records kept by Stalag XX A headquarters, as well as by the economic and supply records of Stalag 312 under Stalag XX A. The daily orders of the commandant of Stalag XX A also contain the names of deceased and punished prisoners of Stalag 312.[2]

In the beginning of September 1941, a group of POWs were sent to work detachments (*Arbeitskommando*s) under Stalag XX B (Arbeitskommandos Oliva and Elbin) in Marienburg (today Malbork, Poland) and to work detachments under Stalag XX A (Arbeitskommando Langführ) for agricultural work. The final group of Soviet POWs sent to the camp arrived on November 17, from Stalag 324. Judging from the registration numbers of the POWs, the maximum number of prisoners in the camp was around 12,000. On December 16, 1941, a group of the POWs was transferred to Stalag II D in Stargard. On April 4 and April 7, 1942, two echelons of POWs arrived from Stalag 327. On April 24, 1942, a unit of POWs arrived from Oflag V B in Schaulen (today Šiauliai, Lithuania). The maximum known number of POWs at the last registration was 15,171. On May 1, 1942, the remaining POWs were transferred to Stalag XX A and Stalag XX B.[3]

The conditions in the camp were the same as in other camps for Soviet POWs. In addition to the terrible overcrowding, the food was inadequate in both quantity and quality, the prisoners suffered from exhaustion from overwork, infectious disease was endemic, and there was little medical care. All of these factors contributed to a high mortality rate. Additionally, the guards' brutality added to the prisoners' misery. According to the Polish commission investigating Nazi crimes, more than 14,000 Soviet POWs died in the camp between 1941 and 1942.[4] The prisoners' burial site is in the forest west of Glinki.

As in other camps, a selection of "undesirable" POWs (Communists and Jews) occurred in Stalag 312. Under the orders of the camp commandant Oberst Dullnig, over 300 Red Army political commissars, other Communists, and Jews were shot.[5]

In June 1942, the Germans transferred the camp to Ukraine and

until September 1943, it was deployed to the area of Stalino (today Donets'k, Ukraine) (9f).[6] More exactly, the camp was located in the village of Khanzhenkovo, near Makeevka (today Makiivka), for a long time. The main camp was located at mine No. 13, and three of its subcamps were located at mines numbered 21, 22, and one mine called Khrushchova. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), it is believed that upward of 10,000 people died from exhaustion, starvation, and illness at the camp; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[7] In September 1943, the camp was sent to the city of Zaporozh'e (today Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine) (9f). The camp commandant in this period was Oberst Georg Böhm, his deputies were Hauptmann Ande and Major Rogner, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Tietz, Hauptmann Herbster, and Hauptmann Spiess.[8] The date of Stalag 312 (XX C)'s dissolution is uncertain, but the camp was still in operation as of October 20, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 312 is located in AMMJW; BA-MA (RW 6: 450); BArch B 162/4930, 7188; DADoO; IPN; and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 312).

Additional information about Stalag 312 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *List of Burial Sites of Soviet Servicemen and POWs Who Died in the Second World War and Were Buried in the Republic of Poland, 1995; Catalog of Burial Sites of Soviet POWs, Soldiers, and Civilians Who Died in the Second World War and Were Buried in the Republic of Poland* (Warsaw; PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich, 1998), p. 97; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 520–522; and J. L.

Tyszkiewicz, "Hitlerowski obóz jeńcow wojennych w Toruniu," in *Z lat wojny, okupacjl i odbudowy*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1975), pp. 75–91. See also http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st312.shtml.

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NOTES

1. IPN – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Biuro Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów (BUiAD), Dział "Ob," sygn. 131, report on an investigation conducted in 1945 by what was then called the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich, Oddział w Toruniu, p. 44; MKH of the Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację, uncompiled materials; ACMJW, sygn. 3497, Wehkreiskarte …; WASt Berlin (Stalag XX A, Tagesbefehle).

2. Tyszkiewicz, "Hitlerowski obóz jeńcow wojennych w Toruniu," pp. 76–77.

3. V. V. Chernovalov, "Stalag 312 (XX C), Thorn, Torn (Toruń)." http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st312.shtml.

4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 522.

5. See the statement from December 29, 1945, from former commander of POWs Wehrkreis XX Danzig General-Lieutenant Kurt von Oesterreich in *Nuremberg Process: Collection of Materials in Two Volumes*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1952), p. 441; Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 98–99.

6. Der Leiter der Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, 45 Js 24/75, Einstellungsverfügung von 1.12.1975, BArch B 162/4930, Bl. 1100.

7. DADoO, fond r-1838, list 1, case 7, p. 44v; Kdt. rückw. A. Geb. 593, No. 322/43 geh., Betr. Neugliederung des rückw. A.

Geb. 3.4.1943, BArch B 162/7188.

8. Der Leiter der Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, 45 Js 24/75, Einstellungsverfügung von 1.12.1975, BArch B 162/4930, Bl. 1100–1102.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 313

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 313 on April 30, 1941. From October 1941, the camp was deployed in Vitebsk (map 9b). Stalag 313 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 340 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1942, renewed between March 24 and November 6, 1943, and struck again on May 17, 1944.

The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*).[1] At various other times, the camp was subordinate to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 403, Security Brigade (*Sicherungsbrigade*) 201, the Fourth Armored Army, and, finally, the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III), from February 15, 1943. The camp was guarded by Company 1 of the 876th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

The conditions in Stalag 313 were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Especially during the first winter, the prisoners experienced severe overcrowding, food supplies that were inadequate in both quantity and quality, forced labor, a total lack of medical care, and no opportunities to wash themselves or their clothing. The resulting starvation, exhaustion, and disease, as well as deliberate abuse, led to a high mortality rate. Of 40,000 prisoners in the camp in the fall of 1941, by the spring of 1942 only 500 were still alive (equal to a death rate of between 150 and 160 prisoners a day).[2] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), at least 76,000 prisoners died in the camp between 1941 and 1943; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[3]

The first camp commandant was Oberstleutnant von Coburg.

From the end of February until May 1943, the camp commandant was Oberst Hans Dillmann. After the war, while being interrogated by the Soviet security agencies, he stated: "In the camp, I maintained a diet that was intended to lead and did lead to the prisoners' death from starvation. The infinitesimal food rations led to depletion of the organism, and the grueling work from sunup to sundown hastened [their] final destruction."[4]

Stalag 313 was also a transit camp for civilians whom the Germans suspected of rendering aid to the partisans. The Germans would first round up the civilians and then, after examination by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD), deport them from Stalag 313 to the concentration camps at Majdanek or Auschwitz. In March and April 1943, for example, up to 20,000 Soviet citizens, including a large number of women, elderly people, and children, whom the Germans had forcibly driven out of the villages of the Vitebsk and Gorodok raions in the Vitebsk oblast' were rounded up and sent to concentration camps. A witness, Elena Shakuro, stated:

> In late March 1943, German soldiers herded our whole family and the inhabitants of the village of Khrapovichi into the Vitebsk POW camp. There were a great many civilians there, old men, women, and children. In the barracks where they put us, there was no floor, only three tiers of bare plank beds on wire frames, and the overcrowding and filth were terrible. Hunger was rampant, and there was a typhus epidemic. People were dying in huge numbers, 20 to 30 a day, from starvation, typhus, and slave labor. In April, 1943, our family was taken from the Vitebsk camp, in a transport of more than 1,000 people, to the Majdanek death camp.[5]

As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners in Stalag 313 to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then executed near the camp by the guards or the SD. For example, in November 1941, Einsatzkommando 9 found and shot 207 Jews in the camp.[6]

On September 25, 1943, Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) ordered the disbandment of the camp.[7] Other records,

however, show the camp still in operation as of April 30, 1944, so there is considerable uncertainty about the date of its dissolution.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 313 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-84-3, 16); NARB (files 845-1-5; 861-1-5; 4683-3-917); DAViO (files 1p-1-821; 1971-6-1); and BArch B 162/7257 and Sammlung UdSSR, Heft 3, Bild 1-15.

Additional information about Stalag 313 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 72–73; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 37; I. P. Shamiakin, ed., *Vitebsk. Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Minsk: BelSE im. P. Brovki, 1988); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 120; *Vitebsk: Istorikoekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk: Nauka i tekhnika, 1974); and *Vystoiali i pobedili: svidetel'stvuiut arkhivy* (Vitebsk, 2005).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen,* p. 120; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 37.

2. Examination record, dated July 15, 1944, for witness I. Pornbow, GARF, file 7021-84-3.

3. Document of the town ChGK, dated September 26, 1944, GARF, file 7021-84-3.

4. *Vystoiali i pobedili*, p. 68.

5. Ibid.

6. *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* #149, December 22, 1941.

7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 120; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 37.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 315 (II F)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 315 (II F) (maps 2, 4b, 4f, and 5) on April 12, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. In June 1941, the camp was transferred to Hammerstein (today Czarne, Poland) (4b), in Defense District II, where it was designated Stalag II F. In October 1941, the camp was relocated to Przemyśl (5), in the Generalgouvernement, and redesignated Stalag 315. The camp in Przemyśl had subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Chyrów (today Khyriv, Ukraine) and Jaroslau (today Jarosław, Poland).[1] The camp was redeployed to Villingen, Germany (4f) in November 1942, then to the Nether-lands, and finally to Épinal, France (2), in January 1944. While deployed in Hammerstein, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II). While it was located in Przemyśl, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*). Stalag 315 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 698 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Rudolf Marquardsen. On September 15, 1941, he was replaced by Major Botho von Aulock, who served for one month before being replaced by Oberstleutnant Friedrich Müller. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant von Briesen on May 30, 1942. The next commandant was Oberstleutnant Dr. Waldemaar List, who took charge on December 17, 1942. He was replaced by the final commandant, Oberst Otto Lührsen, on July 15, 1943. The deputy commandant was Oberstleutnant Felix Hering from November 1 until December 16, 1941, when he was replaced by Major Ernst-Günther von Rouppert.[2] The first adjutant was Oberleutnant Florian Fürthner, who was later replaced by Hauptmann Heinrich

Greim. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Werner Wilhelmi. The head of the camp administrative section was Stabszahlmeister Schrecke.[3] While deployed in Przemyśl, the camp was guarded by personnel from the 310th and 765th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).[4]

Stalag 315 at Épinal. Destruction seen from the main courtyard, June 26, 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC

Stalag II F held Polish, French, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), while Stalag 315 held only Soviet POWs. The population of Stalag II F was consistently between 5,000 and 6,000, while the camp in Przemyśl reached a maximum population of 8,500 prisoners in August 1942.[5] Stalag 315 was located in the barracks of a former Polish army regiment. Conditions in the camp during both deployments were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was overcrowded, food supplies and medical care were inadequate, and the prisoners were treated cruelly by the guards. The camp was temporarily quarantined in the winter of 1941 due to a typhus epidemic. Typhus continued to be a widespread problem in the camp in 1942, to the extent that even some of the German guards were infected.[6] Some prisoners were assigned to work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp.

In both Hammerstein and Przemyśl, the Germans conducted

selections (*Aussonderungen*) of incoming prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were deported to the Oranienburg concentration camp to be killed (while the camp was located in Hammerstein) or shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) near the camp while it was in Przemyśl. One of the SD officers responsible for conducting these selections was Martin Mechow, who was investigated for murder by the district court in Munich in 1967; however, it was discovered that he had died in 1960.[7]

In late November 1942, the camp staff was transferred to Villingen, Germany.[8] In 1943, the camp headquarters deployed to the Netherlands; little information is available about this deployment. It subsequently relocated to Épinal, in northeastern France, on January 13, 1944. The camp in Épinal was located in an old fortress and held Indian prisoners who had been housed in other camps in Italy and Germany. A few Indian prisoners from Frontstalags in France were also sent to Stalag 315, probably in an effort to keep prisoners of the same ethnic and religious groups together.

It is unclear why the Wehrmacht gave the designation of Stalag to a camp located in occupied France. It appears that Stalag 315 was specifically designed to accommodate the Indian prisoners who had come to Germany from Italy in the fall of 1943. On February 22, 1944, the camp held 2,581 British Indian prisoners (including 1,112 Hindus, 948 Muslims, 424 Sikhs, and 9 Christians). By March 16, when a member of the Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegation visited the camp, the population had increased to 3,031 (1,376 Hindus, 973 Muslims, 488 Sikhs, 138 Christians, and 56 POWs of unknown religion in the infirmary). The camp had taken in more prisoners from German Stalags as well as 42 Indians from Frontstalag 222. The camp commander was Oberst Otto Lührsen, and Sergeant Bhagat Ram served as the prisoners' elected leader (man of confidence).

The conditions in the camp were poor. The commander claimed that the facility was dilapidated when he took it over and that repairs were underway. The inspectors of the ICRC and the Swiss government agreed that the commander was committed to improving the camp and that he treated the prisoners well.

Nonetheless, the camp lacked adequate water supplies and food preparation facilities. The prisoners' health was also poor, but the inspectors ascribed this to the harshness of the transfer in midwinter and not to the conditions inside the camp. Two prisoners had died in the camp, one of tuberculosis and the other of pneumonia. The inspectors reported that the camp infirmary, staffed by Indian orderlies under the command of two British medical officers, was in good shape.

There were no work detachments outside the camp as of March 1944; however, prisoners within the camp participated in the renovation of the facilities (although most of the non-commissioned officers asserted their right not to work under the Geneva Convention). The camp offered some forms of recreation. The prisoners were supplied with books and sporting goods by the YMCA. Sports facilities, including a soccer field, were not yet completed in March. The inspectors reported that the quantity and quality of the food was adequate. The Swiss delegate found the camp facilities "rather primitive" and bemoaned the poor lighting. As to the religious needs of the prisoners, both inspections noted that rooms and personnel for worship were available for all religious groups. Due to a shortage of cooking fuel, Sergeant Bhagat Ram wrote to the ICRC asking that the Indian food parcels be replaced by Canadian parcels; this was because the Indian parcels contained a great variety of ethnic foods adapted to the different prisoner groups, but they had to be cooked, whereas the food in the Canadian parcels was ready for consumption or needed only short reheating.[9]

Hostility among prisoner groups belonging to different religions and castes was a source of problems in the camp. Although the prejudices of the camp inspectors and the German camp commander about the alleged "oriental indifference" and immaturity of the Indian prisoners colored the inspection reports, many higher-caste prisoners apparently did not want to take care of their rooms, believing that this was the task of the lower-caste members, called "sweepers." There was also much tension among ethnic and religious groups. All these conflicts inspired frequent acts of vandalism and sabotage. The ICRC inspector paraphrased the German commander in his report: "[The prisoners] behave like spoilt or badly-brought-up children." The German commander

argued that these problems were typical for camps with Indian prisoners and claimed that the prisoners' attitudes prevented improvements to the camp conditions.[10]

During the bombing of May 11, 1944, the Hindu prisoners' barracks received a direct hit. As Bhagat Ram stated, "Bombs were coming like a stream and prisoners could find no way to hide themselves and were running like sheep from one corner to the other in the camp area." At least 40 prisoners were killed and 80 more were wounded. The chaos allowed approximately 700 prisoners to escape; many of them managed to cross into neutral Switzerland.[11] Soon after the bombing, Bhagat Ram wrote to the Swiss government, pleading with them to prevent the British from bombing the camp again. The Germans transferred some of the prisoners to other camps in northeastern France, mainly Frontstalag 194 in Nancy, but most surviving prisoners had to stay in the bombed ruins of the fort for several weeks.[12] The Germans apparently decided to reconstruct the camp with a reduced capacity of about 2,200 prisoners, but it was never completed.[13] The remaining prisoners were probably transferred to Germany a few weeks later, possibly after a short stay in Frontstalag 194.

The headquarters of Stalag 315 was subordinated to Ilag Giromagny on June 13, 1944.[14] Stalag 315's headquarters returned to Germany, where it was formally disbanded in Ludwigsburg on September 10, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag 315 (II F) is located in the Archives of the ICRC; AN (F9, 3105); BAMA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin; NARA (RG 389); NA Den Haag (Collectie Krijgsgevangene, Inventaris no. 9, 4–54); TNA (WO 224/61); and BArch B 162/8313 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001380–00001753) and 15559 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2887.00002088– 00002113).

Additional information about Stalag 315 (II F) can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 39; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–*

1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population) (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 19, 163; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 141–142; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Mittler, 1966), p. 126.

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NOTES

1. Vorermittlungen gegen Martin Mechow u.a. wegen Verdacht des Mordes im Stalag 316 in Hammerstein, BArch B 162/15559, Bl. 9 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2887.00002100) [page out of order in original].

2. Ibid., Bl. 9R-11. (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2887.00002104–00002106).

3. Ibid., Bl. 2 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2887.00002095).

4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen Angehörige des Stalags 315 Przemyśl, BArch B 162/8313, Bl. 182 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001592).

5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 19, 163.

6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen Angehörige des Stalags 315 Przemyśl, BArch B 162/8313, Bl. 105R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001492).

7. Vorermittlungen gegen Martin Mechow u.a. wegen Verdacht des Mordes im Stalag 316 in Hammerstein, BArch B 162/15559, Bl. 17 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2887.00002112).

8. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen Angehörige des Stalags 315 Przemyśl, BArch B 162/8313, Bl. 49R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001433).

9. Bhagat Ram to ICRC, TNA, WO 224/61.

10. Camp inspection, Stalag 315, by Dr. de Morsier (ICRC), February 22, 1944, and by Gabriel Naville (Swiss government), March 16, 1944, TNA, WO 224/61.

11. "Informations diverses sur les prisonniers," AN, F9, 3105.

12. "Air Raid on the Prisoners of War Camp," Bhagat Ram Dafadar to Swiss Legation, May 18, 1944, TNA, WO 224/61.

13. Telegram ICRC to London Delegate, July 19, 1944, TNA, WO 224/61; summary of camp inspection, Stalag 315, June 22, 1944, Archives of the ICRC, Geneva, CSC, F (-D) Gén. 24.06.44.

14. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 39.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 316

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 316 from Frontstalag 316 on July 7, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] The camp first deployed to Siedlce (map 5). In January 1942, it was relocated to Volkovysk (4c), and from July 1942 until the end of February 1943, it was located in Białystok (4c). While Stalag 316 was located in Białystok, it had three subcamps (*Zweiglager*), which were located in Zambrów, Grodno, and Lososno. The camp was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 20 780 between February 16 and July 18, 1941; the number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942.

During the deployment near Siedlce, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*). While deployed in Volkovysk and Białystok, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

The commandant of Stalag 316 from its establishment to September 1, 1941, was Major Rochel. On that date, he was replaced by Major Wiechowski, whose adjutant was Oberleutnant Prondsinski. At the end of 1941, Oberstleutnant Jansen was appointed camp commandant. His deputy was Major Spletstusaer. Initially, the camp was guarded by a reserve infantry battalion commanded by Major Sommer. In October, it was replaced by a different battalion, commanded by Hauptmann Ai.[2]

Stalag 316 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The construction of the camp began in late May 1941, when a depot for wire and lumber was set up near the village of Wola Suchożebrska, 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Siedlce. These

materials were used to build barracks for guards. In June 1941, German soldiers dug ditches and put up barbed wire around the grounds of the camp, which consisted of three parts: Camp A at the Podnieśno railroad station (with an area of 100 hectares [247 acres]), Camp B near the village of Wola Suchożebrska (1.5 by 2 kilometers [0.9 by 1.2 miles]), and Camp C (which was never used) near the village of Kisielany-Kuce. The first prisoners arrived at Camp A on June 23, 1941. They were transported by rail in special trains of 35–40 cars. Wounded prisoners were given no treatment and frequently died en route to the camp, and there were instances when the cars were not unloaded for two days or more. There were no barracks in the camp when the first prisoners arrived, and they were forced to sleep under the open sky or dig holes in the ground for shelter.[3]

Former prisoner Evgenii Sdunevich described the conditions in the camp in 1941 as follows:

> This was a big, square section, measuring about 3 kilometers [under 2 miles], of a field where potatoes and, in some parts, rye grew; it was surrounded by barbed wire. All the prisoners were kept right on the ground, in the open. Later they made us dig pits as shelters, each holding about 50 people. Such a dugout was nothing but a hole, because the Germans gave us no wood for covering the dugout, not even from the rain. There were no plank beds or anything of that kind. The people didn't even have an opportunity to sleep in these holes in the ground, because the size of the holes was not large, and 50 people were put in each of them. Under these conditions, people slept standing up, leaning against the wall of the pit or against each another. In the best case, they managed to sleep in a half-sitting position. The prisoners were given almost nothing to eat. Every evening, bread for the following day was handed out. The daily ration was 200 to 250 grams [7 to 8.8 ounces] of bread, with all kinds of things mixed into it. At the same time, they gave out a teaspoon (8–10 grams [about 0.3–0.35 ounces]) of artificial honey, but it was not fresh; it smelled like it was spoiled. The hot food was something resembling a soup, made of bran with horsemeat—it was distributed once a day. In the morning and evening, they gave

> us each a half-liter of boiling water. Drinking water was brought in twice a day—in the morning and evening. But this was done not so much to supply the prisoners as to entertain the guards, because there was so little water brought that the people, who were suffering from thirst, hurled themselves at the water, creating a scuffle and coming to blows. This whole scene of monstrous violation of human dignity aroused idiotic guffaws from the German guards. The hungry people imprisoned in the camp ate raw potatoes, chewed on leafy tops of root vegetables, gnawed on yellow spikes of grain. It was forbidden to make fires in the camp. Thus the Germans gave us no opportunity to cook even a couple of tiny potatoes. Among the imprisoned Soviet POWs were many wounded, but there was no medical care, they didn't even get bandaging material, much less medications …[4]

The starving prisoners ate all the grass and roots on the grounds of Camps A and B; they eventually resorted to eating horse excrement and the flesh of dead prisoners. Twenty to thirty carts of dead prisoners were removed from the camp each day.[5] Driven to despair by the inhumane conditions of confinement, the prisoners mounted large-scale rebellions three times, rushing en masse at the barbed wire fence and into machine-gun fire from the guards. In one of these rebellions, in mid-September 1941, the guards killed more than 600 prisoners.[6]

One witness, Stanislav Stoliazhevskii, wrote in his diary: "July 15: in the camp, it is hell. Today a train arrived; each of its 54 cars held 100 to 150 people. In the sweltering atmosphere and heat, the Russians strip naked. This did not help much, and several men who had succumbed were carried out of each car." By early August, the camp was overcrowded, which led to a water shortage, as there were only seven wells to accommodate the many thousands of prisoners. On the night of July 16–17, the first mass escape attempt took place. The prisoners knocked over two posts of the surrounding fence and fled. The guards opened fire with machine guns and threw grenades at the escaping prisoners. It is impossible to determine how many prisoners managed to escape and how many perished. Beginning in early morning, the remaining prisoners retrieved the bodies and buried them in a

specially prepared cemetery in the woods a few hundred meters from the camp, on the other side of the railroad tracks. Stoliazhevskii described it in his diary:

> on July 27, there are around 70,000 people in the camp. Hunger is becoming increasingly intense. They dig the last potato out of the ground. They pick up the tiniest kernel of grain…. The whole square in the camp is a bare earthen surface without a trace of green. All the voices are dominated by a cry of despair: "German, give me bread or kill me." July 28: the POWs think up more and more new methods of escape. I saw how they wrapped their hands in rags and, after banding together to form a large cluster, threw themselves at the barbed wire, climbing onto it like cats. This was the hardest obstacle to overcome. Next they had to run through an open field to the railroad tracks, whose embankment protected them from bullets. Anyone who reached this spot had some chance of surviving. But that was not all: it was still half a kilometer [0.3 miles] from the railroad tracks to the life-saving forest. On August 22: the thirst for freedom is stronger than the fear of death. In recent days the POWs have changed their escape tactics. In the evening, when bread is being distributed, they start running in a circle, raising clouds of dust. The dust, dispersed by the wind, covers a large area with a curtain of darkness. Then, at an agreed-upon signal, the POWs rush across the field onto the barbed wire. The Germans then shoot blindly. If fortune smiles upon someone, he will survive…. On August 29, another mass escape attempt took place. This time the POWs launched an assault on the barbed wire from the side of the Siedlce-Sokołów highway. Those who managed to get out of the camp ran toward the highway and tried to reach the forest. At the edge of the forest, they came under mass fire from the Germans' weapons. Probably they all perished. September 2 is the next time the POWs throw themselves onto the barbed wire.

Another mass escape attempt occurred on September 16, when prisoners ran through the camp gates while carts were passing in and out. Initially, the Germans did not fire on the escaping

prisoners because they feared killing the cart drivers; however, they opened fire a short time later, killing about 200 prisoners. In the late fall of 1941 there was another escape attempt. Prisoners launched attacks against the fences and against the kitchen. The guards opened fire with machine guns and shelled the fleeing prisoners with artillery. The prisoners were unable to overcome the second fence barrier and were recaptured. For four days, the remaining prisoners were given no food and water, the dressings of the wounded men were not changed, and the corpses were not removed.[7] Although the Germans acted aggressively against those attempting to escape, many succeeded nonetheless; in August 1941, 4,000 prisoners escaped from the camp (3,400 from Camp A and 600 from Camp B).[8]

As in other camps for Soviet POWs, the prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communists, who were executed in an antitank ditch near the village of Tonkiele; at least 5,000 prisoners were shot there from September to December 1941.[9] One of the largest mass shootings at this site took place from November 12–14, 1941.[10] In total, from June 23, 1941, to January 1942, about 130,000 prisoners passed through the camp, of whom 45,000–50,000 died from hunger, disease, and shootings.[11]

In January 1942, the camp was redeployed to Volkovysk, where it occupied the former barracks of a Polish regiment. On February 1, 1942, there were 5,414 prisoners in the camp; on April 1, there were 2,087; on May 1, there were 2,269 prisoners; and on June 1, 849.[12] As in the camp in Siedlce, the conditions were inhumane. The camp was overcrowded, and poor sanitation led to epidemics of typhus, dysentery, and other diseases. January and February 1942 were especially difficult. In the spring of 1942, the conditions improved slightly: the bread ration was increased and baths and a hospital were opened. The improvement in the conditions was motivated by the Wehrmacht's increased need for prisoner labor (although conditions continued to be much worse for Soviet prisoners than for those of other nationalities).

From July 1942 onward, the camp was deployed in Białystok. In early July 1942, there were 6,230 prisoners in the camp, including 1,445 officers, with 2,203 of the prisoners working in the labor detachments.[13] On August 1, 1942, the camp held 6,406 prisoners;

on September 1, 1942, 4,458; on October 1, 1942, 3,982; on November 1, 1942, 2,567; on December 1, 1942, 2,393; on January 1, 1943, 2,103; and on February 1, 1943, 1,673.[14] The conditions in the camp in Białystok were similar to those in the camps in Siedlce and Volkovysk. The camp was disbanded on February 20, 1943.[15]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 316 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-83-1); TsGAMORF (65th Army Collection, #10510-113); and BArch B 162/6583–6586 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, u.a. in Ostrow-Mazowiecka [Stalag 324 bzw. Stalag 333], Siedlce [Stalag 316 bzw. Stalag 366] und Benjaminow [Stalag 368]).

Additional information about Stalag 316 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944.* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 74–75; Szymon Datner, *Prestupleniia nemetskofashistskogo vermakhta v otnoshenii voennoplennykh* (Moscow, 1963); Edward Kopówka, *Stalag 366 Siedlce* (Siedlce: SKUNKS w Siedlcach, 2004); I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); Wiesław Marczyk, *Jency radzieccy w niewoli Wehrmachtu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1941–1945* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1987); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 37– 38; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio,

1974), p. 128.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 128.
2. GARF, 7021-83-1, p. 158.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-83-1, p. 116 reverse.
5. GARF, 7021-83-1, p. 107 reverse.
6. GARF, 7021-83-1, p. 161 reverse.
7. Kopówka, *Stalag 366 Siedlce*.
8. *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* No. 81, 12.9.1941, BArch B 162/437, Bl. 36.
9. GARF, 7021-83-1, pp. 104–105, 125, 133, 164–165; TsGAMORF, 65th Army Collection, #10510-113, p. 34 (report 19, August 11, 1944).
10. TsGAMORF, 65th Army Collection, #10510-113, p. 20 (testimony of the witness Mikhail Tyborovich, August 8, 1944).
11. GARF, 7021-83-1, p. 107 and reverse.
12. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
13. Beauftragter des Präsidenten des Landesarbeitsamts Wien-Niederdonau vom 16.7.1942 "über die Überprüfung der russischen Kriegsgefangenenlager im Landesarbeitsamtsbezirk Ostpreussen," BA R 3901/20173.
14. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B

162/18251.

15. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 128.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 317 (XVIII C)

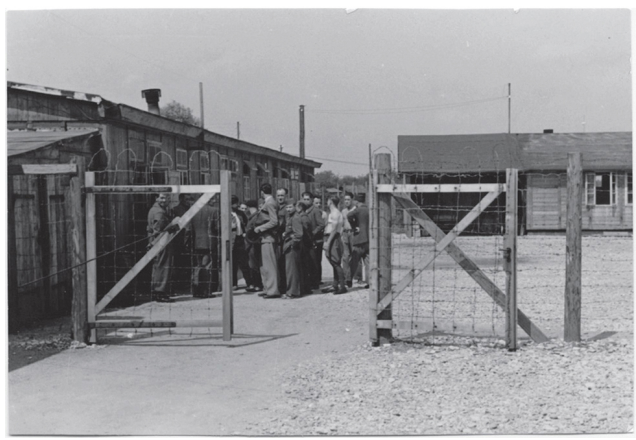
The Wehrmacht established Stalag 317 (XVIII C) on April 7, 1941. The camp was located in Markt Pongau, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII (map 4f). Stalag 317 (XVIII C) had one subcamp (*Zweiglager*), designated Stalag 317 (XVIII C/Z), which was located in Landeck.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII). Unusually, for a Stalag that remained in the Reich throughout its existence, Stalag 317 received a field post number (*Feldpostnummer*), 09 559, which was issued sometime between February 1 and April 11, 1941, and struck on February 7, 1942.

The first commandant of Stalag 317 was Oberst Dr. Ulrich Frey. His successor was Oberst Küchler, who was later replaced by Oberst Ried (or Reid). Oberst Ried was followed by Oberst Behrens. The final commandant of the camp was Oberst Otto Kadelke. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Josef Steinklauber and Hauptmann Erhard Storch. The court officer (*Gerichtsoffizier*) was Dr. Hermann Radauer.[2]

Stalag 317 (XVIII C) was divided into two eight-hectare (20 acre) sections: the North Camp (*Nordlager*) and the South Camp (*Südlager*), each of which contained between 25 and 30 barracks, which were 45–50 meters (148–164 feet) in length. Construction of the camp began in April 1941 and was completed in early September of that year; prior to the completion of the barracks, the prisoners slept in tents. The barracks were made of stone or wood and equipped with triple bunk beds for the prisoners and three heating stoves per barrack.[3]

The first prisoners in the camp were 1,081 French (including an officer and 34 civilians) who arrived in a transport from Frontstalags in France on May 22, 1941.[4] French prisoners would

remain the largest national group in the camp for most of its operation. By June 1, there were also 1,529 Serbians, 19 Poles, and 2 Belgians in the camp. The Western Allied, Polish, and Serbian prisoners were kept in the Südlager. The first Soviet prisoners arrived at Stalag 317 in October 1941; as of November 1, 1941, there were 2,677 Soviets in the camp.[5] The Soviet prisoners lived in the Nordlager, also referred to as the Russian camp (*Russenlager*). Beginning in September 1943, prisoners of other nationalities—including Dutch, British/Commonwealth, American, and Hungarian prisoners of war (POWs) and Italian military prisoners—were also present in the camp.[6] Beginning in the fall of 1943, Stalag 317 also served as a transit camp for prisoners who were being transferred north from POW camps in Italy to other Stalags in the Reich.[7]



Stalag 317 (XVIII C) at Markt Pongau. ICRC delegate Mr. Friedrich visits the camp, July 1942. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The population of Stalag 317 (XVIII C) was relatively constant, ranging from approximately 15,000–23,000 prisoners throughout the war. However, most of the prisoners registered in the camp (more than 70% and at times as high as 93%) were not housed in the main camp but were instead working in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were subordinate to Stalag 317.[8] Some of the prisoners from the Stalag were sent to a labor camp known as Lager Lüdensee, near Bludenz.[9] While conditions in the

work details generally met the requirements of the Geneva Convention, Red Cross delegates who visited Kommando L 21253 in Wöth-Rauris in October 1941 noted that the French prisoners lived in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, did not receive sufficient food, and were mistreated by the commander of the detachment.[10]

Conditions for Western Allied and Serbian prisoners in Stalag 317 were generally decent. In most of their camps, the Germans usually treated these prisoners well and observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929, and that seems to have been the case in Stalag 317. However, prisoner Marcel Vuillamy wrote in late April 1943 that the prisoners' quarters were infested with vermin and that their food rations were inadequate. Nonetheless, the prisoners kept their spirits high and demonstrated defiance toward their German captors by singing French patriotic songs.[11]

These prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities, including various sports, such as soccer, and a small orchestra and theater troupe that the prisoners formed.[12] However, gathering the entire orchestra together was difficult because of the wide distribution of the prisoners in the work details.[13] There were Catholic and Protestant religious services, but the Serbian prisoners lacked an Orthodox priest and relied on a seminary student for their spiritual needs.[14] The French prisoners published a monthly camp newspaper entitled *Le Stalag XVIII C: Vous Parle* (*Stalag XVIII C: you speak*). Its content was mainly cultural in nature and included discussions of both the cultural activities undertaken in the camp and more general commentary on French cultural life; for example, the September–October 1944 issue of the newspaper included both a review of plays performed in the camp during the previous months and an essay on the music of French composer Hector Berlioz.[15]

By contrast, the Soviet POWs in the Nordlager were treated horribly, with complete disregard for the Geneva Convention. This section of the camp was severely overcrowded and hygienic conditions were abysmal. The prisoners received minimal food rations; many were so hungry that they resorted to eating grass and worms. The terrible living conditions and absence of medical care led to an outbreak of typhus during the winter of 1941–1942 that killed approximately 3,600 prisoners; it took careful efforts from

the French doctors to prevent the spread of typhus to other segments of the prisoner population. Most of the Soviet prisoners who arrived in the camp during this early period died within weeks of their arrival.[16] As in other camps, the Soviet prisoners were subject to selections (*Aussonderungen*) in which the counterintelligence officers and the court officer screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars; those so identified were turned over to the Salzburg Gestapo, who executed them.[17]

Postwar war crimes investigations conducted by the United States revealed the excessive cruelty with which the Germans treated Soviet prisoners. A German officer named Leutnant Kraft was accused of handing 50 Soviet prisoners (including one woman) over to the Gestapo; these prisoners were subsequently executed (whether this was a selection operation or some other type of execution is unclear).[18] Another German officer, Karl Ohnmais, became particularly notorious as the commander of the Golling labor camp, where about 500 Soviet prisoners from Stalag 317 (XVIII C) were held. The prisoners in this camp were forced to work 12–16 hours per day removing stones from a quarry and building and repairing railroad lines in the area. The prisoners' food rations—a cup of ersatz coffee in the morning, half a liter of thin soup at lunch, and a piece of bread at dinner—were insufficient to sustain them given the difficulty of the labor they were performing. From April 9, 1945, until the liberation of the labor camp on May 4, these prisoners received no food at all from the Germans and their meals consisted mainly of a soup of grass boiled in water, which they prepared for themselves. The prisoners also received no medical care; a Russian doctor was present but was given no supplies with which to treat the prisoners. As a result, 30–40 prisoners collapsed each day from exhaustion and malnutrition and many died.[19]

During the final months of the war, the conditions deteriorated significantly even for the Western Allied prisoners. Evacuations from other camps farther to the north and east to Stalag 317 (XVIII C) led to severe overcrowding—some 13,000 prisoners were crammed into the Südlager alone. Problems with the prisoners' housing, such as leaky roofs, went unfixed because of a lack of supplies. Due to a shortage of fuel, the prisoners had to go into the

forest and gather their own firewood. Food rations decreased and hygienic conditions were very bad; the water supply in the camp was so contaminated that the prisoners had to boil the water before it could be drunk. The deteriorating conditions allowed another outbreak of typhus to begin in May 1945, just before the camp was liberated.[20]

As order broke down in the camp in early May 1945, a group of 300 prisoners attempted to raid a freight train stopped in Markt Pongau. As a result of this incident, the camp commandant met with the men of confidence for each prisoner group and it was decided that only certain prisoners would be allowed to leave the camp (with the commandant's approval). Stalag 317 (XVIII C) was liberated by American forces—who had been sought out by prisoners permitted to leave the camp and look for them—on May 8, 1945, the day of the German capitulation.[21] A war crimes investigation in 1967 did not result in any charges, as all of the camp's commandants, as well as the counterintelligence officers and the court officer, had already died by that time.[22]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag 317 (XVIII C) is located in BArch B 162/27768–27769: "Ermittlungen gg. ehem. Angehörige des Stalag 317 in Markt Pongau (Österreich) wg. Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjet. Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft u.a. sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangenen" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2617.00002152–00002424); NARA (RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XVIII C [*sic*]; RG 153, Box 53, File 100-496, Stalag XVIII C [317] [*sic*]; and Reel 153, Box 89, File 100-1047); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 621–622).

Additional information about Stalag 317 (XVIII C) can be found in the following publications: Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationales du Document, 1951), p. 115; Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Franz J. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz von 1940 bis 1945 und das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Lünersee"* (Bludenz: Geschichtsverein Region Bludenz, 2001); G. Mattiello

and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 27; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 141–143; Michael Mooslechner, "Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Stalag XVIII C 'Markt Pongau.' Todeslager für sowjetische Soldaten—Geschichte und Hintergründe des nationalsozialistischen Verbrechens," in *St. Johann/Pongau während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Salzburg: Renner-Institut Salzburg, 2007); Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941– 1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 306–317. See also "Stalag XVIII C [*sic*] Markt Pongau" at www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/denkmaeler/view/711/Stalag-XVIII-C-%C2%BBMarkt-Pongau%C2%AB.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 27.
2. "Abschlussvermerk," BArch B 162/27768, Bl. 190–191 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2617.00002388–00002389).
3. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 308–310.
4. Ibid., p. 306.
5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 141.
6. Ibid., p. 142.
7. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 307.

8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 142–143.

9. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz*, 49.

10. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 73.

11. Ibid., p. 207.

12. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 621–622.

13. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 184.

14. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 621–622.

15. Bellanger and Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés*, p. 115.

16. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 311–312.

17. "Eiddesstattliche Erklärung, Heinrich Matthias Patutschnick," BArch B 162/27768, Bl. 8 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.00002162).

18. "Interrogation statement about the killing of Soviet nationals at Stalag XVIII-C [*sic*] in Austria," NARA, RG 153, Box 89, File 100-1047.

19. "Report of Investigation of Alleged War Crime (June 13, 1945)," NARA, RG 153, Box 53, File 100-496, Stalag XVIII C [317] [*sic*].

20. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 312–314.

21. Ibid., pp. 314–316.

22. "Abschlussvermerk," BArch B 162/27768, Bl. 190 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2617.00002388).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 318 (VIII F)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 318 (VIII F) (map 4e) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII and deployed it in Lamsdorf (today Łambinowice, Poland). Stalag 318 was located 1.5 kilometers (0.9 miles) northwest of the main camp at Lamsdorf, Stalag VIII B.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). Stalag 318 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 911 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942; this date was well before the camp disbanded, probably because it had assumed permanent status at its location in Lamsdorf.

Stalag 318 was a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The first prisoners arrived in late July 1941. In total, from the fall of 1941 to the end of May 1943, 120,989 prisoners passed through the camp, of whom 28,376 were transferred to other camps in Defense District VIII, 15,348 were transferred to camps outside of Defense District VIII, and 34,841 were sent to labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside of the camp.[2] The camp population ranged from a minimum of 4,081 in January 1942 to a maximum of 15,877 in March 1943.[3]

The conditions in the camp were horrible and in violation of the norms of international law regarding POWs. When the prisoners arrived, most were already in a state of severe exhaustion from the long journey to the camp. For the first months of its existence, there were no barracks. The prisoners had to dig burrows in the ground with sticks or their bare hands for shelter. In 1942, barracks were built in the camp, but the prisoners were given only bare wooden planks to sleep on. Sanitary conditions were appalling; the men were allowed a hot shower only once a month and cold water was severely rationed, preventing them from

washing their clothes. From November 1941 through the spring of 1942, a typhus epidemic ravaged Stalag 318 and the mortality rate reached a very high level. Between December 1, 1941, and January 31, 1942, 2,270 prisoners died in the camp, mostly due to typhus; during this time, the camp was quarantined and prisoners were not allowed to enter or exit.

In addition to typhus and other diseases, starvation was rampant in the camp. The prisoners received only a cup of ersatz coffee, 200 grams (7 ounces) of poor-quality bread (made from field beets, a small amount of rye flour, and sawdust) and half a liter (2 cups) of rutabaga or potato soup per day.[4] These rations were not sufficient to sustain life, leading some prisoners to resort to desperate measures to survive. After a September 6, 1941, visit to the camp, the Oppeln (Opole) Gestapo reported that they had discovered evidence of cannibalism among the prisoners. The Gestapo officers had found pieces of fresh meat that were clearly from a human body in a foxhole in the camp. When confronted about the meat, three prisoners confessed that they had cooked and eaten parts of the body of their dead comrade out of desperation for something to eat.[5]

After the quarantine of the camp ended, the prisoners were sent to work in work details. Some 60,000 Soviet prisoners were in work details subordinate to Stalag 318 (VIII F) by November 1943.[6] Many of these prisoners were sent to work in metallurgy or in the coal mines in Upper Silesia, where conditions were very harsh; they were usually required to work 12 hours a day or longer and hardly received any food.

In 1941 and 1942, the Gestapo squad from Oppeln conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of the prisoners in the camp to eliminate "undesirables," such as Jews, political commissars, and other Communist Party members. They sent these prisoners to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp for execution.[7]

On June 24, 1943, Stalag 318 (VIII F) was absorbed by the main camp at Lamsdorf, Stalag VIII B, and became known as subcamp (*Teillager*) Stalag VIII B. On March 17, 1945, both the main camp and the subcamp were liberated by the Red Army; about 5,000 Soviet prisoners remained alive inside the camp. In July 1945, mass graves containing the bodies of thousands of Soviet

prisoners were discovered near the villages of Klucznik and Szadurczyce. It is estimated that at least 40,000 Soviet POWs died in Stalag 318 (VIII F) and its associated labor detachments.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 318 (VIII F) is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 318 VIII F); BArch B 162/1895 (Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis Stalag 318) and 28945 (Ermittlungen StA Dortmund gg. J. Stüber u. A. wegen des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung russischer Kriegsgefangener aus dem Kriegsgefangenenlager Lamsdorf [Stalag 318] in Oberschlesien durch Angehörige der Stapostelle Oppeln); and the ACMJW.

Additional information about Stalag 318 (VIII F) can be found in the following publications: Edmund Borzemski and Stanisława Borzemska, *The Central Museum of Prisoners of War in Łambinowice Guide* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Sport i Turystyka," 1989); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 392– 394; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939-1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self published, 1986), pp. 21, 38; Edmund Nowak, ed., *Obozy w Lamsdorf/ Łambinowicach (1870–1946)* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2006); Edmund Nowak, ed., *Szkice z dziejów obozów w Lamsdorf/ Łambinowicach. Historia i współczesność*, 5 vols. (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1998–2013); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 285–286; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy in Ossolinskinch, 1972); Janusz Sawczuk, *Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie w Łambinowicach w latach 1939–1945* (Opole: Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1974); and

Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 133. See also Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu at http://www.cmjw.pl/www/index.php.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 133; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 21, 38.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, 285.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. Borzemski and Borzemska, *Central Museum*, p. 6.

5. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 78, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.20/0004/0096.

6. Borzemski and Borzemska, *Central Museum*, p. 53.

7. See, in detail, Ermittlungen StA Dortmund gg. J. Stüber u. A. wegen des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung russischer Kriegsgefangener aus dem Kriegsgefangenenlager Lamsdorf (Stalag 318) in Oberschlesien durch Angehörige der Stapostelle Oppeln, BArch B 162/28945.

8. Borzemski and Borzemska, *Central Museum*, p. 25.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 319

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 319 (map 5) on April 8, 1941. From July 1941 to April 1944, the camp was deployed in Kulm (Polish: Chełm), in the Generalgouvernement, where it was divided into three parts: 319 A (Rampa Brzeska/Okszowska Street), 319 B (Wojsławicka/Partyzantów/Lwowska/Borek-Patelnia Street), and 319 C (Rampa Brzeska Street). From May to August 1944, the camp was deployed in Skierniewice, also in the Generalgouvernement. The disbandment of the camp was ordered on August 19, 1944. Stalag 319 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 18 754 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck on September 21, 1944. While deployed in Poland, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*).

Stalag 319 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war. The camp also held, in 1942 and 1943, French and British prisoners and, in late 1943, Italian military prisoners. On October 28, 1941, there were 72,163 prisoners in the camp, and on October 30, 1941, there were 63,267.[1] In November 1941, in section A alone, there were 21,507 prisoners, while section B held 28,277.[2] The maximum number of French prisoners in the camp was 1,144 in October 1942; the British prisoner population peaked the same month at 149, and the only Belgian prisoners (five) were recorded that month. The Italian prisoner population was 2,163 as of January 1944, the only date for which statistics on their numbers are available.[3]

Dug-outs, which served as living quarters for the Soviet POWs in Stalag 319 (ca. 1941). USHMM, COURTESY OF IPN

The conditions for the Soviet prisoners in the camp were similar to those in other such camps. The prisoners faced severe overcrowding, forced labor, inadequate food and housing, and nonexistent medical care. Malnutrition, exhaustion, and disease, along with deliberate abuse, led to a high mortality rate. In 1941 and 1942, when conditions were at their worst, 80,129 prisoners are said to have perished, out of about 200,000 who passed through the camp, according to data from the Polish commission for investigation of Nazi crimes. About 400 of the Italian prisoners died of starvation and diseases in the camp in the winter of 1943–1944, and an equal number were killed by the Germans.[4]

The camp had subcamps in Włodawa, Żmudź, and Sawin. The subcamp in Włodawa existed from 1941 to 1944. In November 1941, it held 5,209 prisoners. More than 10,000 prisoners died in the camp. The subcamp in Żmudź was in existence from 1941 to 1943; 450 prisoners perished there.[5]

As in other camps, in the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans screened the Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communists, who were executed near the camp, probably in the Borek forest on the southeast side of town, where the Germans maintained a killing site for years.[6] Before being shot, the prisoners had to dig their own graves. They lined up at the edge of the grave in groups of five and were then executed.

About 4,000 Stalag 319 prisoners are believed to have been executed in this manner.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 319 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 319); and BArch B 162/8309–8311 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 319 in Cholm, insbesondere wg. der "Aussonderung" und Liquidierung russischer Kriegsgefangener durch das sog. Kommando Benda).

Additional information about Stalag 319 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), p. 397; E. Dziadosz and J. Marszalek, "Więzienia i obozy w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 3 (1969): 89, 119–121; I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Moscow, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); *Perechen' mest zakhoronenii sovetskikh voennosluzhashchikh i voennoplennykh, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i zakhoronennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (1995); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 128; A. Rybak, *Stalag 319 w Chełmie. Zarys dziejów* (Chełm, 1998); A. Rybak, *Stalag 319—Międzynarodowy obóz jeniecki w Chełmie w latach 1941–1944* (Chełm, 2009).

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1. Rybak, *Stalag 319—Międzynarodowy obóz jeniecki*, pp. 236–237.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 128.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Rybak, *Stalag 319—Międzynarodowy obóz jeniecki*, p. 236.

4. Rybak, *Stalag 319—Międzynarodowy obóz jeniecki*, pp. 206–209, 238.

5. Dziadosz and Marszalek, "Więzienia i obozy," 89, 119–121.

6. USHMMA, RG-15.019M, reel 5, p. 163.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 321 (XI D)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 321 (map 4a) on April 28, 1941, near Oerbke, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI.[1] During its deployment in Defense District XI, it was also known as Stalag XI D. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI). Stalag 321 (XI D) received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 924 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 27 and July 14, 1942.

Stalag 321 (XI D) held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The Germans designed the camp to accommodate as many as 30,000 prisoners. The first transports arrived on July 14, 17, 24, and 30, 1941. By the end of July, the number of prisoners in the camp totaled about 8,000. Two subsequent groups of prisoners, around 4,000 in all, were brought to Oerbke on September 23 and 25, 1941. The last groups of prisoners arrived from Minsk on October 16 and 23, 1941 (the last known POW registration number is 22793). In the early days of the camp's existence, there were no permanent structures, and the prisoners were kept outside in a field surrounded with barbed wire. To protect themselves from bad weather, they dug holes in the earth and made shelters from whatever materials came to hand. In November, there were approximately 14,000 prisoners in the camp. The construction of wooden barracks began at that time. On December 1, 1941, some of the prisoners were transferred or handed over for registration to Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel. From November 1941 to February 1942, the camp was in quarantine because of a typhus epidemic. In this period, 12,000 men died of malnutrition, exposure, and disease.[2] On December 1, 1941, there were 10,797 prisoners in the camp. By January 1, 1942, the number had dropped to 5,688, and on February 1, 1942, only 1,119 prisoners remained.[3]

Between August and October 1941, a Gestapo team regularly screened the prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communists, who were sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were killed. On September 9, 1941, 30 prisoners were sent to Sachsenhausen for execution; on September 26, 1941, 7 were sent; and on October 7, 1941, 55 were sent.[4] According to Emil Büge, a prisoner in Sachsenhausen who witnessed the unloading of the transports of Soviet prisoners from Oerbke, the men were already in very bad shape upon their arrival in the camp. He noted that "all [were] very meager, starved soldiers … very ragged" and that most were shot shortly after arrival.[5] The Germans disbanded Stalag 321 (XI D) with an order dated March 6, 1942, and the site became a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 321 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 321).

Additional information about Stalag 321 can be found in the following publications: E. A. Brodskii, *Vo imia pobedy nad fashizmom. Antifashistskaia bor'ba sovetskikh liudei v gitlerovskoi Germanii (1941–1945 gg.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970); Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse: Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010); A. N. Bystritskii, V. G. Lebedev, V. V. Mukhin, V. V. Tolochko, and G. I. Kal'chenko, eds., *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorialy i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii* (Moscow: Assotsiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1945: Leiden und Sterben in den Lagern Bergen-Belsen, Fallingbostel, Oerbke, Wietzendorf* (Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und*

Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 146. See also V. V. Chernovalov, "Stalag 321 (XI D), Oerbke" at http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st231xid.shtml, and Das Stalag XI D Oerbke at http://www.relikte.com/fallingbostel/oerbke.htm.

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1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, 146.
2. Available at http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st231xid.shtml.
3. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–451.
4. Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse*.
5. Manuskript des Herrn Büge über die Zeit eine Inhaftierung im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.38.0/0004/0177.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 322

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 322 (maps 3 and 4b) from Frontstalag 322 on April 21, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] The camp was briefly deployed to Stettin (today Szczecin, Poland), then to Kaskinen and Rovaniemi in Finland, before being permanently moved to Elvenes, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) southeast of the town of Kirkenes in the Finnmark region of Norway, close to the present-day border with Russia. There were five subcamps (*Zweiglager*), which were located in Ivalo, Liinahamari, Parkkina, Kolosjoki, and Bjönevarten. Stalag 322 had a large number of labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were deployed in the area surrounding the camp. On January 10, 1945, the Germans liquidated the camp and merged it with Stalag 330 in Beisfjord. The camp was subordinate to the Mountain Corps Norway (*Gebirgskorps Norwegen*) and to the Armed Forces Commander Norway (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen*). Stalag 322 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 575 between February 28 and July 29, 1941.

The first commandant of the camp, from April to November 1941, was Major Kurt Petroschky (1887–1945). Hauptmann d. Res. Dr. Richard Obendorf (1893–1968) took over as commandant on May 2, 1942. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Dr. Valentin Gerhard (b. 1894). The medical staff included Dr. Willy Keller and Dr. Sussen (1888–1947). The camp's commandant and staff resided in a former schoolhouse, while the prisoners resided in wooden barracks. The camp had an infirmary (*Lazarett*), which was located in a smaller wooden barrack within the camp.[2]

Stalag 322 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), most of whom had been captured during Operation Silver Fox

(*Silberfuchs*), the failed German-Finnish attempt to take the Soviet port of Murmansk in 1941. It also held Serbian and Polish prisoners. According to witness testimony, the main camp held about 1,000 prisoners at a time. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners experienced severe overcrowding in substandard housing, food that was lacking in both quality and quantity, and inadequate medical care. Forced labor and abuse by the guards increased their suffering and contributed to a high mortality rate.[3] About 2,300 out of the approximately 13,000 Soviet POWs who died in Norway (17.7%) died at Stalag 322 and its satellites in other parts of the Sør-Varanger municipality, about 720 of them in the main camp.[4] As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[5]

The camp also included 500–600 Norwegian political prisoners, many of whom were teachers. They, along with the POWs, were used as forced laborers on projects including the construction of a harbor at Elvenes and the construction of homes in Kirkines.[6] Other prisoners were sent to work for the Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe, and Organisation Todt on tasks including road, railroad, and airfield construction and snow clearing. POW labor was also used for cutting and loading lumber and construction of supply and transport infrastructure in the Sør-Varanger municipality.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 322 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/8588–8590 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 322 in Elvenes bei Kirkenes [Norwegen]).

Additional information about Stalag 322 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 39; M. M. Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye v Norvegii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny" (PhD dissertation for Candidate of Historical Sciences; Arkhangel'sk, 2008); Marianne Neerland Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941–1945—antall,

organisering og repatriering" (PhD dissertation, Tromsø, 2005); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 149; Lars Westerlund, "The German Strategic Use of POW Labor in the Far North," in *POW Deaths and People Handed over to the Soviet Union in 1939–1955: A Research Report by the Finnish National Archives*, ed. Lars Westerlund (Helsinki: Oy Nord Print Ab, 2008), p. 115.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 149; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 39.

2. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Dr. Valentin Gerhard u.a. wegen Mordes, BArch B 162/8589 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2760.00000653–00000784).

3. Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger"; Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye," pp. 38–96.

4. Westerlund, "German Strategic Use of POW Labor," p. 115.

5. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 322 in Elvenes bei Kirkenes (Norwegen), BArch B 162/8588–8590.

6. Personnel Card of Michail Demtschuk, ITS Digital Archive, 0.1/01539.

7. Westerlund, "German Strategic Use of POW Labor," p. 98.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 323 (II G)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 323 (maps 4b and 5) on April 17, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II, near Gross Born (today Borne Sulinowo, Poland). It was initially designated Frontstalag 323. While it was located in Gross Born, it was simultaneously designated as Stalag II G and Stalag 323. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II). In November 1941, the camp was relocated to Chyrów (today Khyriv, Ukraine) in the Generalgouvernement, with subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in the villages of Nehrybka and Pikulice. At that time, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*). In mid-1942, it was relocated again to Tarnopol (today Ternopil', Ukraine). Stalag 323 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 802 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on December 30, 1943.

The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Johann Soenke, who held the position from April 12, 1941, to February 12, 1942. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Kramer-Möllenberg, who remained commandant until September 26, 1942. The adjutant was Hauptmann Helmut Frantz. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Willi Schubert. The camp doctor was Stabsarzt Dr. Alois Berrhard Feldkamp. In Chyrów, the camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 310, and in Tarnopol, it was guarded by the 2nd and 3rd Companies of Reserve Battalion 305.[1]

The camp in Gross Born was located on the grounds of a military shooting range near the village of Westfalenhof (today

Klomino, Poland). Initially there were no permanent buildings in the camp, and the Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) remained outdoors in a field surrounded with barbed wire; the prisoners later built the barracks and other structures in the camp themselves. While it was located in Gross Born, Stalag 323 held Soviet POWs. The first group of about 1,500 prisoners was brought to the camp on July 27, 1941. The second group, also numbering about 1,500, arrived on August 1, 1941. On September 15, 16, 21, 22, and 23, 1941, new groups of prisoners arrived. Because of inaccurate counts of prisoners, some prisoners were inadvertently numbered twice, resulting in prisoner registration numbers that exceeded the total number of prisoners who passed through the camp; around 11,500 prisoners passed through the camp, but the highest known prisoner number was 15576. On October 2, 4, and 9, 1941, some of the prisoners were transferred to Stalag II A in Neubrandenburg.[2]

The conditions in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Enormous overcrowding in a small area, food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity, and a lack of proper medical aid led to mass starvation and disease, which in turn produced a high death rate. Beatings and humiliation by the German guards only made matters worse. Between August and October 1941, a Gestapo team regularly screened the prisoners arriving in the camp to weed out "undesirables," such as political commissars and Jews. The selected prisoners were sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were shot. Known transports of prisoners to Sachsenhausen were sent on September 26, 1941 (654 prisoners); October 11, 1941 (600 prisoners, 63 of whom were dead on arrival); October 12, 1941 (two transports totaling 1,238 prisoners, of whom 22 were dead on arrival); and October 14, 1941 (565 prisoners).[3]

In November 1941, the camp was relocated to Chyrów. On December 31, 1941, the camp held 3,287 Soviet prisoners: 2,009 in the main camp, 577 in Nehrybka, and 701 in Pikulice.[4] On April 1, 1942, there were 1,600 prisoners in the main camp, on May 1, there were 1,353, and on June 1, there were 820.[5] The conditions of confinement of prisoners in the camp in Chyrów were similar to those in Gross Born and the mortality rate was high, especially in the winter of 1941–1942, when diseases such as typhus were

prevalent. Two prisoners were shot while attempting to escape in the spring of 1942. In the second half of 1942, the camp was relocated to Tarnopol, where it held French POWs. On August 1, 1942, there were 4,718 prisoners in the camp, on September 1, there were 3,568, and on October 1, there were 4,000.[6] At least 10 French prisoners perished in Stalag 323.[7] The camp was dissolved on December 9, 1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 323 is located in BArch B 162/6587 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00000266–00000582); BA-MA (RW 6: 450); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 323).

Additional information about Stalag 323 can be found in the following publications: Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, "Obozy jenieckie na Ziemi Koszalinskiej (1939–1945)," *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Ziemi Koszalińskiej w latach 1933–1945* (Koszalin, 1968); Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse: Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010); Tadeusz Gasztold, "Obozy jenieckie na Pomorzu Zachodnim w łatach 1939–1945," *Zapiski Koszalińskie* vol. 2, 26 (1966); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); and Leszek Włodek, *Lata 1939–1944 w Przemyskich obozach jenieckich* (Przemyśl, 1969).

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NOTES

1. Stalag 323, BArch B 162/6587, Bl. 267–274 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00000522–00000529).

2. V. V. Chernovalov, Stalag 323 (Front. Stalag 323) at http://artofwar.ru/c/chernowalow_w_w/st302iih.shtml.

3. Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse*.

4. Włodek, *Lata 1939–1944 w Przemyskich*.

5. BA-MA, RW 6: 450.

6. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 227, frame 710.

7. Document of Forensic Medical Commission, July 31, 1944, GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 17–18.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 324

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 324 on April 17, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] From July 1941 to the winter of 1941–1942, the camp deployed near Ostrów Mazowiecka (in the village of Grądy) (map 5) in the Generalgouvernement.[2] In January 1942, Stalag 324 was redeployed to Defense District I and took charge of a camp near the village of Lososno (5 kilometers/3.1 miles west of Grodno, *Bezirk Bialystok*) (map 4c). It had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Grodno. On September 20, 1942, the Germans disbanded the camp and used it for creating prisoner of war (POW) labor battalions 184 and 185.[3] Stalag 324 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 39 764 between February 28 and July 22, 1941. The number was struck between September 8, 1942, and March 11, 1943.

While deployed near Ostrów Mazowiecka, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*). While deployed near Lososno, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Stalag 324 camp held Soviet POWs. The conditions violated all standards of international law and the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. The camp was severely overcrowded, and there was no shelter. The food was grossly inadequate in both quality and quantity. There was no medical care. The guards were abusive. These conditions led to mass starvation, exhaustion, and disease, which in turn produced a very high mortality rate. For example, Alfred Mielke, a former Gestapo interpreter in Warsaw from 1939 to 1944, when questioned on May 18, 1946, said:

> The camp was a bare field, 10 square kilometers [3.9 square miles] in size, enclosed with barbed wire. In the camp, out in the open, more than 94,000 persons were simultaneously confined. The POWs were confined in inhumane conditions. Hunger and cold resulted in a high mortality rate among the prisoners. Every day, between 200 and 300 people died. The POWs were literally starving; they ate various grasses, roots, and also the corpses of their comrades … I also know that near the POW camp itself, there were mass graves, in which more than 60,000 corpses of POWs were unearthed. Most of them died of starvation or disease, or were shot.[4]

During the deployment near Ostrów Mazowiecka, more than 100,000 prisoners are said to have passed through the camp, the vast majority of whom died; the prisoners who remained alive (about 13,000) were transferred to Stalag 333 in November 1941. In 1947, the Soviet-Polish commission for investigation of the Germans' crimes in the camp established that 41,592 persons were buried in the cemetery near the village of Grądy; however, casualty figures from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) are often substantially exaggerated and should be treated accordingly.[5] In this camp, as in other POW camps, the Germans conducted screenings and executions on a regular basis to eliminate "undesirable" prisoners (such as Jews and Communists).[6] There was a resistance movement in the camp. Resistance mostly took the form of mass escape attempts. For example, in August 1941, 112 officers escaped.[7]

During the deployment in Lososno, the camp held on these dates the following numbers of prisoners: February 1, 1942, 9,962; April 1, 1942, 7,160; May 1, 1942, 5,745; June 1, 1942, 2,566.[8] On July 1, 1942, there were 2,752 prisoners, of whom 2,188 were unable to work; only 20 prisoners were used as a labor force.[9] On August 1, 1942, there were 2,533 prisoners in the camp, and on September 1, 1942, there were 1,314.[10]

The camp in Lososno occupied an area of about 50 hectares (124 acres), surrounded with barbed wire. In the camp, the prisoners dug 96 semidugouts, each measuring 6 by 25 meters and 3 meters high (about 20 by 82 by 10 feet). The Germans also kept POWs in the town of Grodno itself—in barracks on

Krasnoarmeiskaia Street. The prisoners lacked medical services, and the basic living and hygienic conditions were terrible. In the cold season, the prisoners were not supplied with warm clothing and the places where they lived were not heated. The food was not meant to sustain life, so the men suffered from extreme emaciation and exhaustion. There was also a shortage of drinking water. In addition, there was the backbreaking work that the prisoners had to do, as well as humiliation and torture inflicted by the camp guards. The death rate in the camp from starvation, cold, and disease (typhus, dysentery, etc.) was very high. Dead prisoners were buried in common graves, trenches measuring 33 by 6 meters and 2 meters deep (108 by 20 by 6.6 feet). After the war, 68 such graves were discovered.

As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, selections (*Aussonderungen*) were conducted at Lososno to identify "undesirables" such as Jews and political commissars, who were taken out of the camp for immediate execution. For example, in the spring of 1942, Police Reserve Battalion 13 executed 90 prisoners from Stalag 324.[11] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) data, 18,000 Soviet POWs are said to have died in the camp in 1941 and 1942; again, the standard cautions about ChGK figures apply.[12]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 324 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 324); GARF (files 7021-86-39); and BArch B 162/6583–6586 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, u.a. in Ostrow-Mazowiecka [Stalag 324 bzw. Stalag 333], Siedlce [Stalag 316 bzw. Stalag 366] und Benjaminow [Stalag 368]).

Additional information about Stalag 324 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds. *Soviet Prisoners of War Camps in Belarus, 1941–1944.* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 76–77; Mieczysław Bartniczak, *Grądy i Komorowo 1941–1944* (Warsaw: MON, 1978); D. Z. Kagan, *Rasskazhi zhivym: Dokumental'naia povest'* (Ashgabat, 1986); Wiesław Marczyk, *Jency radzieccy w niewoli Wehrmachtu na ziemiach polskich w latach 1941–1945* (Opole: Centralne

Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1987); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 40; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 356–357; Alfred Streim, *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa": Eine Dokumentation*. (Heidelberg: C. F. Müller, 1981), p. 234; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblo, 1974), p. 155.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 155; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen*, p. 40.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 356; Bartniczak, *Grądy i Komorowo*.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen,* p. 155; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 40.

4. Transcript of the interrogation of the defendant A.Ia. Mil'ke, GARF, 7021-149-147, pp. 4–5, 8.

5. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 356–357; Bartniczak, *Grądy i Komorowo.*

6. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, BArch B 162/6583–6586.

7. *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* No. 81, September 12, 1941,

BArch B 162/437, Bl. 36.

8. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

9. Beauftragte des Präsidenten des Landesarbeitsamts Wien-Niederdonau vom 16.7.1942 "über die Überprüfung der russischen Kriegsgefangenenlager im Landesarbeitsamtsbezirk Ostpreussen," BArch R 3901/20173.

10. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

11. Streim, *Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, p. 234.

12. GARF, 7021-86-39, pp. 1–2.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 325

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 325 on March 26, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V.[1] Starting in July 1941, the camp was deployed to Zamość (75.5 kilometers [47 miles] southeast of Lublin) (map 5), in the Generalgouvernement Poland (*Generalgouvernement Polen*). As of April 1942, the camp was deployed to Rawa Ruska (today Rava-Rus'ka, Ukraine, 52 kilometers [32.5 miles] northwest of L'viv) (5) in Distrikt Galizien. From November 1942 until September 1943, the camp was located in Lwów (German: Lemberg; today L'viv, Ukraine) (5); from October 1943 to January 1944, it was in Stryj (today Stryi, Ukraine, 65 kilometers [40.5 miles] south of L'viv) (5), with a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Drohobycz (today Drohobych, Ukraine; Distrikt Galizien); and from February to July 1944, it was located in Szebnie (Distrikt Kraków) (42 kilometers [26 miles] southwest of Rzeszów) (5), with a subcamp in Olchowce. The Germans disbanded the unit on September 14, 1944.[2]

Stalag 325 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 499 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on October 10, 1944.

In the period of 1941–1944, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Wehrmacht in Lublin (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen z.b.V.*, Lublin).

The camp commandant was Major Anton Flecker, and the camp officers were Hauptmann Richard Müller, Rittmeister (Hauptmann) z.V. Edmund von Friedberg, Oberleutnant Wilhelm Fischer, and Oberleutnant Richard Pelzer. The camp doctor was Dr. Ernst Harlandt, and his assistants were Dr. Heinrich Nordegg and Dr. Bruno Kuhn. The administrative portion of the camp was headed by Kriegsverwaltungsinspektor Franz Bierbach, and he

was assisted by Kriegsverwaltungsassistent Johann Brunner.[3] The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 842.

While deployed in Zamość, the camp held Soviet POWs. In November 1941, there were 8,303 Soviet POWs in the camp.[4] The conditions in which the POWs lived in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs: enormous overcrowding in a small area, inadequate quantities of foul food, lack of proper medical aid, and abuse by the German guards led to mass starvation and widespread disease, which in turn resulted in a staggering mortality rate.

Former Mladshii Leitenant P. Palii, who was in the camp from September 1941 to April 1942, reported that conditions in the camp were bearable at first. The camp was overcrowded, with 7,000 prisoners in a space designed for 2,000, but the housing and food were adequate. Soon, however, the conditions began to deteriorate; many of the details that follow come from Palii's account.[5]

The food became a major issue in short order. What little grain there was in the *balanda*, a thin soup, disappeared. The soup also contained unidentifiable bits of animal matter, mostly skin and cartilage, and the vegetables and potatoes— also present only in small quantities—were rotten. Soon even those supplies were used up, and the Germans began to thicken the soup with sugar beet pulp, indigestible cellulose leftovers from the milling process. The result was a ghastly, stinking mixture. Some prisoners could not bring themselves to eat it; those who did fell ill with a variety of gastrointestinal ailments. Hunger turned to outright starvation.

Tens of prisoners began to die every day, as typhus and other illnesses spread through the camp. The onset of winter increased the prisoners' suffering. Soon the camp population divided itself into groups: the "goners" (*dokhodiaga*), who lost all will to live; the "jackals" (*shakaly*), who would steal from anyone and eat anything; and a mass in the middle, who struggled to survive while maintaining some dignity. A few prisoners collaborated with the Germans, searching out Jews and Communists from among their compatriots and torturing them for information before handing them over, all in return for a little extra food. These victims were

kept in even worse conditions than the other prisoners, before being carted off to be shot. The Zamość satellite office (*Aussenstelle*) of the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service of the SS (*Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD*) helped with the selections and carried out the shootings.[6] As a consequence of the inhumane conditions, there was a prisoner uprising in the camp in November 1941, during the suppression of which the camp guards carried out mass shootings.

In the spring of 1942, conditions began to improve a little. The Germans cleaned and disinfected the barracks and allowed the prisoners to wash. The rations improved somewhat in both quantity and quality. The death rate declined. In total, about 28,000 Soviet prisoners died in the camp at Zamość, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK).[7]

During the deployment in Rawa Ruska, the camp held French and a small number of Belgian POWs, sent there as punishment for refusal to work or for attempted escape. Between April 1942 and January 1943, approximately 27 convoys brought 23,000 prisoners to the camp (among them, 312 Belgians). The first train arrived on April 13, 1942, after seven days' journey by rail, with 2,000 French and Belgian prisoners, squeezed 60 to a car in cattle wagons.

Conditions for the French POWs were not much better than they had been for Red Army soldiers in Zamość. At first the Germans locked their prisoners in an unfinished compound for Soviet POWs, 400 by 250 meters (437 by 273 yards), surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers. The distraught French prisoners discovered the corpses of the last Soviet inmates and had to carry them to the main gate, where Jews from the nearby ghetto picked them up to take to a mass grave.

Stalag 325 included four barracks and four blocks of stables, in which the men slept on the floor or on three tiers of crude bunk platforms. Only the upper tier allowed the prisoners to get any light or to stand. There was neither straw nor blankets, and the latrines were open-air pits.

In the mornings, the Germans distributed a decoction of fir tree needles. At midday, the prisoners received thin millet soup, with peels and leaves. Supper consisted of a portion of bread, about

120–300 grams (4.2–10.6 ounces), with a little molasses. Total intake for the day was about 1,500 calories; in a few weeks, all the men each lost 15 kilograms (33 pounds) or more. Hunger became all-consuming; the men hunted for everything that was edible, including dandelions and herbs. Dysentery was endemic, as was typhus, from the ever-present lice. The camp's Jewish doctors did their best but lacked supplies and medicine. The death rate was correspondingly high.

Thirst was another major issue, because the camp had only a single faucet, which functioned only at intervals. At the height of the camp's existence, in about June 1942, there were endless lines to obtain a few drops of the invaluable liquid; this inspired the French nickname for the camp: *le camp de la goutte d'eau* (the camp of one drop of water).

Bad treatment and beatings were frequent, as were searches and endless roll calls. The prisoners particularly hated the "pelote," a series of punitive physical exercises that went on past the point of exhaustion.[8]

From the beginning, the Germans organized mixed work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) of POWs and Jews, outside of the camp. Teams of prisoners left during the day to work at construction sites, roads, woodlots, the train station, or a sawmill, under SS guard. The POW laborers were either drafted or volunteered—in the latter case, not because they wanted to work for the Germans, but because work often gave them the opportunity to get some extra food, either by stealing it or through contact with the local population. The locals were quite sympathetic toward the French and would barter food for whatever the prisoners could offer, despite the danger.

Stalag 325 was unique, in that its inmates saw the Holocaust being carried out in all but its final stage. The German killing center at Belzec was only 19 kilometers (12 miles) away. Every day, the POWs saw the trains for Belzec passing in front of the camp and heard the Jews' cries. When they asked where the Jews were being taken, their guards laughed and said, "*Direkt ins Gasraum*" (straight into the gas chamber).

The ghetto in Rawa Ruska, as well as others in the region, offered further opportunities to see Nazi ideology in action.

Everything that took place there—the horrible conditions, the shootings, the roundups, the transports to Bełzec—was impossible to miss, especially as the Germans made no effort to hide their activities. Prisoners in Rawa Ruska were witnesses to numerous executions of Jews, as reported by Maurice Cheneau, Jean Ranson, and Célestin Lavabre.[9] In some places, the Germans went so far as to have POWs dig pits for the killings.[10]

In spite of their own miserable circumstances and the risk of punishment, the POWs did what they could to help the Jews. At the construction sites, they gave some of their meager rations to their Jewish coworkers. German attempts to identify Jews among the POWs got nowhere, as the prisoners used every trick they could to save their comrades from death.[11]

In June 1942, the camp population reached its peak, at 12,000 prisoners, and the sanitary situation became intolerable. At this point, the Germans decided to open subcamps, scattered across a broad area, about 400 by 300 kilometers (249 by 186 miles), within the Generalgouvernement. The subcamps drained off prisoners to the extent that the main camp now held about 3,000 men. An exact count of such sub-camps is not possible, due to the absence of documents, but scholars have identified about 40. Rawa Ruska remained the administrative center. The regime in the subcamps was, if anything, even harsher than in the main camp. There were no doctors, for example. The size of the subcamps varied between several dozen and 2,400 men each. The biggest of them, the Tarnopol (today Ternopil, Ukraine) camp with its annexes (Jeczierna, Olosko, Mielec, and Brody) was a real penal colony. Along with teams of Jews, the POWs had to lay road- and railbeds, the stone for which sometimes came from Jewish tombs, and to extract peat from swamps.

A feeling of abandonment added to the physical poverty of camp life, since Rawa Ruska was cut off from the world for three months. A spirit of resistance remained among the prisoners, however, even within a camp that was meant to break them; "*l'esprit de Rawa*" gave the men the strength to resist. The stunned Germans saw evidence of that spirit when the prisoners paraded for Bastille Day on July 14, 1942, inside of the Rawa Ruska camp, when they resisted the commander at the Minsk Mazowiecki camp, and when they refused to obey the commander

in the Trembowla (today Terebovlia, Ukraine) subcamp.

Moreover, despite the deprivations and difficulties of their situation, held deep in enemy territory, many chose to attempt escape. They knew that they risked death, and most did indeed fail and paid with their lives, although a few succeeded. The most noteworthy escape was that from the Zwierzyniec subcamp; that escape was one of the most audacious and involved a large number of fugitives. The prisoners dug a 20-meter (66-foot) long tunnel under barbed wire to a shed in the adjoining Jewish transit camp, which was unoccupied on certain days. There, passing from shed to shed in the night, the escaped prisoners had to go through a gap in the barbed wire fence and from there into the forest.[12] In spite of the obstacles, 92 prisoners escaped on August 13, 1942. Of those, two succeeded in reaching Hungary and two others got to Paris. Of the remaining 88, the Germans killed at least 14. The others were never seen again.

The prisoners named a leader within the camp, a "right-hand man" who maintained the dialogue between the prisoners and the Germans. They also created a police force that prevented thefts of food as well as other abuses on the part of some "black sheep." Given the diverse social, cultural, and political currents within the camp population, such tensions were no surprise.

On Sunday, August 16, 1942, the camp finally had a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).[13] The mission produced a damning report on the living conditions and related breaches of international agreements. Improvements followed soon thereafter, for example, in mail service. The ICRC also visited three subcamps, Lwów, Tarnopol, and Stryj. Much remained hidden from the ICRC representatives, and their estimate of 79 fatalities in the camp complex was much too low.

Some two months later, on October 28, 1942, confirmation arrived that the Germans would allow the first prisoners to have arrived in the camp to return to Stalags in Germany. The prisoners' joy at leaving Rawa Ruska was only restrained by the fact that they were going to other disciplinary Stalags. In November 1942, the Germans closed the camp in Rawa Ruska and moved Stalag 325, then holding approximately 3,000 men, to Lwów. During its deployment there, the camp was located at the citadel, which had

previously served as the site of Stalag 328. Conditions for the prisoners did not change significantly, and the prisoners continued to witness the genocide of the Jews. In June 1943, they watched as the Germans liquidated the labor camp that held the last inhabitants of the former Lwów ghetto.

On September 29, 1943, Stalag 325 moved again, to the camp at Stryj, which had an execrable reputation. All the prisoners had heard of the high death rate at Stryj, where the rule was for one escaped prisoner, two prisoners will be shot.[14]

As 1943 drew to a close, the threat from the Soviet army increased. The staff dwindled, and the Wehrmacht transferred increasing numbers of prisoners to Germany.

While deployed in Szebnie, the camp held mainly wounded prisoners and invalids. The Polish resistance movement made contact with the prisoners and helped them organize escapes. Between April and July 1944, around 200 POWs escaped from the camp. In mid-July 1944, the camp was evacuated; only around 300 patients remained there.[15] On September 14, 1944, the Germans closed the camp.

Because of the lack of proper documentation, the exact number of French and Belgian deaths in Stalag 325 is not known, and German authorities did not speak about missing prisoners. The official ICRC figure is too low. Senator André Méric, in his intervention in the French Senate, recalled Emile Légé's testimony at the Nuremberg trial, in which he counted 673 French dead in the pits of the Rawa Ruska and Lwów area.[16] That number does not include those who died in the subcamps, in the work details, in the convoys, and while trying to escape.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 325 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-67-78: Rava-Russkaia); DAL'vO; BArch B 162 (files 6615–6616: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 325 in Zamosc; file 28366: "Aussonderung" und Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 325 in Rawa Ruska seit April 1942; file 9214: Ermittlungen gg. A. Schwerhoff u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Tötung sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener

aus dem Stalag 325 in Zamosc durch Angehörige der KdS-Aussenstelle Zamosc und des Landesschützen-Bataillons 842); ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0035/0201–0203 (Chapitre II—Historique du Stalag 325 Rawa Ruska; ICRC Archive in Geneva, Switzerland); in the Bibliothèque du Senat in Paris; the Musée de la Résistance in Besançon; and the Archives de Institut des Vétérans in Brussels, Belgium. There is also a French TV program, titled *Les évadés du 3ème Reich*, which gives information about Stalag 325.

Further information about Stalag 325 can be found in the archives of the National Union Association: "Ceux de Rawa-Ruska et leurs descendants" (www.rawa-ruska.net), especially the Association's *ENVOLS* newspaper, and the *L'évadé* newspaper of the Union Nationale des Evadés de Guerre, at the BNF. In the Service Historique de la Défense in Vincennes and the Bureau des Archives des Victimes des Conflits Contemporains in Caen, one can find stories of regiments during the war and copies of German archives on prisoners. At Yahad-in-unum in Paris, there are Ukrainian survivors' testimonies and records from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission 1944–1945 and the Nuremberg trial, February 1946 hearings (IMT Major War Criminals, vol. 7, pp 379– 380, 389–391).

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Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 40; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 490, 584–585; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 158; and Armand Toupet, *Marouska* (Clerc, 1958). See also www.rawa-ruska.net/historique-du-camp-de-rawa-ruska-2/.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 158.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 40.
3. BArch B 162/28366, Bl. 35.
4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 584.
5. P. N. Palii, *Zapiski plennogo ofitsera* at http://militera.lib.ru/memo/russian/paliy_pn/index.html.
6. BArch B 162/6615–6616, 9214.
7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 584. This figure is most likely substantially overstated.
8. Testimony of Eugène Delaporte from Ceux de Rawa-Ruska, Nord, Pas de Calais, Belgique Association.
9. Testimony of Maurice Cheneau and Célestin Lavabre (Ceux de Rawa-Ruska Association); testimony of Jean Ranson (Ceux de Rawa-Ruska, Nord, Pas de Calais, Belgique).

10. Yahad-in-unum Paris: Actes de Rawa-Ruska; testimony of Stefan Alekseïevitch Pelip, from Commission Extraordinaire Soviétique, September 10, 1944.

11. Labrosse, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 30–31.

12. Charles Gardon, "L'épopée des évadés du souterrain de Zwierzynieck," *Envols Newspaper* 275 (April 2009): 6.

13. ICRC Genève report—Frontstalag 325 Rawa-Ruska, feldpost Nr. 08499, visité le 16 août 1942.

14. Andre Gregnet, "Le camp de Strij," Revue "L''évadé" 611: 6.

15. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 490.

16. André Méric. French senator who defended POWs of Rawa-Ruska. Rapport du Senat 184 (April 15, 1987). In 1944– 1945, Méric was a French observer of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in Galicia. His testimony has been quoted at the Nuremberg trial: URSS 6 b—13/02/1946.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 326 (VI K)

The Wehrmacht created Stalag 326 (map 4a) on April 21, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, initially as a Frontstalag (starting in May 1941, it became a Stalag).[1] The camp was located near the villages of Eselheide and Senne, 7 kilo-meters (4.3 miles) from the Hövelhof railroad station (township of Stukenbrock, Nordrhein-Westfalen) and not far from the towns of Paderborn and Bielefeld. Because it was located in Defense District VI, it was also known as Stalag VI K. The Wehrmacht built the camp to hold Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Not far away, to the southwest of the camp for Soviet prisoners, there was a separate compound for Polish, French, Yugoslav, Italian, Belgian, and Dutch POWs, which opened in 1942.

The camp commandant initially was Major von Padberg; on September 4, 1942, Oberst Eiler replaced him. Toward the end of the war, Oberst Berend took over. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Wendt.

The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 21 006 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck between February 15 and July 30, 1942, since by then the camp's status as a fixed camp in Germany was firm (field post numbers were for mobile units in the army's area of operations).

The first Soviet POWs arrived on July 10, 1941. By the end of July 1941, there were already about 12,000 Soviet prisoners in the camp.[2] These first arrivals experienced horrific conditions. Although the camp sat in the middle of Germany, there was no housing: the prisoner compound consisted of nothing more than an expanse of ground, lightly forested with pine trees, with barbed wire surrounding it. The prisoners had to live outdoors, sleeping on the bare ground. They were unprotected from wind, rain, and, as the autumn and winter came on, cold. Most of them did not even have an overcoat. In the daytime, it was still possible to

somehow endure the bad weather, but at night the prisoners froze. In desperation, the prisoners cut down the pine trees and constructed shelters made of branches. When the trees ran out, the men dug burrows, using plates, spoons, or their bare hands. Living in such dugouts ended tragically for many, because at night, when there was rain, the sand often caved in onto the unfortunate men, burying them alive. In any case, such shelters did little to ward off the piercing dampness and cold. The camp administration did provide a limited number of tents but not nearly enough to house all the prisoners. Latrines, too, were in extremely short supply, and these few did not meet the simplest requirements.

Not until the winter of 1941–1942 did barracks construction begin, with the prisoners themselves providing the labor. Thus, over time, the prisoners got roofs over their heads, but on the whole their situation improved only slightly. Each barracks was intended for 140 prisoners, but, in reality, 400, 500, or 600 lived in each, and the roofs leaked. The prisoners did not receive any bedding, and instead slept on hard wooden plank beds in two or three tiers or on the earthen floor. Straw served as a floor covering. The barracks were dark, damp, and, in fall and winter, cold as well, as they were poorly heated. For each small stove, known as a *burzhuika*, two briquettes of coal were allocated for a 24-hour period, and even that amount was not provided every day. Such housing conditions did little to reduce the prisoners' horrendous mortality rate. Some prisoners simply froze to death in the barracks.

During the entire period of the camp's existence, no repair work was done on the barracks. There were no toilets in the barracks. The water situation, too, was dreadful. Hand pumps were indeed placed in every block, but the water came from the surface stratum, and it was muddy, with an unpleasant odor and taste. Drinking it was dangerous, as it caused intestinal illnesses, but there was no other water for the prisoners, although on the other side of the wire, in the German camp, there was plumbing with a clean water supply.

The prisoners' diet was very poor and low in caloric value. The 150–200 grams (5.3–7 ounces) of *Ersatzbrot*, or "substitute bread," that the prisoners received was not nutritional. The bread

consisted of dry scraps of sugar beets with an admixture of sawdust. In addition to such "bread," the POWs were issued a coffee substitute and *balanda*—a watery soup that was difficult to eat, in part because of its characteristic stench. The *balanda* was prepared from unpeeled, half-rotten potatoes and fodder beets or only from rutabagas. Sometimes the rutabagas were mixed with cabbage or carrots. The rutabagas and potatoes were poorly washed and were cut up with an axe in a trough, as for livestock, and therefore the *balanda* always contained refuse, straw, and dirt. As early as July 1941, this "soup" was being brought in large barrels, each able to hold 20 liters (21 quarts) for 20 men. But the barrels were never filled up, so the prisoners never got more than 0.7 liter (1.5 pints) apiece. The daily ration totaled 800–850 calories. At the same time, the prisoners worked from early in the morning until late in the evening. The first prisoners, to keep from starving to death, ate tree bark, leaves, and grass, until those substitutes were all gone.

In the summer of 1941, there were not enough field kitchens to prepare the meager food for the multitude of prisoners. The prisoners themselves were forced to see to it that they had hot food. No tableware and cutlery were provided for the POWs, so these items became very valuable property, the loss of which threatened to result in death. The prisoners themselves made spoons and knives and carried them at all times, in the chest pockets of their high-collared tunics. Those who had helmets often remade them into cooking pots.

These inhumane living conditions, together with the diseases they promoted, were the main cause of the high death rate among the prisoners. Dysentery, typhus, and tuberculosis carried off thousands, as did simple starvation, exhaustion, and exposure to the elements.

The camp became very crowded again as of mid-1942, when new trains began arriving with Red Army servicemen captured during the German summer offensive. From June through August 1942, the number of prisoners increased from 3,000 to 21,000. The camp leadership placed the new POWs either in vacant spots in the barracks or in the tents. The increase in the number of prisoners was also connected with the fact that in the fall of 1942 the camp

began to perform the function of a central reception camp for Soviet POWs who were to work in the mining industry of the Ruhrgebiet. Thus, the camp also acquired, in addition, the character of a sorting and distribution camp. From it, prisoners were sent to other camps, most often to Stalag VI A in Hemer. The following table gives an idea of the prisoner population in 1941–1942:[3]

	Prisoners in work teams	Prisoners, in all	Other prisoners	Soviet prisoners
Dec. 1, 1941	5,428	5,428		1,916
Jan. 1, 1942	3,333	3,333		922
Feb. 1, 1942	1,924	1,924		798
April 1, 1942	1,540	1,540		605
May 1, 1942	1,181	1,181		977
June 1, 1942	3,030	3,030		767
Aug. 1, 1942	21,601	21,601		1,281
Sept. 1, 1942	13,591	13,591		2,329
Oct. 1, 1942	26,736	12,074	14,662	17,797
Nov. 1, 1942	43,138	12,006	31,132	18,993
Dec. 1, 1942	32,984	11,895	21,089	19,817

In the following years, especially in 1944, the number of prisoners in the camp increased even more. The rise in the prisoner population was explained by the fact that as of August 1944, POWs from camps in the east, which the Germans had closed, began arriving at Stalag 326. The highest number of Soviet

prisoners in the camp was recorded on September 1, 1944: 31,638. In the following period, until January 1945, the number of prisoners fluctuated between 26,982 and 24,327.[4] Altogether, by March 1, 1945, around 308,000 Soviet POWs had passed through the camp.[5]

In 1942–1943, as construction of barracks and other buildings went forward, the camp gradually took on a more regular form. A main street divided the camp, which was rectangular in shape, into two halves along a central axis. The camp consisted of four parts: the "German camp" (*Deutsches Lager*), which was the administrative sector; the so-called forward camp (*Vorlager*); the main camp; and the tent camp (*Zeltlager*).

The Vorlager contained the infirmary, workshop barracks (sewing workshop, locksmith's shop, shoemaker's shop, and an electrical repair shop), bathhouse, laundry, kitchen, warehouse, disinfection area, and a prison with solitary cells and punishment cells. The Vorlager also included six dormitory barracks for national minorities (Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Ukrainians, and others), who, in accordance with instructions, were supposed to be quartered separately from the bulk of Russian POWs.

In the main camp, the construction of which was not completed until 1944, were 54 barracks and eight other large buildings. Each group of 3 barracks was separated from the others by additional barbed wire and constituted a single block. In all, there were 18 blocks. Each block had massive doors, which were closed at night, while Russian and Ukrainian police guarded them in the daytime. The blocks were arranged in parallel: nine on one side, nine on the other. Some served special purposes. Block 16, for example, was a penal block, in which lived, for the most part, prisoners who had tried to escape or had come into conflict with the police. Block 3 held Soviet officers, whom the Germans isolated from the other prisoners. Block 9 was the counterintelligence block: in it, "selections" were conducted among Soviet POWs who were subject to being shipped to concentration camps. The remaining 15 blocks were eventually transformed into a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*, Dulag), where prisoners, in quarantine and having recovered their ability to work, were sorted, registered, and sent to other camps.

Stalag 326 (VI K) at Senne. View of the POW camp in Germany at liberation, April 1945. USHMM, COURTESY OF NARA, WS #73454.

The entire camp, with the exception of the German camp, was fenced in by a thick, double row of barbed wire 3 meters (almost 10 feet) tall. In addition, between the rows was heaped a spiral of barbed wire, and along the entire perimeter of the fence was stretched more wire in a single line. At each corner and in the center of the camp there were guard towers. The camp was guarded day and night. The guard battalion on duty was armed with heavy machine guns. At night the camp was illuminated. Around the perimeter, soldiers from the guard force were on patrol, with one soldier every 100 meters (328 feet). The outer fence was electrically charged.

In the German camp were the commandant's office, the guards' barracks, and administrative and other facilities related to running the camp (clinic and hospital, counterintelligence section, food warehouse, laundry, post office, office with the card index of POWs, workforce deployment section, dining hall, and so on). The German personnel stayed outside the main camp; any contact with POWs outside of official duties was forbidden.

The guard force for the camp and work teams consisted of older soldiers (between 40 and 60 years of age), who were members of reserve battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*). These were

soldiers who, because of their age or state of health, could not be called to the front. Among them were men who had recovered after being wounded and young soldiers who were already unfit for frontline service. The camp headquarters personnel, including the commandant, were even older; they included men who had fought in World War I.

The tent camp was an area measuring 400 by 100 meters (1,312 by 328 feet); it was located next to the main camp and served predominantly for housing prisoners who were to go through registration, examination, and disinfection and then go on to work in industry, mostly in mining. Great changes in the tent camp took place between August 1944 and March 1945: 10 barracks appeared, significantly larger in size than ordinary barracks. They were built for POWs who were being evacuated from camps in the east.

A group of no more than 1,200 prisoners occupied key positions within the camp. They included shoemakers, tailors, auto mechanics, locksmiths, electricians, clerks in the card index section, doctors, doctor's assistants, and medical orderlies. There was also a group of musicians, singers, and dancers, whom the Germans selected from the prisoner population. This group traveled around to other camps and gave concerts. The musicians simultaneously performed the function of informers. They took an interest in the prisoners' mood and conversations.[6] For the purpose of maintaining order in the camp, the commandant's office created an auxiliary police force, composed for the most part of Ukrainian prisoners. Its members wore a special black uniform and were better fed than the other prisoners.

Starting in August 1941, the Münster Gestapo command conducted selections of "undesirable" prisoners (Jews and Communists) in the camp. The prisoners who were selected were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp for execution. Some data indicate that 5,000–6,000 prisoners went to Buchenwald, of whom more than 1,000 were shot, while the others were used for forced labor.[7] According to other data, 4,556 prisoners were taken to Buchenwald.[8]

American troops from the 2nd Armored Division liberated Stalag 326 on April 2, 1945; that evening, they turned it over to

the 30th Infantry Division. On the day of its liberation, the camp held 9,000 prisoners, including 1,500 in the infirmary. The report of the US Army officer in charge gives a figure of 7,690 prisoners as of April 3.[9]

In postwar research on the history of the camp, different figures are given for the number of dead: 15,000, 30,000, 36,800, 40,000, 45,000, and finally, according to British sources, 70,000.[10] In the lists of names of prisoners who died between July 1941 and August 1945, 17,158 individuals are recorded.[11] Not all of them, however, are likely to have been victims from that camp. An analysis of the lists of dead prisoners buried at Forellkrug allows us to compile the table below, showing the distribution of deceased prisoners by month and year for the period of 1941–1945:

SOURCES The Camp Archive: After the liberation of the camp in 1945, former POWs gathered up the surviving documents from the camp commandant's office and sent them to Moscow, to the Department of the Administrator of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for Matters of the Repatriation of Soviet Citizens. These documents consist of 19 files: pay sheets for the camp personnel groups; a list of transports that arrived at Camp 326 VI/K, as many as 211 transports; statements by propagandists; lists of officers, deserters, and Volksdeutsche; various lists of transports; orders from the commandant's office of Stalag 326 (VI K); lists and personnel cards for 29 persons who had served in the German army and been captured by the British, sent to the Motherland from the Senne 2 camp (formerly Camp 326 VI/K); record of the death of POWs from other Stalags for 1943–1944; record of the death of POWs from Stalag 326 for 1943; correspondence regarding dead POWs for 1942–1944; correspondence regarding dead POWs for 1943–1945; service record book of a serviceman in the "Russian Liberation Army," in the name of Captain Konstantin Riabchevskii; German service record book of a soldier named Pavel Kalabukhov; various photographs of German officers, and of Russians serving in the German army in various legions; various documents of Soviet POWs (passports, service record books, various cards and certificates); ten books with a record of data regarding POWs in

various transports; duplicates of cards of officers in the Russian Liberation Army; duplicates of cards of soldiers in the Russian Liberation Army; and personal file cards, alphabetized, for POWs who passed through Stalag 326 (VI K) during the period of 1941–1945 (*Suchkartei*, tracing file).

Month, 1941	Deaths	Month, 1942	Deaths	Month, 1943	Deaths	Month, 1944	Deaths	Month, 1945	Deaths
July	21	January	568	January	1,078	January	255	January	223
August	38	February	337	February	527	February	233	February	175
September	44	March	168	March	467	March	215	March	55
October	249	April	100	April	291	April	262	April	—
November	646	May	118	May	269	May	297	May	2
December	885	June	131	June	236	June	247	June	1
		July	128	July	222	July	161	July	1
		August	251	August	194	August	190		
		September	329	September	92	September	159		
		October	689	October	68	October	94		
		November	1,455	November	134	November	129		
		December	761	December	225	December	176		
In all	1,883		6,035		3,803		2,418		457

Other primary source material about Stalag 326 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450, 451; and RH 49/161) and WASt (Stammtafel Stalag 326).

Additional information about Stalag 326 can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); E. A. Brodskii, *Vo imia pobedy nad fashizmom: Antifashistskaia bor'ba sovetskikh liudei v gitlerovskoi Germanii (1941–1945 gg.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970); *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorial i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii*, eds A. N. Bystritskii, V. G. Lebedev, V. V. Mukhin, V. V. Tolochko, and G. I. Kal'chenko (Moscow: Assotsiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); M. E. Erin and G. L. Khol'nyi, *Tragediia sovetskikh*

voennoplennykh. Istoriia shtalaga 326 (VI K) Senne 1941–1945 gg. (Iaroslavl': IarGU, 2000); Volker Piper and Michael Siedenhans, *Die Vergessenen von Stukenbrock: Die Geschichte des Lagers in Stukenbrock-Senne von 1941 bis in die Gegenwart* (Bielefeld, 1981); Arbeitskreis Blumen für Stukenbrock, ed., *Protokoll Stukenbrock* (Porta Westfalica, 1985); A. S. Vasil'ev, *Memorial* (Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 1986); A. S. Vasil'ev, *Rückkehr nach Stukenbrock: Erinnerungen eines russischen Kriegsgefangenen* (Cologne, 1989); Arbeitskreis Blumen für Stukenbrock, ed. *Das Lager 326: Augenzeugenbericht, Fotos, Dokumente* (Porta Westfalica, 1988); Karl Hüser, "Das Stalag 326 (VI/K) Stukenbrock-Senne 1941–1945: Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in der Senne als Opfer des nationalsozialistischen Rassekrieges," in *Opfer und Täter: Zum nationalsozialistischen und antijüdischen Alltag in Ostwestfalen-Lippe*, ed. Hubert Frankemölle (Bielefeld, 1990), pp. 165–174; *50 Jahre danach: Erinnerungen an Kriegsgefangenenlager "Stalag 326"* (Hovelhof, 1991); V. Schockenhoff, "'Eine Tragödie grössten Ausmasses.' Zum Schicksal der sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 326 (VI/K) Senne," *Geschichte im Westen* 6 (1991): 151; Karl Hüser and Reinhard Otto, *Das Stammlager 326 Senne 1941–1945: Sowjetische Gefangene als Opfer des Nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauungskrieges* (Bielefeld, 1992); V. Schockenhoff, "'Dem SS-Einsatzkommando überstellt.' Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Stalag 326 (VI K) Senne im Moskauer Staatsarchiv. Eine Dokumentation," *Geschichte im Westen: Halbjahres-Zeitschrift für Landes- und Zeitgeschichte* 8, no. 1 (1993); V. Schockenhoff, "'Wer hat damals schon genau gezählt?' Zur Auseinandersetzung um die Zahl der Toten des Stalags 326 (VI K) von 1945–1992," *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 143 (1993): 337–352; Christian Mühldorfer-Vogt, "Die Dokumentationsstätte Stalag 326: Möglichkeiten der regionalen Geschichtsforschung und -arbeit," *Der Minden-Ravensberger* 69 (1996): 150–152; Reinhard Otto, "Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Stalag 326 (VI/K) Senne-Forellkrug," in *Verdrängte Geschichte: Verfolgung und Vernichtung in Ostwestfalen 1933–1945*, ed. Joachim Meynart and Arno Klönne (Bielefeld, 1986), pp. 201–219.

See also Dokumentationsstätte Stalag 326 (VI K) Senne at http://www.stalag326.de; Blumen für Stukenbrock at http://www.blumen-fuer-stukenbrock.de/das_lager/; Stalag 326 memory book, at http://stalag-326-memorybook.blogspot.com/; Stalag 326 (VI K) Stukenbrock at http://sites.google.com/site/stalag326/; and Antifa-Workcamp Blumen für Stukenbrock at http://antifa-workcamp.de/seite/das-stalag-326. Also see the following documentary film: *Tsvety dlia Shtukenbroka, Dve zhizni doktora Alekseeva* [*Flowers for Stukenbrock: The Two Lives of Dr. Alekseev*], screenplay: A. S. Vasil'ev, director: G. A. Khol'nyi. Film studio: Tsentrnauchfil'm (Moscow); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281–370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974).

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2. Pieper and Siedenhans, *Die Vergessenen von Stukenbrock*, p. 55; *50 Jahre danach*, p. 3.
3. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–451.
4. Ibid.
5. Schockenhoff, "'Dem SS-Einsatzkommando überstellt'": 202.
6. Erin and Khol'nyi, *Tragediia sovetskikh voennoplennykh*, pp. 26–28.
7. Hüser and Otto, *Das Stammlager 326 (VI K) Senne*, p. 63.
8. Schockenhoff, "'Dem SS-Einsatzkommando überstellt'": 203.
9. Erin and Khol'nyi, *Tragediia sovetskikh voennoplennykh*, p. 92; interview with Major Wayne R. Culp (obtained through the 30th Infantry Division veterans' association; original citation not available).

10. Hüser and Otto, *Das Stammlager 326 (VI K) Senne*, 188. On the problem of the number of victims, see Schockenhoff, "'Schätzen oder "Errechnen?'": 289–302, and Schockenhoff, "'Wer hat damals schon genau gezählt?'": 337.

11. http://stalag-326-memorybook.blogspot.com.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 327

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 327 (map 5) on May 5, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII, using personnel from Stalag XVII B. In July 1941, the camp was in Rymanov, about 92 miles (148 km) east-southeast of Kraków. Late that month it moved to Jaroslau (today Jarosław, Poland). In 1942, it was in Sanok, and, from December 1942 until August 1944, it was located in Przemyśl, where it replaced Stalag 315. While deployed in Przemyśl (map 5), subcamps were located in Sanok (Olchowce), Pikulice, Nehrybka, and Wolka Radunska. The camp at Pikulice was located in the former barracks of the Polish 10th Heavy Artillery Regiment, while the camp at Nehrybka was located in the old Soviet barracks.[1] Stalag 327 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 971 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

The camp was under the leadership, from July to December 1941, of the Commander of Prisoner of War District Kielce (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenenbezirk Kielce*), and from December 1941, of the Commander of Prisoner of War District Kraków (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenenbezirk Krakau*). The camp commandant was Oberst Starke, the deputy commandant was Major Becke, the adjutant was Hauptmann der Reserve Medlin, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann der Reserve von Kaas. The camp was guarded by two companies of the 820th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). The commander of this battalion was Major der Reserve Merdes.[2]

While it was deployed in Jaroslau and Sanok, Stalag 327 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). As of December 31, 1941, the camp at Jaroslau held 429 prisoners.[3] The camp in Sanok held 906 prisoners in June 1942; 712, in July 1942; 7,340, in August 1942; 5,110, in September 1942; 2,521, in October 1942; and 4,232, in

November 1942.[4]

While deployed in Przemyśl, the camp held Soviet and Dutch POWs as well as Italian military prisoners. Until the fall of 1943, it held only Soviet POWs. In late 1943, a small number of Dutch prisoners were temporarily brought to the camp; around the same time, the first transports of Italian prisoners (many of them officers) arrived. As of January 1, 1943, there were 3,102 Soviet prisoners in the camp; on June 1, 1943, 1,130. On October 1, 1943, there 1,796 Soviets, 2,176 Italians, and 309 Dutch; on January 1, 1944, 4,751 Soviets and 3,555 Italians; on June 1, 1944, 10,985 Soviets and 18 Italians; and on July 1, 1944, 5,028 Soviets.[5]

The conditions in Stalag 327 during its deployments in Jaroslau and Sanok were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners were not provided with adequate housing, food, or medical care, leading to widespread malnutrition and disease and a high mortality rate. In the winter of 1941–1942, the death rate reached 20 prisoners per day in Jaroslau; between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners died there in nine months.[6] In the subcamp in Olchowce, between 7,000 and 10,000 prisoners died.[7] Conditions did not improve in Przemyśl: the Soviet POWs there were ravaged by a typhus epidemic in early 1943, again with high mortality.

While the Dutch prisoners were treated decently during their time in Stalag 327, the Italians fared no better than the Soviets, except for those who volunteered to collaborate with the Germans and were returned to the eastern front. For those who remained in Stalag 327, conditions were dire. They received minimal food: soup made from grass and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day, sometimes supplemented with cabbage, beets, or potatoes.[8] These insufficient rations led to rapid weight loss; the prisoners were described by Polish eyewitnesses as looking like skeletons. Already weakened by malnourishment, they were almost defenseless against infectious diseases like tuberculosis. Furthermore, locals reported that mass killings of Italian prisoners were carried out by the Gestapo and SS in Przemyśl.[9]

Stalag 327 was evacuated in July 1944 as the Red Army approached from the east. Conditions during the evacuation were terrible. Almost no food was provided, and death rates reached 50 men per day.[10] On August 7, the camp was ordered to be

disbanded and reorganized as Ilag XVIII; it was officially closed on September 14, 1944.

In 1961, multiple mass graves containing the bodies of Soviet and Italian prisoners were unearthed in the area around Przemyśl and the subcamps. The bodies of at least 4,500 Italian prisoners were recovered from the graves near Nehrybka and Pikulice.[11] It is estimated that, during the course of the war and all of its deployments, more than 100,000 prisoners passed through Stalag 327.[12]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 327 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 327); and BArch B 162/8312 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 327 in Jaroslau, Sanok und Przemysl).

Additional information about Stalag 327 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), p. 400; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 203, 408, 444–445; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 41; I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog ksakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); and Antoni Rachwal, "Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie w obecnym województwie przemyskim w latach 1939–1944," *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 1 (1979): 123–133.

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NOTES

1. Barciszewski, "Włosi w hitlerowskich obozach," 100.

2. OKW, Chef Kriegsgef./Org. (Ic), Organisationsbefehl #52, 15.5.1944, Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte Nov. 1943, BArch B 162/16646.

3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 203.

4. Ibid., p. 444.

5. Ibid., p. 408.

6. Rachwal, "Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie," 128.

7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 445.

8. Barciszewski, "Włosi w hitlerowskich obozach," 107, 111.

9. Ibid., 112

10. Rachwal, "Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie," 130.

11. Barciszewski, "Włosi w hitlerowskich obozach," 125.

12. Rachwal, "Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie," 128.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 328

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 328 (map 5) from Frontstalag 328 on August 3, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. Until January 1943, the camp was deployed in Lwów (German: Lemberg; today L'viv, Ukraine). In January 1943, it was relocated to Drohobycz (today Drohobych, Ukraine), where it remained until it returned to Lwów in November 1943, with a subcamp established in Tarnopol (today Ternopil', Ukraine). On February 1, 1944, Stalag 328 was converted into Oflag 76.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*). In 1942, the camp in Lwów was guarded by Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 620. The camp in Drohobycz was guarded by the 1st and 3rd Companies of Reserve Battalion 405. Stalag 328 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 21 917 between February 16 and July 18, 1941.

In Lwów, the camp was located in the Citadel (*Zitadelle*), constructed between 1852 and 1856. The Citadel consisted of two large bastions, two small fortifications, and a central fortification. The forts were located at the corners of a rectangle, and the central fortification was in the middle. The entire complex was surrounded by a moat. In the interwar period, Polish military units were quartered in the Citadel. After the camp was chosen as the site of the Stalag, the Germans reinforced the camp's defenses by encircling it in addition with a system of small concrete pillboxes built on the slopes of the hill.

The camp itself consisted of the fortifications of the Citadel along with 3 three-story barracks and 14 other buildings. Four rows of barbed wire surrounded the camp. Inside the camp, there were many 100–200 square meter (1,076–2,153 square foot) cells,

in which prisoners slept under the open sky;[2] these were primarily used for the Soviet prisoners, while the later-arriving French and Italian prisoners were quartered in the barracks. Even in the barracks, however, the rooms were not heated, so those prisoners were also exposed to freezing conditions during the winter months.

Stalag 328 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In addition to the Soviet POWs, in the fall of 1942, the Germans placed 778 French and 6 Belgian prisoners from Stalag 325 at Rawa Ruska in Stalag 328 as punishment for various infractions. From October 1943 onward, the camp also held Italian military internees, some of whom the Germans murdered in late October and early November of that year.[3] The maximum number of prisoners in the camp was 5,088 (2,647 Soviet and 2,441 Italian) in January 1944.[4]

The conditions at the camp were incredibly harsh, especially for Soviet POWs. According to their postwar testimony, the Germans created living conditions and a supply situation they knew would kill the inmates.[5] The prisoners' rations were insufficient. At breakfast, they received two cups of ersatz coffee, which was actually brewed with sawdust, along with 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, also largely composed of sawdust. Lunch consisted of a thin soup made from food scraps. In the evening, the prisoners received another portion of soup that was essentially nothing more than hot water. In "exceptional circumstances," they would receive an additional 50 grams (1.8 ounces) of poor-quality bread.[6] The men were left so hungry that some resorted to hunting in piles of garbage for something to eat; the guards frequently beat or shot those who did so. Starvation was such a widespread problem that the guards had to make an addition to the camp rules to curtail cannibalism: "It is forbidden to cut pieces from or tear apart the bodies of prisoners."[7] Many dying prisoners wrote inscriptions on the camp walls to inform the future liberators of the camp of their suffering. Such messages (as reported by liberating soldiers) included "whoever from the Red Army comes here can tell his brothers in arms that the Russians were excruciatingly starved" and "Glorious Russian Army, not only the people but the prisoners here who are condemned to starve await you. It is so hard to die."[8]

Despite the starvation rations and poor housing conditions, the men were expected to perform "hard physical labor" from morning

to night.[9] The German guards and Ukrainian volunteers (*Hiwis*) exacerbated the prisoners' suffering by treating them with unrelenting brutality. Those who could not work anymore due to exhaustion were beaten with rifle butts and rubber truncheons. According to Soviet survivors, the Germans deliberately induced epidemics of typhus and dysentery among the prisoners by sending those who were infected with these diseases to be quartered among the healthy men. Soviet prisoner Karel Vasilievich Peet, who was interned at Stalag 328, testified that killings of prisoners were commonplace. On one occasion, Peet watched a Hiwi, Andrei Iakushevich, beat a Soviet officer to death with a truncheon. Peet reported that many men were also shot within the camp or bound hand and foot and taken in trucks to a nearby forest to be shot.[10] Those who were found to be part of the special forces, members of the Communist Party, or Jews (if they were not taken away by the Gestapo to be shot) were sent to the starvation cells in Block 8, where they were left for 17 days without food or water; anyone who survived this treatment was taken to the cemetery and shot, and the bodies burned. During the deployment in Lwów, there were regular screenings to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then shot by the camp guards.[11]

Disease was also rampant in the camp, both because of the horrible conditions and because of the actions of the camp personnel. Nikovor Grigorevich Goliuk, who was imprisoned at Stalag 328 from July 1941 to April 1942, reported that between August and November 1941, 3,000 prisoners died from dysentery; the Germans made no effort to stop the spread of the disease.[12] In late 1942, 385 sick men from Rawa Ruska were brought to Stalag 328; their internment among the other prisoners resulted in an outbreak of typhus that killed 5,000 prisoners. The bodies of those who died in the camp were burned on open pyres. Former prisoner Mikhail Iakovlevich Sheptshinskii recalled at least eight such burnings during the winter of 1942 alone. He described the stench of burning flesh as being so strong that one could not breathe.[13]

According to the postliberation Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) investigation, 284,000 prisoners passed through Stalag 328 in Lwów, of whom over 140,000 died, primarily from malnutrition and disease.[14] In Drohobycz, an

additional 10,800 prisoners are reported to have died.[15] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag 328 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-67-77; 7021-58-23); DALvO (P 3-1-278); TsDAHO; and BArch B 162/15550– 15556 (Ermittlungen gg. J. Nalbach u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Erschießung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 328 in Lemberg August 1941 bis Ende 1942).

Additional information about Stalag 328 can be found in the following publications: Boris Chetverikov and Lubov Babiy, "Methods of Creation of a Historical Situation Plan of Concentration Camp 'Stalag-328' (Citadel) in L'viv (Ukraine) on the Basis of Archival Aerial Images," *Suchasni dosiahnennia heodezichnoyi nauky ta vyrobnytstva* 2, no. 28 (2014): 71–74; Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukraïny (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 214, 228; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 41–42; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945* Vol. 9: *Die Landstreikräfte*, 281–370 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1998), p. 171; vol. 16: pt. 3, pp. 146, 156, 167–168; and Jacek Wilczur, *Niewola i eksterminacja jencow wojennych-wlochow w niemieckich obozach jenieckich: Wrzesien 1943-maj 1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1969), pp. 82–83.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen, pp. 41–42.

2. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0233.

3. Wilczur, *Niewola i eksterminacja*, pp. 82–83.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

5. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0233.

6. Ibid.

7. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0234.

8. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0235.

9. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0234.

10. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0235.

11. Ermittlungen gg. J. Nalbach u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Erschiessung sogenannter "untragbarer" russischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 328 in Lemberg August 1941 bis Ende 1942, BArch B 162/15550–15556.

12. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0236.

13. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Zitadelle," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.7/0025/0235.

14. GARF, 7021-67-77, pp. 1, 87–112; DALvO, P3-1-278, pp. 48–49; TsDAHO, 166-2-113, pp. 3–4, 166-2-219, pp. 31–32.

15. GARF, 7021-58-23, pp. 1, 7, 10, 13, 37.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 329

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 329 (maps 4a and 4e) on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII.[1] From June to August 1941, the camp was located in Zeithain, in Defense District IV.[2] At the end of August 1941, the camp was deployed to *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, initially in Zhmerinka, and then from October 1941 until December 1943, in Vinnitsa. Stalag 329 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Zhmerinka and, from late July 1943 on, a subcamp in Gaisin. In January 1944, the headquarters of Stalag 329 returned to the Reich and was stationed in Wietzendorf (Defense District X). On February 21, 1944, the Germans converted the camp into Oflag 83.[3] While it was located in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Stalag 329 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*). Stalag 329 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 007 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, issued again on November 30, 1943, and finally struck on April 11, 1944.

The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant von Rosenberg, the adjutant was Oberleutnant Lendbradel, and the camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Peters. In the fall of 1941, the 3rd Company of the 353rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp;[4] the 4th Company of the 466th Reserve Battalion succeeded them.[5] As of the fall of 1943, the 212th Reserve Battalion, consisting of four companies, guarded the camp. The battalion commander was Oberstleutnant Hans Wulf. The commander of the 1st Company was Leutnant Anton Reischel, the commander of the 2nd Company was Oberleutnant Hans Fuchs, and the 3rd Company was led by Hauptmann Johann Winden.[6]

Stalag 329 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Between February 1942 and September 1943, the prisoner population ranged from a high of 19,379 to a low of 2,574.[7] In Vinnitsa, the camp was located on the grounds of Military Post 2 (formerly occupied by a Soviet cavalry division), near an airfield. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners experienced overcrowding, forced labor, abuse by the guards, and inadequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. The prisoners were so badly starved that they attempted to sustain themselves by eating grass and leaves.[8] Malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion led to a high mortality rate in the camp. As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communist Party members, who were then shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) near the camp.

The former deputy commander of the 3rd Platoon of the 3rd Company, of the 353rd Reserve Battalion, Albert Karl Backofen, who served as a duty officer in the camp (along with Feldwebels Schlesser, Zimmer, Richter, and Reuther), stated in an interrogation on April 17, 1946, that, in November 1941, 54 Jewish POWs from one transport were shot, followed by 60 additional Jews and Communists from another transport of 600 prisoners.[9] However, it is possible that commandant von Rosenberg was unhappy about these shootings, as indicated in USSR Events Report No. 128, dated November 3, 1941: "The camp commandant in Vinnitsa, … sharply objected to the transfer of 362 Jewish POWs that was carried out by his deputy, and even brought judicial proceedings against his deputy and two other officers."[10]

It is difficult to determine the exact number of prisoners who perished in the camp at Vinnitsa. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, 12,000 prisoners of war died in Vinnitsa; however, ChGK casualty figures are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[11] In 2008, eight mass graves were discovered. Each was 30 meters (98 feet) in length, 2 meters (6.6 feet) wide, and up to 3 meters (9.8 feet) deep. Seven of these were excavated, and the remains of 3,514 POWs were uncovered. According to estimates by experts, around 600 bodies are left in the final unexcavated

grave. Eight more mass graves, each 45 meters (148 feet) long, 2 meters wide, and up to 3 meters deep were discovered on Chekhov Street in Vinnitsa. According to estimates made using a sampling method, inventorying the remains in a linear meter of the trench without exhuming them, around 7,200 persons were buried in an area of 3,500 square meters (37,674 square feet).

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 329 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); GARF (file 7021-54-1236, 1254, 1341); TsDAZU (file 166-3-202); DAViO (file r1683-1-5); and BArch B 162/8520–8522 (Ermittlungen gg. M. Röhrig u.a. ehem. Angehörige des Stalag 329 in Winniza [Winnyzja] [Ukraine] wg. Beteiligung an NSG).

Additional information about Stalag 329 can be found in the following publications: Iurii Apel', "Glavy iz knigi 'Dokhodiaga. Vospominaniia byvshego pekhotnitsa i voennoplennogo,'" *Indeks/Dos'e na tsenzuru* 19 (2009); Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), p. 204; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Ernst Reuss, *Gefangen! Das Schicksal sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: OLZOG, 2005); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 174.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 174.

2. OKW/Abt. Kgf., Befehl v. 16.6.1941, BA-MA, RW 4: 578, Bl.

93.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 174.

4. Transcript of the interrogation of the former deputy commander of 3rd Platoon, Company 3, *Landesschützenbataillon* 353, Albert Karl Backofen, on April 17, 1946, BArch B 162/7374, Bl. 88.

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

6. Transcript of the interrogation of former Obergefreiter Jakob Ludwig Golzer, Company 2, 212th Reserve Battalion, on April 18, 1946, BArch B 162/7374, Bl. 124.

7. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

8. BArch B 162/7374, Bl. 86–90, 101–108.

9. BArch B 162/7374, Bl. 88.

10. BArch R 58/218.

11. GARF, 7021-54-1236, p. 3.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 330

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 330 (maps 3 and 4d) on April 8, 1941, in Hammelburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. On August 14, 1941, it was deployed to Alta, in northern Norway. In November 1944, it redeployed southward to Beisfjord, near Narvik.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commandant under the Armed Forces Commander Norway (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen*). The camp was assigned field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 839 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

The first camp commandant was Major Oskar Wilcke (1879–1947). At the end of 1941, he was replaced by Major Arnold Paraquin (1882–1955). On April 7, 1943, Major Ernst Pabst (1891–1955) became camp commandant. He was replaced by Oberstleutnant Johann Stahmer on November 26, 1943. The last commandant was Oberst Karl Schirmbacher (1891–1946). The deputy commandants were Hauptmann Fritz Kamm (from May 20, 1941), Major Wilhelm Schirp, and Hauptmann Erich de Wyl (from November 3, 1941). As of March 1942, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Mauer and his assistant was Oberleutnant Georg Martin.

The administrative group was headed by Oberzahlmeister Artur Funck; his assistants were Zahlmeister Heinz Tetzlaff and Zahlmeister Josef Schautz (from the end of November 1942). The camp adjutant was Hauptmann Eugen Kuther (from November 3, 1941). The labor deployment group (*Arbeitseinsatz*) was headed by Hauptmann Josef Bachmann (from August 16, 1941). The first camp doctor was Stabsarzt Dr. Wilhelm Loe. He was replaced, effective November 26, 1943, by Stabsarzt Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt. The assistant camp doctor, as of November 3, 1941, was Unterarzt (later Oberarzt) Dr. Kurt Scheuermann. Other officers at the camp

were Hauptmann Hans Grohsmann (from October 8, 1942), Hauptmann Paul Möge, Hauptmann Hans Johann Payer (until March 1942), and Hauptmann Adolf Seipel (from April 7, 1943). The medical staff operated an infirmary, with about 25 beds, which also contained the camp's delousing facility. The camp was guarded by the 884th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). The guards were quartered in barracks that were about 50 meters (164 feet) from the perimeter of the camp.

Stalag 330 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The maximum population of the camp was 9,737 men in November 1942.[2] Most of the POWs were assigned to labor details, of which there were 121 in April 1945. The prisoners built defensive installations, cleared snow, and performed roadwork and other similar tasks. The Germans forced the prisoners to work for 14 hours a day with almost no food and without taking breaks. The POWs were poorly dressed for the winter conditions in Norway. The poor living conditions and hard labor, combined with malnutrition and frequent outbreaks of diseases such as tuberculosis led to a high mortality rate; more than 1,000 people perished in the camp.[3] According to a former guard, one or two prisoners died every day in 1941 and 1942.[4] In this camp, as in others, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the Security Service *(Sicherheitsdienst*) or sent to concentration camps, such as Sachsenhausen, where they were killed.[5] The guards were given orders to fire on anyone who attempted to escape and occasionally carried out executions of prisoners for various offenses in the camp. The camp was disbanded on May 8, 1945, after the capitulation of the Nazi government.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 330 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/9024–9029 (copies at USHMM RG-14.101M.2790.00001011–00001767).

Additional information about Stalag 330 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–*

1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 42; M. M. Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye v Norvegii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny" (PhD dissertation, Arkhangel'sk, 2008); Marianne Neerland Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941–1945—antall, organisering og repatriering" (PhD dissertation, Tromsø, 2005); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 179.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 179; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen*, p. 42.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Panikar, "Sovetskie voennoplennye," pp. 38–96.

4. BArch B 162/9024, Bl. 68 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2790.00001081).

5. BArch B 162/9024, Bl. 1 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2790.00001012); cf. Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen, Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 331 (I C)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 331 (map 4c) on August 5, 1941, in Fischborn-Turosel, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I, from Frontstalag 331. On December 10, 1941, the camp was redesignated Stalag I C.[1] In August 1941, the camp was deployed to the village of Macikai, near Šilutė (German: Heydekrug) in Lithuania. Stalag 331 was disbanded on September 4, 1942. It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen in Wehrkreis* I) and was guarded by personnel from the 337th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Stalag 331 (I C) held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). No detailed information on conditions in the camp is available; however, in general, conditions in camps for Soviet POWs were poor, with inadequate housing, food supplies, and medical care, and mortality rates for Soviet prisoners were high. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, the Germans probably performed selections of the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 331 (I C) is located in BA-MA (RW 6).

Additional information about Stalag 331 (I C) can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio,

1974), p. 183.

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NOTE

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 183.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 332

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 332 on April 15, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II.[1] From October 1941 to May 1943, the camp deployed to Viljandi (German: Fellin) (map 9a), in Estonia.[2] While there, the camp had a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in Põltsamaa (German: Oberpahlen). Records indicate that the camp was still in operation as of September 7, 1943; the date on which the Wehrmacht disbanded it is unknown.[3] Stalag 332 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 263 between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942. The number was struck on February 12, 1945.

Starting on August 17, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*). On October 17, 1941, it was reassigned to the 207th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*), which was in turn subordinate to the Army Group North Rear Area Command (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord*).[4] The camp commandant was Major Faust. The 2nd Company of the 275th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp.[5]

The conditions during the camp's deployment in Viljandi were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Especially in the first year of the war, the Germans subjected the POWs to severe overcrowding, inadequate food, forced labor, lack of proper medical care, and physical abuse. Exhaustion, malnutrition, and disease led to a high death rate. According to a Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) document from March 15, 1945: "Within the town limits of Viljandi were located two camps for prisoners of war. The prisoners' conditions of confinement were most horrible. Medical aid was absent, and the inmates were used for back-breaking physical labor. Soviet POWs died from exhaustion and beatings

and also were shot. During the German occupation, around 10,000 persons died in the POW camps, and they were buried next to the camp at a place called Khundimiagi [*sic*], where there are nine common graves. On some of them are inscriptions carved on wooden crosses by the POWs themselves, with these figures: 1,600 persons, 1,864 persons."[6] However, it should be noted that casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should, therefore, be viewed accordingly. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoner population to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) or the guards near the camp.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 332 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-97-19: Viljandi); and BArch B 162/21486–21487 (Überprüfung des Stalag 332 in Fellin [Estland] 1942/43).

Additional information about Stalag 332 can be found in the following publications: Meelis Maripuu, "Soviet Prisoners of War in Estonia 1941–1944," *Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity* (Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity, 2006), pp. 739–768; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939-1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 43; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939-1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 187.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 187; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-*

Einrichtun-gen, p. 43.

2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61; Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 187.

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 43.

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

6. GARF, 7021-97-19, p. 1.

7. Überprüfung des Stalag 332 in Fellin (Estland) 1942/43, BArch B 162/21486-21487.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 333

The Germans established Stalag 333 (maps 4b and 5) on April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III in Luckenwalde, with staff from Stalag III A.[1] From November 1941 to September 1943, the camp was located in Komorowo, Poland (powiat ostrowski, województwo mazowieckie), in the Generalgouvernement, where it occupied the site of the former Stalag 324.[2] While deployed in Komorowo, the camp had subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Beniaminów and in Małkinia Górna. As of September 1943, the main camp was relocated to Beniaminów, where it took over the former Stalag 368. While deployed in Beniaminów, the camp had a subcamp in the Rembertów district of Warsaw. The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 14 231 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on January 29, 1944.

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) under the Commander of the Wehrmacht in the Generalgouvernement (*Kommandeur der Wehrmacht, Generalgouvernement*); this position was held by Generalleutnant Adolf Herrgott from April 7 to August 21, 1941, and by Generalmajor Paul Ritter von Wittas from August 22, 1941, to April 30, 1944.[3]

The first commandant of Stalag 333 in Komorowo was Major Anton-Johann Byczanski, who died of typhus in late 1941 or early 1942. His successor was Major Wegener, who was followed by Oberst (or possibly Oberstleutnant) Kühne, who remained the commandant after the camp relocated to Beniaminów. At some point after the relocation, Kühne was replaced by Hauptmann Dallmann. The deputy commandant was Hauptmann (later Major) Rudolf Bloch, who was succeeded by Hauptmann Willy Olivie. The adjutant was Hauptmann Heinrich Hoch. The camp staff was composed of about 70–100 men in total. The camp was guarded by personnel from Company 3 of the 268th Reserve Battalion

(*Landesschützenbataillon*).[4]

The camp in Komorowo was built on the grounds of the former barracks of the Polish 18th Light Artillery Regiment. It held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). While the camp was relatively small at first (estimates from witnesses suggest that there were about 4,000 prisoners in the camp in late 1941, of whom about 2,000 died in epidemics during the winter), its population swelled greatly in late 1942, after Stalag 324 was closed and the surviving prisoners (about 13,000) from that camp were transferred to Stalag 333. The prisoners lived in wood and stone buildings that had previously served as stables, and they slept on straw. In 1942 and 1943 the Polish Red Cross was allowed to supply the prisoners with food parcels. The prisoners were required to work in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), usually composed of about 100 men each, which were primarily employed in activities such as cutting timber. Based on information provided by the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces, the International Committee of the Red Cross reported the following population and labor detachment statistics for the camp on these dates between 1942 and 1944:[5]

Date	Soviets (in labor detachments)	Italians	Total
June 1, 1942 (Komorowo)	3,935 (3,261)	5,943	9,878
October 1, 1942	18,083 (14,301)	1,403	19,486
January 1, 1943	18,117 (12,232)	1,171	19,288
June 1, 1943	7,574 (5,805)	548	8,122
October 1, 1943 (Beniaminów)	3,783	0	3,783
January 1, 1944	2,810	0	2,810
February 1, 1944	2,780	0	2,780

The large increase in population between June and October 1942 reflects the influx of prisoners from the former Stalag 324, while the discrepancy between the number of prisoners and the number working is indicative of the prisoners' condition. The conditions in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowded quarters (as many as 200 men to a block), food that was inadequate in both quality and quantity, and the lack of proper medical aid or hygienic facilities led to mass starvation and disease, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. The cruel treatment that the German guards handed out merely made the situation worse. In 1947, the Soviet-Polish War Crimes Investigative Commission found a mass grave containing around 24,000 prisoners who had perished in the camp at Komorowo, many of whom had died in the winter of 1941–1942 during a typhus epidemic.[6] As in other camps for Soviet POWs, new arrivals at the camp were screened for "undesirables" (including Jews and political commissars), who were separated from the other prisoners and later shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) near the camp.[7]

By order of the commander of the German troops in the Generalgouvernement on December 19, 1942, Stalag 333 took over supervision of the penal camp at Ostrów Mazowiecka. The penal camp held servicemen from the "Turkestan Eastern Legion" who had committed punishable acts or crimes.[8] In September 1943, Stalag 333 was redeployed to the Warsaw suburb of Beniaminów. In January 1944, Italian military internees joined the Soviet prisoners. Conditions in Beniaminów were no better than those at Komorowo, with diseases such as typhus once again claiming many lives. Between 1,000 and 3,000 non-Russian Soviet prisoners from the camp in Beniaminów were recruited as Hilfswillige (Hiwis), who were trained to serve as guards in concentration camps.[9] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 10,000 prisoners died at Beniaminów (including totals from both Stalag 368 and Stalag 333); however, as with all figures reported by the ChGK, this estimate should be viewed with caution as it may be substantially exaggerated.[10]

On December 27, 1943, the order for the camp's dissolution was issued. On January 29, 1944, the camp staff was reassigned to Oflag 73.[11] One witness reported that the former deputy

commandant of Stalag 333, Bloch, committed suicide after the war.[12]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 333 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 333); and BArch B 162/6583–6586: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, u.a. in Ostrow-Mazowiecka (Stalag 324 bzw. Stalag 333), Siedlce (Stalag 316 bzw. Stalag 366) und Benjaminow (Stalag 368).

Additional information about Stalag 333 can be found in the following publications: Mieczysław Bartniczak, *Grady i Komorowo 1941–1944: Z dziejów Stalagów 324 i 333 Ostrów Mazowiecka* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1978); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1964), p. 401; I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 43; Mieczysław Panz, *Prawo pięści* (Warsaw: Pax, 1977), pp. 67–116; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 95, 356–357; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 191.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 191.

2. Bartniczak, *Grady i Komorowo 1941–1944*, p. 28.

3. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 2 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001724).

4. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 3 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001725).

5. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 95, 357.

6. Ibid., p. 357.

7. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001773).

8. Wehrkreis Kdo GG, 19.12.1942, in NARA Microcopy T 501, roll 227, frame 323.

9. BArch B 162/6854, Bl. 244R (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00002099).

10. BArch B 162/6855, Bl. 269 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00002177).

11. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 43.

12. BArch B 162/6854, Bl. 242 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00002095).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 334

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 334 on April 28, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] From the fall of 1941 until the end of 1943, a camp was located in the town of Belaia Tserkov' (today Bila Tserkva, Ukraine) (map 9e). Stalag 334 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 39 531 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between September 8, 1942, and March 11, 1943.

Until October 20, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets Süd*). Beginning on October 20, 1941, the camp was under the command of the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*).[2] As of March 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Süd*).

The commandant of the camp from the fall of 1941 to July 1943 was Oberstleutnant Johann Bremer and, from July to September 1943, Oberstleutnant Theodor Junker. The deputy commandant was Major Hans-Martin Luther. The camp adjutant was Hauptmann Johannes Beier; the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Major Otto Mentzendorff and his deputy was Hauptmann Hans Straubel. The camp doctor was Dr. Hahndorff.[3] As of the end of 1941, the camp was guarded by personnel from the 560th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[4] As of November 1942, the camp was guarded by Company 1 of the 778th Reserve Battalion.[5]

Stalag 334 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The table

shows the camp population on selected dates in 1942 and 1943.[6]

Date	Prisoners
February 1, 1942	10,700
June 1, 1942	25,400
October 1, 1942	12,800
December 1, 1942	12,300
February 1, 1943	11,000

The conditions in the camp were the same as those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Extreme overcrowding in a small area, food that was inadequate in both quantity and quality, exhaustion, disease, and the absence of proper medical care or hygienic facilities all led to a huge mortality rate.[7] The local authority, with the permission of the German headquarters, attempted to help the prisoners. Thus, on November 15, 1941, Maikovskii, the town mayor, announced to the inhabitants that on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, starting on November 16, 1941, foodstuffs would be received to aid the prisoners; the products that could be passed on to them included baked bread, sugar, fats, boiled potatoes, porridge, cucumbers, cabbage, and the like. But these measures, of course, could not substantially improve the food situation of the prisoners, and hunger and disease continued to kill them.

It is impossible to establish the overall number of POWs who perished in the camp. According to data of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 20,000 prisoners died in Belaia Tserkov' in the period 1941–1943.[8] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should, therefore, be viewed accordingly.

As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to identify Jews and Communists, whom detachments of Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel or guards then shot near the camp. In addition, from May 1942 to August 1943, by order of the camp leadership, approximately 300 prisoners were shot for attempted escape, rebellion, and theft.[9]

In 1969, the public prosecutor's office in Giessen began an investigation into the case of former members of the camp's headquarters staff who were accused of having taken part in the

selection of "undesirable" prisoners and in the shooting of prisoners. Because the suspects had died or could not be found, the investigation was dropped in 1974.[10]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 334 is located in BA-MA (RW 6, Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B 162/9404; GARF (7021-65-241); and DAKiO (r2395-1-6, r2225-2-1).

Additional information about Stalag 334 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukrayini, 2000), p. 222; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 43; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1998), vol. 9: p. 196; vol. 16: pt. 3, p. 276.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 196.
2. Bfh. rückw. H.Geb.Süd/Abt. Qu/No. 462/41 geh., Bericht der Quartiermeister-Abteilung über die Zeit vom 1.-30.Okt.1941 v. 30.10.1941, BArch B 162/4906, Bl. 1766.
3. Staatsanwaltschaft Giessen, Vfg. v. 4.11.1974, BArch B 162/9404, Bl. 36–37.
4. BArch B 162/4906, Bl. 1768.
5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), Barch B 162/7188.
6. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, p. 222; BA-MA Freiburg, RW

6, 450–451.

7. GARF, 7021-65-241, p. 173; DAKiO, r2395-1-6, also, r2225-2-1 (lists of POWs who were being treated in Hospital 3; numbering beginning with No. 4074 for 1941 and continuing in 1942 from No. 1 to No. 1290; in all, about 1,800 persons in these lists, including 552 who died).

8. "Bila Tserkva," in *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR. Kyiv'ska oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), p. 117.

9. Staatsanwaltschaft Giessen, Vfg. v. 4.11.1974, BArch B 162/9404, Bl. 36.

10. Ibid., pp. 36–37.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 335

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 335 (map 5) from the staff of Stalag V C on April 1, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. From September 22, 1941, to March 1942, the camp was located in Stryj (today Stryi, Ukraine), and from March to December 1942, it was located in Drohobycz (today Drohobych, Ukraine).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 048 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.

The commandant of the camp was Major Willy Probst (1880–1955). His deputy was Major Karl Trieschmann (b. 1890). His adjutant was Oberleutnant Wilhelm Schweis (1903–1955). The first counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Amtsgerichtsrat Richard Sattelmayer (1882–1944), who was succeeded by Oberleutnant Johann Hoster (1889–1948). Personnel from the 4th Company of the 405th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp.[2]

Stalag 335 primarily held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), although French and Belgian prisoners were also present later on. The camp had a maximum population of 6,801 Soviet prisoners in August 1942; as of September 1942, it held 1,548 Soviet, 2,255 French, and 58 Belgian prisoners. The conditions for Soviet POWs were similar to those in other camps. The prisoners faced overcrowding, malnourishment, and inadequate medical care, as well as mistreatment by the German guards. These terrible conditions produced a high mortality rate. One former member of the camp's medical staff testified that the guards would identify any prisoners who they believed were too weak to be rehabilitated for work. Those prisoners were isolated and allowed to starve to

death.[3] Prisoners who were believed to be capable of working were sent to the Reich as forced laborers. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were shot by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment led by Kriminalrat Block and his assistant Ernst Willy Morlock.[4] The camp was disbanded on December 31, 1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 335 is located in BA-MA (RW 6, 450–451); BArch B 162/8305–8306 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 335 in Drohobycz/ Galizien, copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2739); and GARF (file 7021-58-23: Drogobych).

Additional information about Stalag 335 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukrayiny, 2000), p. 214; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 43–44; Kazimierz Radziwonczyk, "Wehrmacht na obszarce generalnego gubernatorstwa w latach 1942–1945," *Biuletyn GKBZH w Polsce* 26 (1975): 24; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 200.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 200.

2. Radziwonczyk, "Wehrmacht na obszarce," 24.

3. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des

Stalag 335 in Drohobycz/Galizien, BArch B 162/8305, Bl. 137 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2739.00002044).

4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 335 in Drohobycz/Galizien, BArch B 162/8305, Bl. 144 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2739.00002052).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 336

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 336 from a Frontstalag on May 14, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. From August 1941 to October 1943, the camp was located in Fort VI in Kauen (Lithuanian: Kaunas) (map 9b). Stalag 336 had a sub-camp (*Zweiglager*) in Vilnius, which became Stalag 344 on September 9, 1941. It had a second subcamp in Šiauliai, which became Stalag 361 in February 1942.[1] Stalag 336 was disbanded on March 2, 1944.[2] The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 515 between February 16 and July 18, 1942. That number was struck on August 27, 1943, but reissued on January 21, 1944, and struck again on March 29, 1944. There is also a record of another field post number, 47 133, issued between March 1 and September 7, 1942, and struck on February 25, 1944.

Beginning on July 25, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the General District Lithuania (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalbezirk Litauen*), who was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ostland*). The camp commandants, in chronological order, were Oberstleutnant Karl August Werdelmann, Major Otto Grennebach, Oberstleutnant Karl Sieber (as of February 1943), and Major Schmidhammer. The camp was guarded by subunits of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 530, which were assisted by Lithuanian police auxiliaries.

Stalag 336 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a large camp, with a maximum population of 34,016 in February 1942.[3] The camp was located in Fort VI, plus six subcamps in the city's suburbs, the largest of which was located near the airfield. A letter from prisoner F. Kozhedub, dated October 19, 1941, reveals the

horrible conditions in the camp. Kozhedub, who had been in the camp for two weeks, reported that

> I live outdoors in a pit, or cave, or in a cellar. As for food, each day we get 200 grams [7 ounces] of bread, half a liter [1 pint] of boiled cabbage, and half a liter of tea with mint. Everything is without salt, so that we don't swell up. Using sticks and wire whips, they force us to work, but they don't give us additional food. We have millions of lice. For two months I haven't shaved, washed, or changed clothes. As for my clothes, I have underwear, a shirt, an overcoat, a field cap, and low boots with puttees. The weather is cold, and there's slush and mud. Every day 200 to 300 people die.[4]

After liberation in 1944, Kaunas resident Dmitrii Interesov testified that "several times I had a chance to talk with Russian POWs. They told me that they were living in the damp and gloomy dungeons of the fortress, but as even these quarters were far from sufficient, many were lying about right in the ditch of the fortress, out in the open. Their food consisted of raw beets, potato peelings, and other vegetable scraps."[5]

The inhumane conditions led to a high death rate. The monthly German summaries of the incidence of disease in Fort VI, where the infirmary for POWs was located, recorded that in the period from September 1941 to July 1942 alone, 22,000 POWs died in the infirmary.[6] In the camp yard, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) discovered 67 standardized graves, each measuring 5 by 2.5 meters (16 by 8 feet). A map of Cemetery No. 5 from the camp office attested that from October 1941 to November 1942, 7,533 persons were buried,[7] while in total, as camp documents indicate, around 35,000 POWs died in the camp.[8] Approximately 10,000 others died in the subcamp located near the airfield. Here the ChGK discovered 13 graves measuring 25 by 2 meters (82 by 6.6 feet) apiece, 5 graves measuring 12 by 2 meters (39 by 6.6 feet) apiece, and a grave measuring 15 by 15 meters (49 feet squared).[9]

Thousands more prisoners died in the various subcamps of Stalag 336. According to the ChGK, approximately 1,500 Ukrainian prisoners died at Fort VII in the winter of 1941– 1942

alone. It should be noted that casualty reports from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated, and these numbers should be viewed accordingly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 336 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452); GARF (7021-94-2); LCVA; and BArch B 162/1900–1904 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 336 [Kowno, Litauen] und Bewachungsmannschaften).

Additional information about Stalag 356 can be found in the following publications: Christoph Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," in *Murders of Prisoners of War and of Civilian Population in Lithuania, 1941–1944*, ed. Christoph Dieckmann, Vytautas Toleikis, and Rimantas Zizas (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2005); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 44; *Prestupnye tseli— prestupnye sredstva. Dokumenty ob okkupatsionnoi politike fashistskoi Germanii na territorii SSSR (1941–1944 gg.)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi literatury, 1968), pp. 198–199; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 204.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 204; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 44.

2. L.Schtz.Btl. 875 und 653, Bataillonsbefehl No. 36, Kauen, den März 1944, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 514.

3. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–452.

4. GARF, 7021-94-460, pp. 57–58.

5. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva*, 198.

6. GARF, 7021-94-2, p. 219.

7. GARF, 7021-94-2, p. 345.

8. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva,* 198.

9. Ibid., 199.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 337

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 337 on April 17, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII; it was originally designated as a Frontstalag but was redesignated as Stalag 337 prior to its deployment.[1] From the fall of 1941 to the fall of 1943, the camp was deployed to a site near the rail station in Lesnaia (today Liasnaia, Baranavitski raën, Brėstskaia voblasts', Belarus) (map 9b). A branch of the camp was set up in the central prison in Baranovichi.[2] Until April 1942, the camp also had a branch in Slutsk. In November 1943, the camp redeployed to Mantua, Italy (6), with subcamps in Florence and Gorizia.[3] The camp received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 896 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on August 26, 1943, issued again on October 5, and finally struck on May 25, 1944.

While deployed in Baranovichi, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in General District White Ruthenia (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalbezirk Weissruthenien*). During the deployment in Italy, the camp was under the authority of the Prisoner of War District Commandant K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* K).

While it was deployed in Belarus, Stalag 337 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The main camp at the Lesnaia rail station held about 50,000 prisoners, and about 20,000 were imprisoned in the subcamp in Baranovichi.[4] As of November 1942, the camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 861st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). Gefreiter Leopold Bischof of Company 1, 28th Jäger-Regiment, 8th Jäger-Division, who was captured by the Red Army in early 1943, testified as follows regarding the conditions in the camp:

In Baranovichi, in the Polish hard-labor prison, were Russian prisoners of war, among whom there were many people from the civilian population. The available stone structures held a fraction of all the POWs, and a majority of the POWs were forced to live outdoors. Winter arrived, and with it rain, snow, and cold. The prisoners spent the nights outdoors. It was forbidden to start a fire. In this camp, I was the cook for a guard platoon and in the guard force from September 27 to October 22, 1941. Then, at my insistence, they transferred me back to the company, to Baranovichi. Therefore I was near the camp the entire time and always heard, involuntarily, from my fellow soldiers about everything that happened in the camp. For example, in the period of time from October 6, 1941, to March 1942, approximately 3,500 people died, or rather, they were shot. The number of those shot evidently was more than a few thousand, and probably it will never be possible to determine the exact figure. On October 8, I was standing at the gate at my post for around three hours, and I happened to see eight Russian prisoners led into the camp for execution. As Unteroffizier Weber told me later, among those brought for execution was a tall, strong man who stood quietly at rifle-point. Floggings of POWs were carried out in the camp. Usually present during the flogging were the camp commandant, Oberleutnant Mahler, Unteroffizier Keller, and camp police. All the POWs were ordered to assemble in the small courtyard, and the big wooden gates were locked, so that no one could see anything from the outside. The "criminal" appeared, took off his belt, bared the upper part of his body, and lay on a short bench. Two policemen put leg irons on him so that he couldn't get up, and a third beat him with a rubber lash until the officer ordered the corporal punishment to come to an end. There was one German doctor for several camps. If someone went into the hospital, people thought he was unlikely to come back from there alive. On average, 80 people died each day from cold and typhus. This number increased when the cold weather started, and by mid-January it reached unbelievable proportions—320 deaths per day. Escaping from the camp was almost impossible, and nonetheless four Soviet officers managed to escape from this hell. The latrine was built so that the wall was half in the

> camp, half outside, to allow the toilets to be cleaned from the outside. The wall surrounding the camp was only 1 meter [3.3 feet] deep. All that was necessary was to squeeze under the wall through the mess of the toilet, because on the other side was freedom. The impossible happened: four officers, in temperatures of minus 35 degrees [Celsius, −31 degrees Fahrenheit], immersed themselves in human excrement, and then found salvation in the woods. We exchanged glances: "There's somebody with strong nerves." They made the prisoners quickly put together some barracks. These barracks could do no more than provide shelter from the rain. They had no floor, no stoves, no straw floor coverings. On the street it was freezing, minus 35 degrees, and the air in these barracks had the same temperature. And who could stay up for whole nights, moving around, in order to get a little warmer? After running around all night, people got weaker with every passing day, and all this while being poorly fed. In the end, one fine night a person lies down and never wakes up again …[5]

Many prisoners perished en route to the camp. For example, in November 1941, although the weather was already quite cold, the prisoners were brought to the camp in open-top freight cars, wearing summer uniforms. Those who were frostbitten, exhausted, or unable to walk were beaten with sticks and shot. In the evening the Germans brought peasant carts and took the dead and those who were incapacitated but still alive to a ditch near Lesnaia station. The carts traveled back and forth until 1:00 a.m. In the words of I. M. Shchepko, who was called upon to help transport the bodies, "When all was quiet, I went over to the ditch, it was lightly covered with soil, and from it were heard terrible groans and howls."[6]

Between March 1942 and August 1943, the prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables" (Jews and Communists), who were then either shot or murdered in a gas van. In August 1942, 720 officers were apparently killed in the gas van for refusing to serve in the Wehrmacht formations for Soviet prisoners.[7]

In total, according to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission

(ChGK) data, 75,000 persons are believed to have died in the camp. As many as 31,000 prisoners were buried in a series of 21 pits located about 290 meters (951 feet) from Lesnaia station, and some 44,000 more prisoners were buried in 60 additional pits in the vicinity of the station.[8] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.

In November 1943, Stalag 337 redeployed to Mantua. When it first opened there, the conditions were primitive. Limited dormitory space was available, beds consisted of little more than wooden planks, latrines were adequate in number but unsanitary, and there was no kitchen. Food was brought from town twice daily. Work was underway on a new section of the camp across town, which the Germans intended for Western Allied prisoners. The camp was dissolved in February 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 337 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452); BArch B 162/9130–9133 (Ermittlungen gg. F. Schniewind wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sogenannter untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 337 in Baranowicze/Bezirk Minsk sowie im Zweiglager Sluzk); GARF (7021-87-177); NARB (861-1-1); YVA; and Zonal State Archive at Baranovichi (616-1-70).

Additional information about Stalag 337 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 76–79; Z. I. Beluga et al., *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo BSSR, 1965), pp. 267–269; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 44; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 209; and *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh*

zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty, vol. 8 (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1943), pp. 41–43.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 209.
2. See report of the Baranovichi town commission assisting in the work of the ChGK, January 1, 1945, Beluga et al., *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh*, pp. 267–269.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 44; Adamuschko et al., *Lageria sovetskikh voennoplennykh v Belarusi*, p. 77.
4. Beluga et al., *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh,* pp. 267–269.
5. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh*, pp. 41–43.
6. YVA, testimony M-33/1159, p. 31.
7. Beluga et al., *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh*, pp. 267–269; Ermittlungen gg. F. Schniewind wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener jüdischer Herkunft und anderer sogenannter untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 337 in Baranowicze/Bezirk Minsk sowie im Zweiglager Sluzk, BArch B 162/9130–9133.
8. Beluga et al., *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh*, pp. 267–269.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 338

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 338 on April 8, 1941, in Katscher (today Kietrz, Poland) (map 4e). In July 1941, it deployed to occupied Ukraine. From October 1941 to November 1943, the camp was located in Krivoi Rog (today Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine) (9g), where it replaced Dulag 162. As the Red Army pushed westward in November 1943, the camp moved to Voznesens'k (9g), and then to Reni (9g), where it was disbanded on May 15, 1944.[1] Initially, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander, Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*). As of March 1943, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets Süd*).

The camp commandants were Oberstleutnant Hans Rath (from June 12, 1941, to April 8, 1942; d. 1951), Oberstleutnant Gert von Krane (from September 5, 1942; d. 1962), and Oberstleutnant Werner Bertram (from November 19, 1943). The adjutants were Hauptmann Franz Solf (from August 5, 1941), Hauptmann Alfons Frei (from February 24, 1942), and Hauptmann Bruno Heymann (until October 26, 1942). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Oberleutnant Werner Lorenz (from July 23, 1941) and Hauptmann Otto Richter (from April 6, 1942). The camp officers were Major Paul Krimmling and Major Kabacher (from June 24, 1943). The camp physicians were Dr. Helmut Przemeck (from April 6, 1942), Dr. Kauf, and Dr. Neugebauer (or Neubauer).

While the camp was deployed in Katscher, it held Polish and French prisoners of war (POWs). It was guarded by the 875th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). During the

deployment in Krivoi Rog, the camp held Soviet prisoners and was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 303rd Reserve Battalion and a company of Russian volunteers (*Hilfswillige*), led by Leutnant Karl Brühn (MIA 1944). The commander of the camp guards was Hauptmann Karn.[2] The camp population in Krivoi Rog varied from a minimum of 5,219 prisoners in May 1942 to a maximum of 23,977 prisoners in September 1942.[3]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, inadequate medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to an extremely high mortality rate.[4] As in other camps, selections (*Aussonderungen*) were conducted to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then executed by the camp guards or a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment. It is impossible to establish the number of prisoners who died in the camp with certainty. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, incomplete data indicate that at least 800 prisoners died in Krivoi Rog, but this figure is probably a low-end estimate.[5]

In 1968, the public prosecutor's office in Stuttgart opened an investigation of former members of Stalag 338. The chief defendants were Werner Bertram and Erwin Lorenz, who were accused of participating in the selections; however, the investigation was closed in 1969 due to lack of evidence.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 338 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtsamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B 162/8479–8482: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 338 in Kriwoi-Rog/Ukraine in den Jahren 1941 bis 1943; GARF (files 7021-57-56, 7021-57-514); and DADO.

Additional information about Stalag 338 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), p. 212; *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrain'skoi RSR: Dnipropetrovs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1969), pp. 304– 305; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche*

Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 44; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 213.

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NOTES

1. Abschlussbericht ZSt Ludwigsburg vom 22.11.1968, BArch B 162/3885, Bl. 410–411.

2. Ibid.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. GARF, 7021-57-56, p. 58; 7021-57-513, p. 79 rev.; 7021-57-514, pp. 142, 146.

5. "Kryvyi Rig," *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrain'skoi RSR*, pp. 304–305.

6. Einstellungsverfg. StA Stuttgart 16 (15) Js 437/69 gg. W. Bertram u. A. vom 12.6.1969, BArch B 162/8480.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 339

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 339 on April 10, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX.[1] From October 1941 to March 1943, the camp was deployed in the village of Darnitsa, near Kiev (map 9e); the camp was also referred to as Prisoner of War Camp Kiev-East (*Kriegsgefangenenlager Kiew-Ost*) during this time. From April until August 1943, the camp was located in Berdichev (today Berdychiv, Ukraine) (9e). In August 1943, the camp in Berdichev was disbanded, and its headquarters was redeployed in September 1943 to Trieste (6). From February 1944 on, the camp was located in Mantua (6); on May 24, 1944, it was redesignated Dulag 339.[2] Stalag 339 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 895 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck on September 8, 1942, then reissued on October 5, 1943, and finally struck on June 5, 1944.

As of August 22, 1941, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). Beginning on September 23, 1943, it was subordinate to Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) B, and then, as of November 21, 1943, to Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) C.[3]

Stalag 339 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp reached a maximum population of 14,906 prisoners in September 1942.[4] The camp was located in a former Red Army barracks on the outskirts of Darnitsa, on the left bank of the Dnieper River, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Kiev, where the railroad lines linking Kiev with Moscow and Khar'kov converge. It was located in a wooded area near the crossing of the Kiev highway and the railroad lines, bounded on the north and east by a dense forest. The camp was very large, about 1.5 kilometers by 1 kilometer (0.9 miles by 0.6 miles). The entire camp area was enclosed with three

or four rows of barbed wire, 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) tall. A similar network of wire partitioned the camp into several sections. The perimeter of the camp was guarded by armed German sentries with dogs, while the guards inside the camp were Ukrainian policemen.

The statements of numerous witnesses, eyewitnesses, and former POWs indicate that unrestrained and arbitrary cruelty prevailed in the camp. The work regimen, tortures, complete deprivation of food for extended periods, exposure to the elements, and other unhealthy conditions led to severe exhaustion, widespread disease, and a high mortality rate. As Jewish-Soviet prisoner Ilia Furmanov recalls, the prisoners slept on long bunks, which resembled shelves and were so crowded that the men had to lie back-to-back down the entire length of the bunks.[5] They were fed one can of a thin soup called *balanda*, which consisted of little more than water with bits of sweet onion, twice a day; the terrible quality of the food caused widespread gastrointestinal illnesses. Although some prisoners who had watches, rings, or other valuables were able to use them to purchase additional food from the guards, some other prisoners became so desperately hungry that they resorted to eating the flesh of their dead comrades.

A subcamp was located on the grounds of a former automotive repair workshop. Barbed wire surrounded this camp and divided it into sections of various sizes. A small building comprised the "infirmary" for the prisoners, which provided no medical aid of any kind. The sick and wounded suffered terribly: their wounds were not dressed, what dressings had already been applied became soaked with pus, and the wounds were often infested by maggots. The mortality rate in the subcamp was high.[6]

The former POW Aleksandr Shugai, who was in the camp for an entire year, beginning on January 18, 1942, described the conditions as follows:

> Personally, upon arrival at the camp I was confined in a separate barracks. In the same barracks with me were 3,000 POWs. Over the course of a five-day stay in this barracks, the POWs received nothing to eat, and during this time 300 to 500 persons died of cold and starvation right before my eyes. Then, after five days had elapsed, the POWs were separated

—the Russians separately and the Ukrainians separately. As a Russian, I remained in the barracks among the Russians, and after the sorting, over the course of three days, the Russians again received no food, and as a result about 500 POWs died of starvation.

After eight days, on the ninth day I and all the prisoners who were in the barracks with me were released into the general camp, and only on day nine did we get something to eat: a thin soup known as *balanda*, which was made from millet bran and beet and potato peelings. This food was in a watery state, and they distributed it in half-liter portions to each prisoner once a day. There were instances when this food was not given out to all the POWs, but in order of sequence, by barracks, so that for two days and more one had to go without anything to eat at all. But if one of the prisoners, while at work, got potatoes for himself and brought them into camp—and to boil the potatoes, a fire had to be lit—then the fascist butchers, once they spotted the fire, without any warning would toss grenades into the fire, and as a result of this, dozens of people would die.

I also saw how, during the distribution of food to the POWs, a group of fascist butchers used to gather near the kitchen and brutally beat the POWs, especially those individuals whom they suspected of being a commanding officer or a political worker. They beat them with rubber sticks, rifle butts, iron rods, and the like. I can't tell you the names of these butchers, because I have no idea what they are. The POWs, from drinking the above-mentioned *balanda*, developed *en masse* dysentery and other gastrointestinal ailments, which contributed to the large mortality rate.

In addition, I'll state this too: at the Darnitsa camp, there was at all times a Gestapo detachment, whose members herded all the POWs out of the barracks every day and made them sit on the ground and take off their headgear. They made some POWs take off their overcoats, too, and in this way they later discerned the Red Army commanders and political workers, as well as individuals of Jewish nationality. Every

day they selected 100 to 150 people and sent them into a separate barracks. There, by means of torture and beatings, they found out more and ultimately exposed individuals in the categories I mentioned previously, and then SS men came to the camp from Kiev and shot these prisoners. There were frequent instances when gendarmes came to the camp from Kiev, and with their weapons out, they would walk through the barracks and shoot individual POWs there in the barracks without any grounds, without any reason for suspicion at all.

I also saw prisoners, several dozen at a time, taken from the camp and shot in the pine woods near the camp. During the time I was in the camp, between 1,000 and 1,500 people were shot, primarily commanding officers, political workers, members of the [Communist Party], and Komsomol members.

From conversations with POWs who were in the camp with me, I know that 60,000 to 70,000 prisoners died in the Darnitsa camp. For burying the dead, a group of between 25 and 30 persons was always selected, and they were specially made to sing songs, in particular the Soviet song "Katiusha." They forced them to sing on the way to the pits and back, and those who refused to sing were denied food and in addition were subjected to beatings and other tortures.[7]

Shugai added that the Germans singled out Jewish officers and female prisoners for especially sadistic forms of torture and humiliation, which were carried out in sight of the other prisoners. According to the statements of Grigorii Peresada, who worked in the camp as a stoker,

the Soviet POWs managed to get for themselves various kinds of carrion to eat (dead horses, dogs, cats, and the like), and in addition they gathered bones and other refuse from the garbage pits, and all this they cooked in pots and ate, and they managed to do it even though they knew they would be beaten for it. There were repeated instances when POWs who remained alive cut off the arms, legs, and even other body parts of prisoners who had starved to death and used all this as food for themselves, managing all this in great fear and

with beatings as a result.[8]

Gustav Getroi, a Jew from Lwów who entered the camp as early as October 1941 and, as a former doctor, was assigned to the infirmary, recalled that

> over the course of a month, I personally, as well as the wounded POWs who were in the infirmary, received food rations once a day, consisting of soup made of frozen beets. I, as the physician, and the wounded POWs received no other foodstuffs. Then they began making *balanda*, which was prepared from unpeeled potatoes, which, moreover, were not washed and were put into the cauldron along with the soil. Into these potatoes was stirred a little flour of some sort, and the *balanda* prepared in this way was distributed to be eaten once a day, and only every other day besides; that is, one day they gave out the soup made from frozen beets, and the next day, the *balanda.*
>
> From eating such food, the Soviet POWs in the infirmary became weakened, and as a result they died at an enormous rate, 100 to 120 per day. In addition, the wounded POWs in the infirmary were completely naked, with no shirts and underpants; they wrapped themselves up only with quilts, and no footwear of any kind was issued for their feet. At the same time, they put wounded POWs onto the bare floor in the infirmary, with no sheets and pillows of any kind. The situation that was created for wounded POWs in the way described above continued from October 10, 1941, to March 1942 and gave rise to widespread infestation with lice, and as a result of the cold temperatures, hunger, and lice, a typhus epidemic broke out.
>
> In the period from December 1941 to March 1942 alone, 50,000 to 60,000 persons died in the infirmary and in the camp for Soviet POWs. All this is known to me personally from statistics that were specially kept in the infirmary. In the infirmary itself, as many as 20,000 POWs died. The dead were buried in pits, each holding 500 to 1,000 corpses, that were dug near the infirmary, about 30 to 50 meters [98 to 164

> feet] from it. As an eyewitness, I can personally point out all these sites. I also personally witnessed one of the Nazi butchers' methods of atrocious humiliation of wounded POWs in the infirmary, which was practiced there at the order of the head doctor at the camp: physical exercise. Despite exhaustion from hunger and fatigue from wounds, all the POWs, even those who could barely walk, were compelled to do physical exercise. All this, however, was nothing more than a means of definitively exhausting the patients, which accelerated and increased the death rate of the POWs.[9]

Systematic shootings increased the number of victims in the camp. In late 1943, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) discovered four 72 square meter (775 square feet) mass graves and one 36 square meter (338 square feet) grave in the pine forest north of the camp. According to the testimonies of witnesses and eyewitnesses, these pits contained the bodies of more than 500 Jewish prisoners and about 1,500 Red Army officers, political commissars, and other "undesirables," whom the Germans separated from the other prisoners and shot between October 1941 to March 1942.[10] Ilia Furmanov, who managed to hide his religious affiliation and thus avoid the same fate, recalls that other groups of prisoners were also included in these shooting operations; many Muslim prisoners, including Tatars and men from the Central Asian republics, were shot along with the Jews because they were also circumcised.[11]

The ChGK concluded that more than 68,000 persons had perished in the camp at Darnitsa, based on forensic examination of the exhumed corpses and the number of bodies found in the mass graves and the surrounding areas.[12] However, the figures reported by the ChGK have proven in many cases to be greatly exaggerated and should thus be viewed accordingly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 339 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-65-235, 521); TsDAVO (file 4620-3-283); and BArch B 162/8434–8437 (Exekutionen von Juden und Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige des Landesschützenbataillons 788 und des Stalag 339 in Darnitza [Ukraine] in den Jahren 1941 bis 1943).

Additional information about Stalag 339 can also be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), p. 222; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 45; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 217.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 217.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 45.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*.
4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
5. VHS #45833, Ilia Furmanov textimony, October 1, 1998.
6. "Akt o massovom istreblenii voennoplennykh sovetskikh grazhdan v lageriakh poselka Darnitsa Kievskoi oblasti," December 18, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-235, pp. 426–450.
7. Record of the questioning of the witness Aleksandr Shugai on December 4, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-521, pp. 18–20.
8. Record of the questioning of the witness Grigorii Peresada on December 3, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-521, pp. 21–22.

9. Record of the questioning of the witness Gustav Getreu [Getroi] on December 3, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-521, pp. 24–26.

10. See record dated December 3, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-521, p. 17.

11. VHS #45833.

12. "Akt o massovom istreblenii voennoplennykh sovetskikh grazhdan v lageriakh poselka Darnitsa Kievskoi oblasti," dated December 18, 1943, GARF, 7021-65-235, pp. 426–450.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 340

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 340 on April 15, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X. From August 1941 to the beginning of 1944, the camp was located in Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia) (map 9b). Beginning in November 1942, the camp had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Rositten (today Rēzekne, Latvia).[1] Beginning on July 25, 1941, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the General District Latvia (*Kommander der Kriegsgefangenen Lettland*) and the Prisoner of War District Commandant H (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* H), which was subsequently subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ostland*). From November 20, 1943, until its dissolution, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* IV).

Stalag 340 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 622 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on August 26, 1943, renewed on January 21, 1944, and struck again for good on April 29, 1944.

The camp commandant was Major Hoeffner, and his deputy was Hauptmann Hugo Meyer, who was later replaced by Hauptmann Missin. The camp adjutant, until December 1942, was Hauptmann Martens, who was replaced by Hauptmann Daniel. As of November 1942, the camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 876th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*); the guard force also included Latvian police. The subcamp in Rositten was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 981st Reserve Battalion.[2]

Stalag 340 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), including both

enlisted men and officers. At first, the prisoners were held in the powder magazines of an old fortress in Dünaburg. In the fall of 1941, when the number of prisoners grew, they were forced to live outdoors on the grounds of the fortress. The prisoners spent part of the winter of 1941–1942 in holes they dug in the ground, which sheltered them from neither the cold nor the snow. Finally, in early 1942, barracks were built on the esplanade of the fortress. The central camp comprised 125 barracks. Subcamps were located in the former depot at the Daugavpils-2 station, in old stables on Aglonas and Vilianu Streets, on Vidus Street, in the buildings of a pot factory, and at other sites.[3]

Many prisoners died en route to the camp from hunger, thirst, or exposure to the heat or cold. For example, a railroad watchman named S. Iu. Orbidan told the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) after the liberation of the town in 1944 that

> in July 1941, the first special train with Soviet POWs reached the small junction at kilometer 214. A second train arrived right after the first. In each car, there were 70 to 80 people. The cars were tightly closed. When the cars were opened, the POWs greedily gulped the air with open mouths. When getting out of the cars, many of them collapsed from exhaustion. Right there, next to my linesman's cabin, the Germans shot those who couldn't walk. Out of each train, they tossed 400 to 500 corpses. The prisoners said that for 5 or 6 days, on the journey, they had been given neither food nor water.

Another witness, T. K. Usenko, told the commission that "in November 1941, I was on duty at the Most station as a switch-man and saw them drive a train consisting of more than 30 cars up to kilometer 217. As it turned out, there was not one person alive in the cars. No fewer than 1,500 dead people were unloaded from this train; they all were dressed only in underwear. The corpses lay around for about a week near the tracks."[4]

Even after the barracks were in place, the conditions in the camp were inhumane. The barracks were not heated and the roof tiles rotted, allowing rainwater to leak through. The inmates were malnourished, subjected to torture and humiliation, and forced to

perform hard labor. Epidemics were common in the camp because of the unhygienic conditions and lack of proper medical care. In the winter of 1941–1942, during a typhus epidemic, the mortality rate in the camp reached 900 men per day. To combat the epidemic, the camp leadership resorted to mass shootings: if three to four prisoners in one barrack fell ill, the Germans would shoot the entire population of that barrack.[5]

According to German statistics, the camp held 15,595 prisoners in June 1942 (after many thousands had died during the preceding winter or been transported to Germany for forced labor), and there were 886 prisoners doing agricultural labor outside the camp limits.[6] Typhus epidemics recurred throughout 1942; for example, on August 5, 1942, 1,594 cases of typhus were recorded in the camp.[7]

The camp was well guarded and laid out so that escape was very difficult. Escape attempts were carried out only during work outside the camp, with only a few of these attempts succeeding. Many prisoners who survived owed their lives to a prisoner named A. Gibradze, a Red Army surgeon. While working in the camp infirmary, he eased the suffering of the wounded, and he also delayed information about those who had died in order to obtain three or four additional days of rations for them to supplement the diets of the weakest prisoners. His operating room was also the meeting place for the resistance movement in the camp, which organized escape attempts. As in other camps for Soviet POWs, new arrivals were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[8]

The date of the camp's dissolution is unknown; it was still in operation as of April 14, 1944, but must have been disbanded or evacuated before July 27, 1944, when the Red Army liberated the city. A ChGK investigation in late 1944 established that more than 124,000 prisoners died in Stalag 340; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 340 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des

Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B 162/8595–8596 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 340 in Dünaburg und im Zweiglager Rositten), 9471 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 340 und des RAD wg. Tötung russischer Kriegsgefangener), and 29816 (Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Kriegsgefangenenlagers in Dünaburg [Stalag 340] wg. Tötungsverbrechen an sowjet. Kriegsgefangenen); GARF (file 7021-93-20, 22); and LVVA (file P-132-30-34).

Additional information about Stalag 340 can be found in the following publications: "Lageria voennoplennykh," *Entsiklopediia Riga* (Riga: Glavnaia redaktsiia entsiklopedii, 1989); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 45; *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva: Dokumenty ob okkupatsionnoi politike fashistskoi Germanii na territorii SSSR (1941–1944 gg.)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi literatury, 1968), pp. 203–204; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 221; and Margeŗs Vestermanis, *Tā rīkojās vērmahts* (Riga: Liesma, 1973).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 221.

2. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

3. ChGK report on Daugavpils, December 12, 1944, GARF, 7021-93-20.

4. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva*, p. 203; ChGK report on Daugavpils, December 12, 1944, GARF,

7021-93-20.

5. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva*, pp. 203–204.

6. Statistische Berichte für den Generalbezirk Lettland. Jahresheft, R., 1943, p. 27, LVVA, r-69-1-10, p. 380.

7. LVVA, R-80-8-29, p. 3.

8. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 340 in Dünaburg und im Zweiglager Rositten, BArch B 162/8595–8596.

9. LVVA, R-132-26-11, p. 9; LVVA, 132-30-13, pp. 99, 104.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 341 (XI E)

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 341 from Frontstalag 341 on April 2, 1941, in Altengrabow (map 4a), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI; it was also known as Stalag XI E.[1] In September 1941, the camp deployed to Slutsk (9b), in occupied Belarus. In November 1941, the camp was relocated to Mogilev (9b).[2] From September 11, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*), and as of November 15, 1941, it was subordinate to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 286 and the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* III).[3] Stalag 341 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 916 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on November 8, 1943.

The first commandant of the camp was Major Edgar Hugo Nikolaus Graf von Luckner. He was succeeded as commandant by Major Erich Viktor Nichelski on March 25, 1942. On May 31, 1942, Oberst Wilhelm Senff took over the position of commandant. He was succeeded on August 5, 1942, by Major Herbert Tiedemann. The final commandant of the camp was Oberst Rudolf Burger, who took over on November 7, 1942. The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Günter Försterling and the adjutants were Leutnant Ewald Meyer and Leutnant Richard Becker.[4] The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Georg Duchrow and Hauptmann Heinrich Stuhlmann. The labor detachments (*Arbeitseinsatz*) were commanded by Hauptmann Johannes Osterhagen. The camp doctors were Oberarzt Dr. Otto Dörr, Unterarzt Dr. Karl Ditzmann, Dr. Gustav Ahne, and Dr. Walter Piontek; however, much of the care in the camp infirmary (*Lazarett*) was provided by a Russian doctor (who himself died of typhus in 1942) and Russian medical personnel.[5]

The camp was guarded by personnel from Company 1 of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 861, who were assisted by a group of Soviet volunteers (*Hiwis*).[6] The camp staff and guards were quartered in a former Red Army barracks near the camp.

Stalag 341 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners received minimal rations and medical care, leading to widespread death from exhaustion, malnutrition, and diseases, particularly typhus, which ravaged the camp in the winter of 1941–1942. The atrocious conditions were exacerbated by deliberate mistreatment by the guards. The prisoners were required to perform hard labor in the area around the camp. As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed in the woods near the camp by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel. In September and October 1941, around 200 prisoners of Mongolian ethnicity were also executed, as they were considered "racially inferior elements" (*Rassisch minderwertige Elemente*).[7] According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) data, as many as 70,000 prisoners were confined in the camp, and, by the beginning of 1942, around 40,000 already had died; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly.[8] The camp was still in operation as of October 6, 1943; its date of dissolution is unknown.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 341 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451; RH 22: 225, 230, 233, 247, 248; RH 23: 270; RW 4: 578; RW 41: 4; RW 48: 12); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 341); NARB (files 249-8-438, 4683-3-917); BArch B 162/9200–9204 (Ermittlungen gg. R. Burger wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung jüdischer und anderer russischer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Stalag 341 in Mogilew [Weissrussland] 1941 bis 1943); and GAMoO (file 306-1-10).

Additional information about Stalag 341 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk:

NARB, 2004), pp. 78–79; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 224.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 224; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* vol. 1: p. 45.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lageria sovetskikh voennoplennykh v Belarusi*, pp. 78–79.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 224; Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61.

4. NARB, 1440-3-917, p. 130.

5. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/9200. Bl. 110-110/15 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2802.00000779–00000794).

6. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

7. Die Exekutionen in Mogilew, ITS Digital Archive, 5.1/0003/0207.

8. NARB, 249-8-438, pp. 92–94, and 4683-3-917, pp. 128–133, 136, 207; GAMoO, 306-1-10, pp. 17–19. N.B.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 342

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 342 on April 28, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] In September 1941, the camp deployed to Molodechno (map 9b), where it took over the site of the former Dulag 112. As of April 1942, a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) was located in Glubokoe (today Hlybokae, Belarus) (9b). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 38 581 between February 28 and July 29, 1941; the number was struck on November 12, 1943.[2]

The first commandant of Stalag 342 was Major Herman Rode, who died of typhus on November 20, 1941. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Gerhard Simon. The final commandant was Oberstleutnant Hugo von der Marwitz, who took over on February 24, 1943. The camp adjutants were Hauptmann Berthold Jörger and Hauptmann Eduard Enders, the latter of whom was also responsible for the camp's forced labor units (*Arbeitseinsatz*). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Wilhelm Buss. The camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Arthur Meyn. The camp doctors were Dr. Walter Görlitz and Dr. Gerhard Senft. The chief of supply was Zahlmeister Karl Fraenkel.[3] The camp's senior NCO was Hauptfeldwebel Rudolf Grimm.[4] The camp was guarded by personnel from the 3rd Company of the 531st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[5]

Stalag 342 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was badly overcrowded and the prisoners' rations and medical care were insufficient, leading to epidemics of diseases, such as typhus, and to starvation so severe that some prisoners resorted to cannibalism. These awful conditions, combined with deliberate mistreatment by the guards, produced a high death rate. For example, in mid-November 1941, the camp held 20,000

prisoners; on February 1, 1942, there were only 4,406 prisoners.[6] As in other camps for Soviet POWs, new arrivals in the camp were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) unit near the camp; this unit, along with Lithuanian volunteers, also participated in the execution of Jewish civilians in Molodechno.[7] In total, 33,150 prisoners are said to have died at Molodeczno from 1941 to 1943, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK).[8] While ChGK casualty figures are often inflated, even German postwar investigations estimated that the death rate in the camp may have been as high as 150 prisoners per day.[9] The camp was disbanded on May 10, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 342 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451; RH 53-17/42); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 342); GARF (file 7021-89-9); and BArch B 162/8484–8487 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 342 in Molodeczno in den Jahren 1941 bis 1943).

Additional information about Stalag 342 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 80–81; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000), p. 822; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), pp. 45–46; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 229.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 229.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 46.

3. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8485, Bl. 36–42 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2752.00000834–00000840).

4. Testimony of Rudolf Grimm, April 16, 1959 (BArch B 162/1467) and March 29, 1962 (BArch B 162/1452); testimony of Anton Schabo, April 22, 1961 (BArch B 162/1445); testimony of Heinrich Krippes, April 21, 1961 (BArch B 162/1445); testimony of Otto Lang, April 20, 1961 (BArch B 162/1445); testimony of Ernst Kastner, February 23, 1961 (BArch B 162/1445); testimony of Adolf Hirtzel, October 4, 1968 (BArch B 162/1467); testimony of Georg Harth, October 9, 1968 (BArch B 162/1467).

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

6. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 822.

7. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8485, Bl. 47–48 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2752.00000845–00000846).

8. GARF, 7021-89-9, p. 1.

9. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8485, Bl. 52 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2752.00000850).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 343

The Wehrmacht activated Stalag 343 (map 4b) on May 15, 1941, in Fürstenberg an der Oder, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. In September 1941, Stalag 343 was deployed to Alytus, Lithuania (9b), where it remained until October 1942. From November to December 1942, it was deployed in Bobruisk (9b), in present-day Belarus. While it was located in Alytus, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 14 886 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on October 16, 1943.

Initially, the camp commandant was Major Rosencrantz. From August to mid-October 1942, Major Erich Klein held the position. The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Ewerth. Until January 1, 1942, when the 2nd Company of the 319th Reserve Battalion took over, the 3rd Company of the 530th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*), as well as members of the 5th Battalion of the Lithuanian Auxiliary Police, guarded the camp.[1]

The camp population gradually declined from a peak of 28,000 in October 1941 to 3,624 in October 1942[2] In that month, 3,000 prisoners were transferred to other camps and another 1,000 were sent to Germany for forced labor.[3] The camp consisted of six former Red Army barracks and wooden stables inside a barbed wire enclosure. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), overcrowding in a small area, inadequate quantities of unhealthy food, lack of proper medical care, and abuse by the guards led to a high death rate.[4] The prisoners were brought to the camp in open-air wagons from transit camps in the Soviet Union; many prisoners died from starvation or exposure to the elements before they ever reached the camp. Jewish-Soviet prisoner Leib Pillersdorf, who was brought to the camp in late October 1941,

recalled that the new arrivals were forced to sleep under the open air for the first night in the camp; anyone who picked his head up was immediately shot by the guards.[5] The conditions within the barracks were little better. The men slept on the cold cement floor and their quarters were overrun with lice. There were also no sanitary facilities present, leading to the rapid spread of gastrointestinal diseases.

By the time they arrived in the camp, the men were so desperate for food that they resorted to eating grass to survive. Pillersdorf recalls that men jumped out of the soup line their first morning in the camp to snatch blades of grass out of the ground; the Germans shot many of those who did so and those who were not killed were denied their soup ration for the day.[6] In any case, the soup was almost entirely water with a few sugar beets added and of little nutritional value. In addition to the soup, the prisoners received 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of so-called Russian bread (*Russenbrot*) per every 10 men; the bread consisted mainly of sawdust and straw flour and was frequently covered in mold. Sometimes, the prisoner responsible for dividing the bread among a group of 10 men would simply run away with the bread, since many of his fellow prisoners were too weak to chase after him; when such incidents occurred, it was not uncommon for 5 of the 10 men thus deprived of their bread ration to die that day.

The horrible sanitary conditions in the camp facilitated the outbreak of diseases among the already weakened prisoners. In the winter of 1941–1942, diseases like typhus, dysentery, and cholera were rampant and killed thousands of prisoners. The prisoners died at such a rapid rate that the bodies were collected into large piles to be taken away and buried by Lithuanian peasants. In the fall of 1941, 60–80 persons died each day in the camp, and in the winter, the daily death toll was as high as 300.[7] In October 1941 alone, 1,000 prisoners starved to death in a 20-day period.[8] By 1942, the Germans had decided to use the Soviet prisoners for forced labor in the surrounding area and the food supply improved to some extent.

According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, 30,000–40,000 prisoners are said to have died in the camp; Soviet authorities discovered 16,150 corpses in 126 mass graves; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often

substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[9] Following the testimony from former prisoner Aleksandr Klimovich, who was in the camp from the end of October 1941 to August 1942, by February 1942, 14,500 prisoners starved to death in the camp, 2,000 died of illness, and the Germans shot about 500 more. From February to August 1942, 1,000 additional prisoners died of various causes. Finally, in the northern part of the camp, 2,500 prisoners were buried, giving a final death toll of 20,000.[10] In late October–early November 1942, the Germans liquidated the camp in Alytus and turned its grounds over to Stalag 336 Kaunas for use as a reserve camp.[11]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 343 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-94-3); LCVA; and BArch B 162 (VI 319 AR-Z 28/71).

Additional information about Stalag 343 can be found in the following publication: Christoph Dieckmann, "Alytus 1941–1944: Massenmorde in einer Kleinstadt. Ein Fallbeispiel deutscher Besatzungspolitik in Litauen," *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* 8, no. 2 (2001): 89–92.

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, vol. 1, Bl. 82.
2. BA-MA, RW 6: 450.
3. Verfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Stalag 343, Einstellungsverfügung v. 26.9.1975, BArch B 162, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, vol. 1, Bl. 89–90.
4. Report dated September 1, 1944, on the Alytus death camp, GARF, 7021-94-3, pp. 9–11.
5. VHA #7562, Leib Pillersdorf testimony, October 12, 1995.
6. VHA #7562.

7. Testimony of Otto Friedrich, March 27, 1973, BArch B 162, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, vol. 1.

8. Letter from Abwehr officer in Stalag 343, dated October 24, 1941, BArch B 162, VI 319 AR-Z 28/71, vol. 1, Bl. 82.

9. Report dated August 20, 1944, GARF, 7021-94-3, pp. 2, 7.

10. Dieckmann, "Alytus 1941–1944," 92.

11. Ibid., 91.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 344

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 344 on April 28, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] On August 17, 1941, the headquarters was sent to Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania) (map 9b), and on September 8, 1941, it took over the former site of Stalag 336.[2] Stalag 344 remained in Wilna until September 1943. From December 1943 to January 1945, the camp was deployed in Lamsdorf (today Łambinowice, Poland) (4e), taking over the site of the former Stalag VIII B.[3] While located in Wilna, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Military Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ostland*). While deployed in Lamsdorf, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen Wehrkreis*) VIII. Stalag 344 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 190 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 12 and September 7, 1943.

Until January 1942, the camp commandant was Major (later Oberstleutnant) Erich Chiliau; starting in January 1942, the commandant was Oberstleutnant Josef Messner. From the end of 1944 on, the commandant was Oberst George Braxator, and his deputy was Oberstleutnant Ernst Grosser.[4] In the autumn and winter of 1941 the camp was guarded by personnel from the 319th, 778th, and 894th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).[5]

The camp at Wilna held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). On February 1, 1942, there were 6,856 prisoners in the camp; on April 1, 1942, 7,735; on May 1, 1942, 8,179; on June 1, 1942, 7,790; on August 1, 1942, 7,090; on September 1, 1942 (after more than 1,500 prisoners were moved), 5,385; on October 1, 1942, 6,144; on November 1, 1942, 8,085; and on December 1, 1942, 8,371.[6]

The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, insufficient food, inadequate medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high mortality rate, especially in the winter of 1941–1942. For example, on December 20, 1941, of the 7,300 prisoners in the camp, 1,200 were suffering from typhus and the death rate averaged 50 men per day.[7]

On December 24, 1941, 1,500 prisoners were selected for forced labor in Germany.[8] After the onset of the typhus epidemic, their transfer to Stalag IX A in Ziegenhain was regarded as extremely urgent, but it was delayed by more than a month because the Commander of Prisoners of War in Riga had not given the proper orders. By January 21, 1942, 500 of the men selected had died, and the prisoners who had not fallen ill were sent to Kaunas and placed in quarantine.[9] On April 21, 1942, the Germans sent 1,100 additional prisoners from Stalag 344 to Stalag IX B in Wegscheide.[10]

In Stalag 344, as in other camps, the Gestapo regularly screened the prisoners to identify Jews and Communists, who were then shot in the Paneriai Forest. According to the card index of the Wilna Gestapo, shootings of "undesirable" prisoners took place on October 2, 21, and 28, and November 19, 1941; and February 11, March 11 and 28, April 9 and 24, and July 15, 1942.[11] In total, according to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, around 5,000 prisoners died in the camp between 1941 and 1943; although casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated, the death rate in the camp in the winter of 1941– 1942 suggests that this number is probably accurate.[12]

Stalag 344 had a subcamp at Naujoji Vilnia, headed by Hauptmann Leyser. This camp was guarded by the 771st Reserve Battalion, along with more than 100 Lithuanian police.[13] Adam Gul'binskii, who worked in the camp as a bricklayer from 1941 to 1944, described the conditions in the camp:

> On approximately November 15, the first shipment of Russian POWs arrived, numbering about 1,000 persons. From this time on, the camp was systematically replenished with new shipments of prisoners, who were brought by rail in special trains, each consisting of 30 to 40 cars. The camp was

very large in size. According to prisoners' descriptions, it held more than 200,000 people. From 1941 to the beginning of 1943, the death rate from starvation was as high as 200 persons per day. There were individual days when more than 500 persons died. I often saw prisoners, carry corpses, laid on sticks, out of the camp and throw them into pits, which had been dug 300 meters [984 feet] from the camp. I must say that the pits had a very large capacity—as many as 800 people.[14]

Witness Kazimir Pluts, a worker at the camp from the moment of its organization until the day of the Germans' retreat, offered this testimony:

While working at the camp from 1941 until the end of its existence, by the nature of the work I performed I had constant access to the camp location. All this time I observed the life of the POWs inside the camp. In the barracks where the POWs were kept, there were not even any plank beds at first, they slept right on the ground and on boards. There was no bedding in the camp until the end of its existence. The barracks were made of boards, and in winter it was cold in them, although the POWs had no warm clothing. In summer the prisoners' main food was vegetation [weeds, grass]. They were allocated 150 grams [5.3 ounces] of bread per day, but it was not always issued. There were stoppages, when no bread at all was handed out for four days. Because of the intolerable conditions for human life in the camp, there were many prisoners who could not even walk. They were exceedingly emaciated. Nevertheless, the Germans forced the prisoners to work—they made them dig ditches, dismantle brick houses that had been ruined, build roads, etc. Owing to great exhaustion, people were physically unable to work, and there were instances when prisoners simply collapsed, but no medical aid was provided to such people. As a result of all the above-mentioned back-breaking conditions, the death rate for prisoners hovered in the range of 150 people per day. The corpses of the deceased initially were thrown into the cellar, where they were undressed, and then they were taken on stretchers and carts to the cemetery that was specially set up

near the camp, where they were tossed into previously dug pits.

According to ChGK documents, more than 60,000 prisoners perished in Naujoji Vilnia.[15] At the same time, a report dated May 25, 1945, gives a figure of 13,000 dead prisoners,[16] while the memorial stone at the site of the prisoners' burial in Naujoji Vilnia reads: "At this site are buried approximately 4,500 Soviet prisoners of war, tortured to death by the German fascists in 1941–1943." In another subcamp of Stalag 344 near Bezdonys (Wilna region), according to ChGK documents, 25,000 prisoners perished; the standard cautions about ChGK casualty figures should be applied here as well.[17]

While Stalag 344 was deployed in Lamsdorf, it held prisoners of war of various nationalities. For example, on January 3, 1944, there were 49,065 prisoners in the camp, including 22,799 Soviets, 21,772 British, 2,003 French, 1,358 Serbs, 1,063 Italians, and 70 Poles.[18] On October 1, 1944, the camp held 52,020 prisoners, including 28,821 Soviets, 19,227 British, 2,325 French, 955 Serbs, 537 Italians, 108 Americans, and 47 Poles.[19] In late October 1944, 56,954 prisoners were confined in the camp. The increase in the number of prisoners resulted from the arrival of 5,789 Poles, captured during the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising. Of the latter group, 5,001 were transferred to other camps (including Stalag XVIII C in Markt Pongau, Stalag IV B in Mühlberg, and Stalag X B in Sandbostel) as early as October and November 1944.[20] The camp population increased further still in November 1944, as Slovak prisoners captured during the Slovak National Uprising were brought to Lamsdorf.

The Western Allied prisoners in the camp were generally treated decently. An International Red Cross delegation visited the 152 American prisoners in the camp on May 4, 1944, and noted overall good conditions. Though there was some overcrowding, the site of the camp was described as well situated. Prisoners had regular access to a newly constructed laundry facility, played sports regularly on the camp fields, and held religious services as desired. Work detachments remained difficult but were not regarded as unsafe or imperiling the lives of the American prisoners. Indeed, the overall state of health and medical condition of the camp was

described as "very good." Such favorable conditions stood in contrast not only to the situation facing Soviet prisoners in the same camp but indeed to the situation facing many prisoners in German Stalags in the final year of the war.[21]

The Slovaks, meanwhile, did not receive such decent treatment. When the first Slovak prisoners arrived in November 1944, they were taken to the former Russian camp (*Russenlager*), where they slept in tents or under the open sky. Once they were moved into barracks, they faced severe overcrowding; buildings measuring 15 meters by 7 meters (49 feet by 23 feet) held as many as 160 men each. The food supply for Slovak prisoners was entirely insufficient; they received a sixth of a loaf of bread, 3 to 5 small potatoes, a small piece of sausage, and a small amount of margarine, sugar, or marmalade each day. Like the Soviet and Italian prisoners, the Slovaks did not receive packages from the Red Cross and were dependent on packages sent from home to supplement their diets; however, delivery of these packages was often delayed in the last months of the war, and their most desirable contents were often stolen by the guards.[22]

The treatment of the Soviet prisoners was even more inhumane and led to large numbers of deaths by starvation and disease, such as tuberculosis. In July 1944, more than 4,000 such prisoners were placed in an isolated area of the camp, where 500–600 of them died each day.[23]

Stapostelle Kattowitz (Katowice) regularly conducted screenings in the camp to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, who were transferred to Auschwitz. A total of 572 prisoners from Stalag 344 were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp: on November 15, 1943, 75 prisoners; December 12, 1943, 55; January 13, 1944, 73; February 24, 1944, 119; February 26, 1944, 66; May 20, 1944, 31; July 7, 1944, 44; and August 5, 1944, 109.[24]

The evacuation of the camp was ordered on January 20, 1945, as a result of the approach of the Red Army. The evacuation marches began on January 23, 1945. According to the testimony of former camp guard and cook Otto Rösler, who prepared food for the German guards escorting the prisoners on the evacuation march, the prisoners were forced to cross the entirety of the

Sudetenland with little to no rest. Their march ended at Bindlach, where they were put on trains and taken to Stalag XIII D in Nürnberg-Langwasser.[25]

After the evacuation, around 3,000 sick Soviet prisoners remained in the camp. Heavy frost, as well as lack of food, led to a sharp increase in the number of deaths—there were as many as 100–150 every day. Some prisoners were shot. When the Red Army liberated the camp on March 26, 1945, only about 500 Soviet prisoners remained alive there.[26]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 344 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-94-418, 438); LCVA; and BArch B 162/9627–9631 (Exekutionen von Juden und Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige des Stalag 344 in Wilna/Bezirk Kauen [Litauen]).

Additional information about Stalag 344 can be found in the following publications: Edmund Borzemski and Stanisława Borzemska, *The Central Museum of the Prisoners of War in Łambinowice Guide* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Sport i Turystyka," 1989); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 392–394; Christoph Dieckmann, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944*, vols. 1–2 (Wallstein, 2012); Christoph Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," in *Karo belaisviu ir civiliu gyventoju zudynes Lietuvoje, 1941–1944*, ed. Christoph Dieckmann, Vytautas Toleikis, and Rimantas Zizas (Wilna: Margi rastai, 2005); F. Friedman, *Oświęcim* (Warsaw: Ksiazka, 1946), pp. 247–248; *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny*, vols. 1–34 (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1974–2011); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939– 1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 46; Edmund Nowak, *Obozy na Śląsku Opolskim w systemie powojennych obozów w Polsce (1945–1950): Historia i implikacje* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców

Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2003); Edmund Nowak, ed., *Obozy w Lamsdorf/Łambinowicach (1870– 1946)* (Opole Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2006); Edmund Nowak, "Powstańcy słowaccy w obozach jenieckich Wehrmachtu 1944–1945 (na przykładzie stalagów w Lamsdorf, Sagan i Gorlitz)," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. XXXII, no. 3 (2000): pp. 171–179; Edmund Nowak, ed., *Szkice z dziejów obozów w Lamsdorf/Łambinowicach: Historia i współczesność*, 5 vols. (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu); Czesław Pilichowski, "Kaźnia hitlerowska Lamsdorf (Łambinowice)," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 28 (1978): 9–17; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 281–286; *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva: Dokumenty ob okkupatsionnoi politike fashistskoi Germanii na territorii SSSR (1941–1944 gg.)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi literatury, 1968); Janusz Sawczuk, *Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie w Łambinowicach w latach 1939–1945* (Opole: Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1974); Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zaklad narodowy imienia ossolinskich, 1972); Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn, 1991), p. 186; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 236; and Damian Tomczyk, *Najmłodsi jeńcy w historii wojen: Powstańcy warszawscy w Stalagu 344 Lamsdorf* (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1993).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 236.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 46.

3. Ibid. p. 46.

4. NARA, T 1021, roll 0017, 40-VII B, vol. 1: Personnel cards of Col. George Braxator, Commander of Stalag 344, December 5, 1944; Lt. Col. Ernst Grosser, Deputy Commander of Stalag 344, January 18, 1945.

5. Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," chapter V.4.

6. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–452.

7. See memorandum by Regierungsrat Grünthaler, December 20, 1941, *Prestupnye tseli*, pp. 171–172.

8. LCVA, R 626-1-216, p. 181.

9. LCVA, R 626-1-216, p. 162.

10. LCVA, R 626-1-29, p. 132.

11. BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 486–502; Exekutionen von Juden und Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige des Stalag 344 in Wilna/Bezirk Kauen (Litauen), BArch B 162/9627–9631.

12. GARF, 7021-94-418, pp. 1–3.

13. Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," chapter V.4.

14. "Information on the materials of the investigation of the atrocities of the Nazi occupation authorities and the mass extermination of prisoners of war of the Red Army in the prisoner of war camp in the city of New Vileyka," September 5, 1944, GARF, 7021-94-438.

15. "Report of the Extraordinary State Commission on the crimes of the Hitlerite invaders in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic," December 18, 1944, *Prestupnye tseli*, pp. 199–200.

16. GARF, 7021-94-438, p. 1.

17. *Prestupnye tseli*, p. 200.

18. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 83.

19. BA-MA, RW 6: 276.

20. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 283.

21. Report by the International Red Cross (May 31, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

22. Nowak, "Powstańcy słowaccy w obozach jenieckich Wehrmachtu 1944–1945 (na przykładzie stalagów w Lamsdorf, Sagan i Gorlitz)," pp. 78–80.

23. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, p. 186.

24. Friedman, *Oświęcim*, pp. 247–248.

25. Testimony of Otto Rösler, ITS Digital Archive, 5.3.1/0012/0001/0124.

26. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 285.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 345

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 345 on April 15, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V.[1] From August 24, 1941, to December 1943, it deployed to the Bobrinskaia railroad station in the town of Smela (today Smila, Ukraine) (map 9f).[2] In December 1943, it was relocated to Zagreb (7). Starting on August 16, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) with the Armed Forces Commander in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. As of March 16, 1943, it was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II, and from December 13, 1943, on, to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of Army Group F.[3]

Stalag 345 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 708 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, renewed on November 20, 1943, and struck for good on March 14, 1944.

The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Gustav Henckel. His successor was Oberst Achim Reymann, who became commandant on February 4, 1943. On May 13, 1943, Major Ludwig Händler took over as commandant and held the position until the dissolution of the camp the following year. The deputy commandants were Major Georg Reichel and Major Max Kemmetmüller. The adjutants were Hauptmann Josef Kropp, Hauptmann Carl Dirrmann, and Hauptmann Karl Kiderlen. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Friedrich Calwer, Hauptmann Ludwig Kloth, and Hauptmann Harry Weiss. Feldwebel Karl Dillmann was responsible for the camp's labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). The camp doctors were Dr. Paul Grundler, Dr. Otto Kromer, Dr. Karl Süss, Dr. Richard Vogel, and Dr. Gerhard Wolter.[4] The camp was guarded by personnel from Company 1 of Reserve Battalion

(*Landesschützenbataillon*) 783, who were assisted by Russian *Hilfswillige*—prisoners who volunteered to serve as guards in order to escape the terrible conditions in the camp.[5]

While it was deployed in Smela, Stalag 345 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The population varied from a minimum of 2,605 in February 1942 to a maximum of 18,871 in February 1943.[6] The conditions in Stalag 345 were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners were severely underfed, leading to widespread death from starvation. Although the camp was designated as a hospital for wounded POWs, almost no medical care was provided, resulting in a high death rate due to both untreated combat wounds and epidemics. Deliberate abuse by the guards exacerbated the awful living conditions. Upon arrival in the camp, prisoners were screened by the counterintelligence officers and guards to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) near the camp; Jewish civilians from Smela were also executed near the camp on multiple occasions.[7] At least one prisoner was hanged in the camp after he allegedly killed a guard while attempting to escape.[8]

Former prisoner A. E. Sukhinin, who was in the camp from October 1942 to May 1943, described the conditions:

> To this camp they brought the wounded, to deliberately let them die. In winter the buildings were not heated in any way, and we were warmed only by the heat of our bodies. We slept on bare boards, covered with nothing: they took away all our clothing and footwear and left us only our underwear. We slept in a ball, thrusting our arms into the neckband of our shirt with our palms under our arms, and pressing our knees up toward our chins—that was the best way to conserve heat. The food they gave us was not enough to sustain life. I tried not even to move unless necessary, and not to speak.[9]

In December 1943, Stalag 345 relocated to Zagreb, Croatia. Little information is available about the prisoners or the conditions in the camp during this deployment. The date on which the camp was

disbanded is unknown; it was still in operation as of June 5, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 345 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RW 41/13); BArch B 162/8581–8586 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 345 in Smela bei Bobrinskaja [Ukraine]), 20092 (Fotoaufnahmen von Angehörigen des Stalag 345, Bild/6335–6342: Fotoaufnahmen von Angehörigen des Stalag 345), and 9113 (Ermittlungen StA Stuttgart 86 Js 27/71 gg. Unbekannt wg. des Verdachts der Erschiessung von ca. 100 Juden in einer Kiesgrube in der Nähe des Stalag 345 in Smela [Ukraine] im Jahr 1942 sowie Erschiessung eines jüdischen Arztes).

Additional information about Stalag 345 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 46; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 239.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 239.

2. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178; Kriegstagebuch Korück Pz. AOK 4, Eintragung von 13.7.43, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 510.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 239.

4. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8582, Bl. 72–85 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2760.00000321–00000334).

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u.

i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

7. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8582, Bl. 91–94 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2760.00000340–00000343).

8. Abgabebericht, BArch B 162/8582, Bl. 98 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2760.00000347).

9. KONTAKTE-KONTAKTY. Association for Contacts with the Countries of the Former Soviet Union (Berlin): "Izbrannye pis'ma byvshikh sovetskikh voennoplennykh v adres obshchestva 'Kontakty,' pis'mo Sukhinina A.E.," April 24, 2008. http://www.kontakte-kontakty.de.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 346

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 346 on April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] From October 1941 to February 20, 1943, the camp was located in Kremenchug (map 9f), in Ukraine, and then in Starokonstantinov (9e). The camp was disbanded on August 12, 1943.[2] Stalag 346 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 22 797 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

At first the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiet Süd*). From June 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). Starting in March 1943, the camp was again under the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area, and from mid-1943, when the camp was redeployed to Starokonstantinov, it was subordinate once again to the Commander of Prisoners of War of the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine.

The first camp commandant was Major Hucklenbroich (until January 24, 1942), who was succeeded by Major Pohlenk. The deputy commandant was Major Rudloff, the camp adjutant was Hauptmann Hamacher, and the camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Seidel. The head of the camp administrative section was Oberzahlmeister Rudolf Prinzenberg, the head of labor deployment was Hauptmann Wätzmann, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Günster (until February 9, 1942) and Oberleutnant Ernst Stage. Until the spring of 1942, the camp doctor was Unterarzt Dr. Orland, and his assistant was Hilfsarzt Dr. Hermann Schülke; Orland was

succeeded by Oberarzt Dr. Lohr and Stabsarzt Dr. Redlin. In 1941 and early 1942, the camp was guarded by the 4th Company of the 560th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). The company commander was Hauptmann Steffal, and his deputy was Oberleutnant Halm. In late 1942 and 1943, the camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 842nd Reserve Battalion. A unit of Russian volunteers (*Hilfswillige)* assisted the German guards.

Stalag 346 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp population as of December 20, 1941, was 22,776 prisoners;[3] at the end of January 1942, it was 15,761; at the end of February 1942, it was 14,012; at the end of March, it was 13,943; and at the end of April, it was 11,581.[4] On June 1, 1942, there were 7,000 prisoners in the camp; on August 1, 8,820; on September 1, 21,852; on October 1, 21,709; on November 1, 7,915; on December 1, there were 5,845. On January 1, 1943, there were 7,120; and on February 1, there were 8,067.[5] Beginning on May 15, 1942, the camp also was used as an assembly camp for Muslim prisoners who had volunteered for or been conscripted into the "Eastern Legions."[6]

The camp began operation in October 1941, when about 20,000 prisoners from an overcrowded transit camp in Khorol' (Dulag 160) were sent to Kremenchug. On the way, the guards shot prisoners who were unable to walk due to exhaustion.[7] The prisoners lived in the former barracks of the Soviet 12th Battalion (Lager A) and in a mirror factory (Lager B); the prisoners at the latter location were involved in the construction of a wooden bridge over the Dnieper River.[8]

Because the barracks could not hold all the prisoners, many prisoners were forced to sleep outside. To accommodate the prisoners, the internal area of the camp was divided into 10 blocks, each of which was enclosed by barbed wire. The barracks were not heated, even in winter. Newly arrived prisoners were given no food for several days, and the food rations they eventually received were inadequate. In October and November 1941, the prisoners' rations consisted of a thin soup called *balanda*, made of flour and grain husks. Each prisoner received half a liter (one pint) of *balanda*, which caused constipation and upset stomach. Starting in December 1941, the *balanda* was made from burnt

rye, resulting in a black, oil-like substance. Later, the prisoners' *balanda* ration was "supplemented" with 150–200 grams (5.3–7 ounces) per day of ersatz bread.[9]

The malnutrition induced by these inadequate rations, along with severe overcrowding and lack of medical care, led to a high mortality rate in the camp. For example, according to the report of the Army Group South Rear Area commander dated December 21, 1941, 50 prisoners were dying in the camp each day, mainly of typhus.[10] According to a similar report dated January 31, 1942, 110 prisoners were dying in the camp each day, mainly of typhus, at a time when the camp population was 15,761 men.[11] In February 1942, 1,367 prisoners died, and in March, there were 862 deaths.[12] In total, from December 1941 to the end of April 1942, around 8,000 prisoners died in Stalag 346.

Prisoners were also subject to severe mistreatment at the hands of camp personnel. For example, one prisoner recalled the camp doctor, Dr. Orland, severely abusing a prisoner; the doctor "beat him, twisted his arms, put out his eye with a pen, broke his tibia, then ordered [a guard] to shoot him."[13] The conditions in the forced labor units were also harsh. Prisoner V. G. Khoridze, who worked on the wooden bridge with the other men from Camp B, reported that of the 1,500 men working there, 700 died within a period of two months. Some of them were beaten to death by the Germans at the work site.[14]

As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who then were shot near the camp by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment or by the camp guards.[15] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 37,000 prisoners died in Stalag 346 in Kremenchug. Near Lager A, 11 mass graves, which contained the bodies of about 30,000 prisoners, were found after the town was liberated. Four additional mass graves were found near Lager B, in which about 2,000 prisoners were buried. About 5,000 additional POWs were buried in the area of Peschanaia Hill, on the northeastern edge of town.[16] However, it should be noted that casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly. Little information is available about Stalag 346 during its brief deployment in Starokonstantinov,

although it can be safely assumed that conditions were similar to those in the camp in Kre-menchug.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 346 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-70-918); DAPO (file r3388-1-688); and BArch B 162/8597-8622 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 346 in Krementschug [Ukraine]).

Additional information about Stalag 346 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 220, 232; *Istoriia zasterihae. Trofeini dokumenty pro zlochyny nimets'kofashysts'kykh zaharbnykiv ta ikhnikh posobnykiv na tymchasovo okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukrainy, 1986), pp. 79–80, 88–91; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 47; *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Kiev: Naukova Dumla, 1987), p. 113; *Poltavshchyna v Velykii Vitchyznianii viini Radians'koho Soiuzu 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1977), pp. 78–80; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281–370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 243.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 243.

2. OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 18.

3. Report of the commander of the rear area, Army Group South, dated December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals,* vol. XI (Washington, DC, 1950), p. 643.

4. Reports of the commander of the rear area, Army Group South (commander of prisoners of war), dated January 31, 1942, March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), and April 30, 1942, *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 79–80, 88–91.

5. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

6. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 47.

7. Testimony of a former physician's assistant in the POW camp at Khorol, Hans Fruechte, *Trials of War Criminals*, vol. XI, p. 18. According to the testimony of former POW Blumenstick from Khorol, 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners were sent to Kremenchug, of whom 1,200–1,500 were killed en route (Ibid., pp. 641–642).

8. *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine*, p. 113.

9. DAPO, r3388-1-688, pp. 1–11.

10. Report of the commander of the rear area, Army Group South, dated December 21, 1941 (Nuernb. Dok. NOKW 1605), *Trials of War Criminals*, vol. XI, p. 643.

11. Report of the commander of the rear area, Army Group South, dated January 31, 1942, *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 79–80.

12. Report of the commander of the rear area, Army Group South (commander of prisoners of war), dated March 29, 1942 (for February–March 1942), *Istoriia zasterihae*, pp. 88–89.

13. *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine*, p. 114.

14. Ibid.

15. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 346 in Krementschug (Ukraine), BArch B 162/8597–8622.

16. Report dated November 29, 1943, concerning the atrocities of the German Fascist invaders in the town of Kremenchug, *Poltavshchyna v Velykii Vitchyznianii*, pp. 78–80.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 347

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 347 on April 4, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII. From August 1941 to October 1942, the camp was deployed in Rēzekne, Latvia (German: Rositten) (map 9b). From the fall of 1941 until the spring of 1942, the camp had a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) in Valga (German: Walk). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the General District Latvia (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalbezirk Lettland*) or Prisoner of War District Commandant H (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* H), which was, in turn, subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*).

Stalag 347 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 998 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. That number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943. A second number, 47 133, was issued between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942, and struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

The camp commandant was Major Ritter von Keliander. His deputy was Hauptmann Danzeisen. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) personnel included Leutnant von Klefmann and Leutnant Steinacker, a noncommissioned officer named Bremschmidt, Private Karl Strickle, a translator named Pirog, and Private Karl Eisel.[1]

Stalag 347 occupied a group of old quarantine barracks (some of which were built before World War I) in the northeastern part of Rēzekne. Two rows of barbed wire and a series of guard towers surrounded the barracks. The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). According to estimates by former prisoners, in the winter of 1941–1942, there were 30,000–40,000 prisoners in the camp.

After the "Pomeranian Commission" took 6,000 prisoners away to Germany in early 1942,[2] and after large numbers died of starvation and typhus, there were only 3,633 prisoners in the camp on June 25, 1942.[3] Hundreds of prisoners were in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp, working on roads, in forestry, and in agriculture. In July 1942, according to German statistics, 611 prisoners were working outside of the camp in the Rēzekne district.[4] According to official reports, the camp population declined from 13,227 prisoners in February 1942 to 2,323 prisoners in October 1942.[5]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners did not receive adequate food or medical care, and starvation and disease were widespread. Barrack No. 6 was referred to as the "death barracks" by the prisoners. It had a capacity of 700 men, but several thousand were crowded into it, men who had already lost their strength and were at death's door. Those who could no longer rise for the morning inspection were taken to "Barracks Zero," a low brick building that previously served as a storehouse with five-tiered plank beds.[6] Barrack No. 20 was a detention facility for Communists, Komsomol members, political workers, and Jews, along with prisoners who had tried to escape or were suspected of resistance. From the detention facility and the punishment barracks, prisoners often were led to the corporal punishment area, a square fenced in with two rows of barbed wire, across from the camp headquarters. The prisoners were then forced down onto their hands and knees, beaten with clubs and rods, and left to freeze to death.[7]

There was a hospital in the camp, set up in an old stable. From October 1941 to April 1943, prisoner I. E. Egorov worked as a doctor in the hospital. According to his testimony, "in February 1942, 18 patients froze to death in a single night and 46 got frostbitten hands and feet" in the unheated hospital. Medical supplies were limited. Those suffering from typhus were treated with the urine of patients who had recovered. The head of the hospital, German medical orderly Karl Eisel, frequently shot patients with the justification that they were going to die soon anyway.[8] According to data from the registration book in the camp hospital, 17,764 prisoners died there, some in the typhus epidemic that began in November 1941 and lasted throughout 1942, others

from other diseases or injuries, and still others from exhaustion or beatings.[9] In addition, many thousands perished without ever entering the hospital. As in other camps, prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who then were shot near the camp by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or camp guards.[10] As many as 35,000 prisoners may have died in Stalag 347, most of whom were buried in mass graves outside the camp.

Anna Mikhailovskaia, a 14-year-old resident of Rēzekne, recorded her impressions of Stalag 347 in her diary:

> October 13, 1941. The first snow fell today. It was so beautiful in the morning, but very cold. It was even colder to stand in line for bread. But then the unfortunate hungry prisoners are freezing, of course. Mama came from school and told such horrors that I couldn't bear to even write about this. In the quarantine barracks, 13 prisoners ate human flesh. All 13 were shot. Today they found 40 people dead on the plank beds…. October 21. Yesterday 150 died. Today a prisoner came to our house—a student at Leningrad University…. He asked questions about the neighborhood. He acknowledged that he is planning to run away. We gave him the last loaf of bread we had in the house…. November 16, 1941. Yesterday there was firing in the Ancupan Hills, and this morning, once again, they shot 22 political workers. There is no end to the rivers of blood…. The prisoners are dying as in the days of the plague. The barracks aren't heated. Every day they carry out 300–400 corpses.[11]

On November 23, 1942, the camp ceased to be an independent camp and was converted into a subcamp of Stalag 340 in Dünaburg (today Daugavpils).

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 347 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (files 7021-93-45, 47, 3787); LVVA (r132-30-25); and BArch B 162/15416–15418: Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 347 in Rositten (Rezekne) und Stablack/Ostpreussen.

Additional information about Stalag 347 can be found in the following publications: "Lageria voennoplennykh," *Entsiklopediia Riga* (Riga: Glavnaia redaktsiia entsiklopedii, 1989); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 47; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 247; and Marģers Vestermanis, *Tā rīkojās vērmahts* (Riga: Liesma, 1973), pp. 133–135.

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NOTES

1. LVVA, r132-30-25, pp. 50 and reverse, 66.
2. Ibid., p. 50.
3. LVVA, r69-1-10, p. 380.
4. Statistische Berichte für den Generalbezirk Lettland, p. 29, LVVA, r69-1-10, p. 380.
5. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
6. LVVA, r132-25-48, p. 48 and reverse.
7. LVVA, r132-30-39, p. 66.
8. LVVA, r132-30-25, pp. 47–49 and reverse.
9. Ibid., p. 49 and reverse.
10. Mikhailovskaia, "Dnevnik," Collections of the Military Museum of Latvia, Inventory No. 760-V.
11. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 347 in

Rositten (Rezekne) und Stablack/Ostpreussen, BArch B 162/15416–15418.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 348

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 348 on April 8, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII in Katscher (today Kietrz, Poland) (map 4e). Shortly thereafter, it was deployed to Reichshof (Polish: Rzeszów) (5), in the Generalgouvernement. In September 1941, the camp redeployed to Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro, Ukraine) (9f). The camp staff arrived in Dnepropetrovsk in the second half of October 1941 and took over the site of Dulag 180, in the former city jail. By December 1941, subcamps existed in Pavlograd and Zaporozh'e. These sub-camps were closed in early February 1943 as the Red Army advanced westward, and the prisoners were transferred to the main camp in Dnepropetrovsk. Several days later, the camp in Dnepropetrovsk, was also liquidated, and from there the prisoners were sent westward. In March 1943, the camp staff took over a small camp in Gaisin (today Haisyn, Ukraine) (9e), which held 700–800 prisoners.[1]

Stalag 348 was initially subordinate to the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Süd*). As of November 15, 1941, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*).[2] The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 098 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943.

The camp commandants were Oberst Vasquez (until October 6, 1941), Major Hellmich (from October 6, 1941, to July 31, 1942), and Major Viehof (starting on July 31, 1942). The adjutants were Hauptmann Fiedler (until July 1942) and Hauptmann von Prondczynski (starting in August 1942). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer, as of July 12, 1942, was Hauptmann Lorenz. The camp officers were Hauptmann Schulz (from the fall of 1941

on) and Hauptmann Bachstein.[3]

Stalag 348 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp population reached a maximum of 36,581 prisoners in October 1942 but had decreased to only 1,026 by August 1943.[4] The branch camp in Pavlograd held an average of 2,000– 3,000 prisoners, and the subcamp in Zaporozh'e held 500–1,000.[5]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high mortality rate. Newly arrived prisoners were screened on a regular basis to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communists, whom the camp guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) details shot.[6] The exact number of prisoners who died in the camp is unknown. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 30,000 prisoners died in the camp in Dnepropetrovsk; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly.[7]

Stalag 348 was disbanded on August 21, 1943. In 1969, the chief prosecutor's office in Dortmund opened an investigation of former staff members of Stalag 348, including Major Viehof, Hauptmann Lorenz, and Hauptmann Schulz for their participation in the murder of Jews and Communists. The investigation was closed in 1972 due to a lack of evidence.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 348 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (files 7021-57-13); Ts-DAGO (file 57-4-214); and DADO (file r2276-1-854).

Additional information about Stalag 348 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), 212; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–*

1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 47; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 250.

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NOTES

1. Der Leiter der Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, 45 Js 30/69, Verfügung v. 15.2.1972, BArch B 162/7168, Bl. 381, 383–384.

2. Bfh. rückw. H.Geb.Süd/Abt. Qu/No. 589/41 geh., Bericht der Quartiermeister-Abteilung über die Zeit vom 1.-30.11.1941 v. 30.11.1941, BArch B 162/4906, Bl. 1760.

3. Der Leiter der Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, 45 Js 30/69, Verfügung v. 15.2.1972, BArch B 162/7168, Bl. 382.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

5. Der Leiter der Zentralstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, 45 Js 30/69, Verfügung v. 15.2.1972, BArch B 162/7168, Bl. 381, 383–384.

6. Aussonderung von russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 348 in Dnjepropetrowsk (Ukraine), BArch B 162/8707–8712.

7. TsDAGO 57-4-214, p. 59.

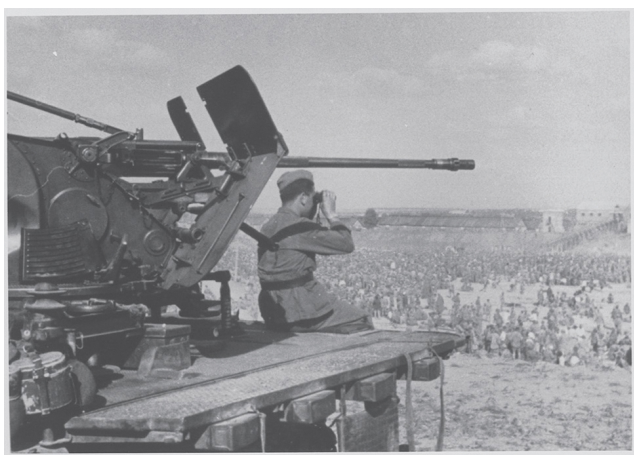
MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 349

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 349 on April 10, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX. From September 1941 until October 1943, the camp was located in Uman' (map 9e), in the USSR.[1] Beginning on August 16, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War *(Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) in the Generalgouvernement of Poland. As of August 22, 1941, the camp was temporarily under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets Süd*).[2] Effective on October 20, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*).[3] On March 19, 1943, the camp was once again subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area.[4] Stalag 349 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 47 316 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck on January 20, 1944.

The camp commandant was Major der Reserve Hans Koch (1880–1948). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann der Reserve Otto Dyroff. The camp was guarded (as of November 1942) by the 1st Company of the 783rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[5]

Stalag 349 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp population varied from a minimum of 7,187 prisoners in February 1942 to a maximum of 16,184 in October 1942.[6] The camp occupied the site of a poultry farm. Barbed wire surrounded the campgrounds, and metal mesh divided the interior into sections, although it was possible to move freely between the sections.

Guard towers with machine guns, flanked by antitank weapons and mortars, were located around the perimeter of the farm. The camp also included a clay pit located near the farm, part of a brickyard, which had open-sided sheds for drying the bricks. The prisoners jumped into the pit in search of water.[7] Over the course of six years, clay had been extracted from the pit to make bricks and tiles. By the summer of 1941, the area of this pit was more than 10 hectares (24.7 acres). The depth of the pit was 6–15 meters (about 20–50 feet). The Germans surrounded the pit with two rows of barbed wire and built 11 watchtowers. The deepest spot in the pit was also surrounded with barbed wire; Communists and Jews were held in this area.[8] The local residents' name for the camp, the "Uman' pit," was derived from this area.



Stalag 349 at Uman'. A German guard sitting on the end of a 20mm gun platform watches over 50,000 Soviet POWs, August 1941. USHMM, COURTESY OF NARA, WS #91098.

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high mortality rate. For example, in November and December 1941, 948 of the 2,317 men in Infirmary (*Revier*) No. 3 died.[9] Former Oberleutnant Erwin Bingel, commander of the 2nd Company of the 783rd Reserve Battalion, gave the following testimony regarding the conditions in

Stalag 349 on December 27, 1945, during a preliminary Soviet investigation of German war crimes in the camp:

> In one of my reports I made a statement concerning the regime inside the prisoner-of-war camp at Uman…. This camp was guarded by a company of our subsection of the 783rd Battalion, and I was therefore familiar with everything which occurred in the camp. It was the task of this battalion to guard the prisoners of war and to control the highways and railroads…. This camp was calculated to hold, under normal conditions, from 6,000 to 7,000 men; at that time, however, it housed 74,000 men…. The regime in that camp was definitely peculiar. The existing conditions gave one the impression that the camp commander, Captain Becker, was quite unable to handle and feed so large a number of men. There were two kitchens in the camp, although they could hardly be called kitchens. Iron barrels had been placed on stone and concrete floors, and the food for the prisoners was prepared in these barrels. But the kitchens, even if operating for 24 hours on end, could only prepare food for approximately 2,000 people daily. The usual diet for the prisoner was very insufficient. The daily ration for six men consisted of one loaf of bread which, again, could scarcely be described as bread. Disturbances frequently arose during the distribution of the hot food, for the prisoners—and there were 70,000 of them in the camp—struggled to get at the victuals. In cases like these the guards resorted to clubs—a usual procedure in the camp, I obtained the general impression that in all the camps the club was inevitably the foundation of all things.[10]

On February 26, 1946, at the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg, former prisoner Eugene Kivelisha corroborated Bingel's statements:

> There were about 15,000 to 20,000 wounded in Uman Camp where I found myself on the second day after my arrival in Tarnovka. They were all lying in the open, dressed in their summer uniforms, and a great many of them were incapable of moving. Food and water were supplied to them in the same

> way as to the other captives in the camp. There they lay, without any medical attention, their dust-covered dressings soaked in blood, often in pus. Dressings, surgical instruments, equipment for an operating theater just did not exist in the camp at Uman'…. Almost all the captives in the camp were kept in the open air. The food was extremely bad. In the grounds of the Uman' Camp, where I spent 8 days, twice a day a few fires would be lit out of doors and a thin pea soup was cooked in vats over these fires. There was no special routine for distributing food to the prisoners of war, and the boiled soup would then be set down amongst the whole mass of people. No control whatsoever was exercised over the distribution. The starving prisoners rushed up in the hope of obtaining even a minute portion of this thin, unsalted soup, cooked without fat and served without bread. Disorder and crowding arose. The German guards, all armed with clubs as well as with rifles and automatic guns, beat up all the prisoners of war within range of their blows for the purpose of maintaining order. The Germans would often intentionally set down a small barrel of soup among a great number of people, and once again, to restore order, they would beat up the absolutely innocent people with laughter, oaths, insults, and threats.[11]

As in other camps, the prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or camp guards. For example, on October 8, 1941, the 304th Police Battalion, commanded by Police Major Kurt Deckert, shot 600 Jewish prisoners from the camp, along with 5,400 Jewish civilians from Uman'.[12] The total number of prisoners who died in the camp is unknown. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 15,000 prisoners of war died in Stalag 349; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly. Stalag 349 was dissolved on October 4, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 349 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des

Kriegsgefangenenwesens); BArch B 162/8678–8681 ("Aussonderung" von jüd. und russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 349 in Uman/Ukraine); the GARF (file 7021-65-241); DAKO (file r2730-1-5); and the Museum of Local Lore in Uman'.

Additional information about Stalag 349 can be found in the following publications: Evgenii G. Dolmatovskii, *Zelenaia Brama* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1983); Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmu ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 222, 224; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 47–48; M. Mel'nichenko, "'Umanskaia iama.' Genotsid vblizy," *Evreiskie vesti* (November 1994); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 254.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 254; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 47.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 254; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 47.

3. Bfh. rückw. H.Geb.Süd/Abt. Qu/No. 462/41 geh., Bericht der Quartiermeister-Abteilung über die Zeit vom 1.-30.Okt.1941 v. 30.10.1941, BArch B 162/4906, Bl. 1766.

4. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 254; Mattiello and Vogt,

Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen, p. 47.

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

7. See the memoirs of former prisoner Captain Mitrofan Tanchenko, http://parabellum1941.narod.ru/simple29.html.

8. Mel'nichenko, "'Umanskaia iama.' Genotsid vblizy."

9. Dolmatovskii, "Zelenaia brama," 2 (1983): 47.

10. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal. Nuremberg 14 November 1945–1 October 1946*, vol. VII (Nuremberg, 1947), pp. 395–397.

11. Ibid., pp. 274–275.

12. See the diary of the commander of Company 2, 304th Police Battalion, Otto Müller, Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehem. DDR, Archiv der Zentralstelle: MfS—HA IX/11, ZUV 78, vol. 6.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 350

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 350 on April 15, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X.[1] From August 1941 until the Germans disbanded it on April 21, 1944, Stalag 350 was located in Riga (map 9b). Stalag 350 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 135 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck on August 26, 1943, reissued on January 21, 1944, and then permanently struck on November 9, 1944. Stalag 350 had subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Salaspils and Mitau (Jelgava). A number of labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) from the main camp were deployed in various locations in Riga.[2]

Beginning on July 25, 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ostland and Prisoner of War District H (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland* and *Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirk H*). Beginning on November 20, 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operational Area IV (*Operationsgebiet IV*).

The camp commandants were Major Sulzberger and Oberst Wuelfert. The camp adjutant was Hauptmann Osswald and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Walter Wagner. The camp officers (*Lageroffizier*) were Hauptmann Zierold, Oberleutnant Reuter, Oberleutnant Hendrichs, and Oberleutnant Rick. The commandant of the subcamp at Mitau was, from January 1943, Hauptmann der Reserve Ehrnsperger. The camp was guarded (as of January 15, 1943) by the 529th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). The battalion commander was Major Schorn, his deputy was Hauptmann Schneider, the commander of the 1st Company was Oberleutnant Dornberger, and the commander of the 2nd Company was Hauptmann Bux.[3]

Latvian police also helped guard the camp.

Stalag 350 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Between February 1942 and September 1943, the camp held between 20,000 and 30,000 prisoners.[4] Stalag 350 was located on Pernavas Street, at the intersection with the street known to the Germans as the Rudolfstrasse, in the former barracks of the 5th Sessiskii Regiment. The conditions created here were intolerable. In the late summer of 1941, the prisoners lived in two barracks: the former officers' club and a stable. There was not enough space in these makeshift barracks for all of the prisoners, and many had to sleep under the open sky. Seeking refuge from the cold and rain, the prisoners used whatever objects came to hand to dig shallow pits, where they lived until winter. When the cold weather set in, the Germans hastily constructed 10 additional barracks, but they lacked windows and heat, and the roofs were full of holes. Inside the barracks, there were long rows of plank beds in three and five tiers, which nonetheless were insufficient in number.

The prisoners were made to work 12–14 hours a day, and the daily rations consisted of 150–200 grams (5.3–7 ounces) of bread and a thick soup made of food scraps. According to survivor testimony, the Germans shot prisoners who were not able to work or were ill. The Germans also beat and tortured prisoners for no reason. In February 1942, instances of cannibalism were recorded on several occasions, as numerous witnesses confirmed.[5] For example, former POW P. F. Iakovenko testified that "they gave us 180 grams (6.3 ounces) of bread, half of which was sawdust and straw, and one liter (one quart) of soup without any salt, made from unpeeled, rotten potatoes. We slept right on the ground, and were plagued with lice. From December 1941 to May 1942, 30,000 POWs died in the camp of starvation, cold, beatings, or typhus, or were shot."[6]

The largest work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) was located at 62 Slokas Street, in the former barracks of a motorized regiment of the Latvian Army. The conditions were as dreadful there as in the other subcamps. The prisoners had to work primarily at the nearby Spilve Airport, where they repaired the ruined airfield. Some dead prisoners were buried on the grounds of the airport; after the war, the area covered by the mass graves was calculated as 1,486 square meters (almost 16,000 square feet). The

Germans buried others in a cemetery near the camp, across the road facing Kukushkin Hill, and in the area of the barracks.[7] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), between September 1941 and April 1942, 19,000 persons starved to death in this work detachment; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.

The "hospital" for the prisoners was at 1 Gimnasticheskaia Street, in a five-story brick building (a former almshouse) surrounded by two rows of barbed wire. A branch of the hospital was located on the Jelgava highway, in six two-story buildings (a former psychiatric hospital). As many as 17,000 prisoners were "treated" at this hospital between July 1941 and September 1943; the majority of them died of malnutrition or because the medical care they received was inadequate. There was no bedding and most of the prisoners did not have proper clothing. Lice were rampant in the hospital, as there were no disinfection facilities until 1942. Emma Mikelevna Fausts, a junior nurse at the hospital, testified that "wards were overfilled with sick and injured men, and often beds were placed in the corridors … many of the buildings had broken windows, and therefore in some buildings there was constantly a draft, and it was cold." The death rate in the hospital was sometimes as high as 60–70 men per day according to the ChGK (however, the standard cautions about ChGK figures apply).[8]

As many as 2,000 prisoners worked in the work detachment at 130 Kr. Barona Street. The conditions there were also inhumane, and it was often a destination for sick or weakened prisoners whom the Germans wished to allow to die.[9] The work detachment at 139 Bruņinieku Street held Soviet officers, with an average population of about 500 men and similarly poor conditions and high mortality rates.[10] The conditions in the branch of the subcamp at Salaspils were no better. The Germans neither registered nor counted the prisoners. The "camp" consisted of three open areas, fenced in but with no permanent structures. Prisoners who were unfit to work received no food and were thus starved to death. The prisoners had already been without food for a week or more during their transport from the main camp; often, half of the men were already dead by the time they arrived at Salaspils. Those who

jumped out of the trains and attempted to get water upon arrival were shot. On September 25, 1944, all of the sick prisoners at Salaspils were taken to the woods and shot.[11] After nine months, of several tens of thousands of inmates, only 3,434 were still alive.[12]

The ChGK, which investigated the Germans' crimes in Stalag 350 after the liberation of Riga in October 1944, established that more than 130,000 POWs perished in this camp complex.[13] As in other camps, prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communist Party members, who were shot by the guards or a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment.[14]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 350 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-93-5, 8); LVVA (file P-132-30-34); and BArch B 162/9009–9011, 18193, 28898).

Additional information about Stalag 350 can be found in the following publications: "Lageria voennoplennykh," *Entsiklopediia Riga* (Riga: Glavnaia redaktsiia entsiklopedii, 1989), p. 398; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 48; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 256; and Marģers Vestermanis, *Tā rīkojās vērmahts* (Riga: Liesma, 1973), pp. 126–129.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 48; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 256.

2. LVVA, P-132-30-34.

3. BArch B 162/19279, fol. 448.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

5. LVVA, P-132, f.30, ap. 34, lp. 29.

6. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva. Dokumenty ob okkupatsionnoi politike fashistskoi Germanii na territorii SSSR (1941–1944 gg.)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi literatury, 1968), p. 201.

7. LVVA, P-132, f.30, ap.34, p. 2.

8. Ibid., p. 19.

9. Ibid., pp. 32–33.

10. Ibid.

11. Akten über die von deutsch-fascisten Agresssoren und ihren Helfershelfern in Riga begangenen Verbrechen und Zerstörungen, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.4/0008/0485.

12. LVVA, P-69-1-10, p. 380.

13. *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva*, p. 202.

14. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 350 in Riga, BArch B 162/9009–9011.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 351

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 351 on April 7, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X, from a Frontstalag.[1] In September 1941, the camp deployed to the village of Berezvech'e (today part of Hlybokae, or Glubokoe, Belarus) (map 9b). At the end of March 1942, the camp was redeployed to Walk (today Valga, Estonia) (9a). From January 12 to March 22, 1944, the camp was located in Leobschütz (today Głubczyce, Poland) (4e). Finally, from June 9 to December 14, 1944, it was deployed in Barkenbrügge (today Barkniewko, Poland) (4b).[2] The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*). Stalag 351 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 548 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on August 26, 1943.

The commandant of Stalag 351 was Major Josef Franz Jarzebecki. His deputies were Friedrich Hanke and Gerhard Wahn. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Dr. Erich Kummer. The camp doctors were Dr. Heinz Haselhorst, Dr. Hans Köbele, and Dr. Walter Leonhard.[3] While it was located in Berezvech'e, the camp was guarded by personnel from the 366th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[4] After it relocated to Walk, the camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 584th Reserve Battalion.

Stalag 351 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). From mid-1942 to the fall of 1943, the camp population remained relatively stable at around 5,000 prisoners.[5] The camp in Berezvech'e was located near a monastery. Aside from a two-story stone building on the grounds of the camp, there were no other structures. The Germans built several wooden barracks, but the vast majority of the prisoners slept under the open sky where they dug holes in the ground to get at least some protection from snow and freezing temperatures. The prisoners were constantly

malnourished, leading some of them to resort to cannibalism.[6] Outbreaks of infectious diseases were common due to inadequate medical care. In addition, the prisoners suffered from frequent beatings at the hands of the guards. As a result of these terrible conditions, the death rate in the camp was very high; between September and November 1941, there were reportedly 200–500 deaths per day in the camp. On February 1, 1942, only 1,142 prisoners remained alive in the camp, while in September 1941 the camp had contained around 25,000 prisoners.[7] Conditions did not improve after the relocation of the camp; the prisoners held in Walk continued to suffer due to hunger, disease, and abuse. As in other camps for Soviet POWs, prisoners arriving in the camp were screened by the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer to separate out any "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, whom the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) executed near the camp.[8]

After the camp was liberated in 1944, the Soviet investigative commission found 56 mass graves of 5 by 12 meters (16 by 39 feet) in Berezvech'e; 12 additional burial pits of the same size were located nearby. Nine rows of corpses were found in each grave. The investigators estimated that each grave contained approximately 400 corpses, which is also confirmed by the testimony of former prisoner Vasilii Podol'skii, who worked filling the graves.[9] Around 22,000 persons were buried in these mass graves. The camp was dissolved in December 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 351 is located in BA-MA (RH 22: 265, 283; RW 6: 450, 451; RH 22: 283, fol. 123; RH 53-17: 42); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 351); BArch B 162/8890–8893 ("Aussonderung" von russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 351 in Walk [Litauen]) and 30890 (Überprüfung des zum Stalag 351 gehörenden Kriegsgefangenenlagers Oderhain [Januszkowice] bei Leobschütz westlich Gleiwitz/Oberschlesien); and GARF (file 7021-92-212).

Additional information about Stalag 351 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 80–83; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche*

Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944 (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000), p. 822; Paul Kohl, *"Ich wundere mich, dass ich noch lebe": sowjetische Augenzeugen berichten* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1990), p. 110; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen-und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 48; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii 1941–1944* (Minsk: Belarus', 1965), p. 299; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 258.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 258.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 48.
3. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Gerhard Wahn, BArch B 162/8891, Bl. 31–35 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2780.00000784–00000788).
4. Kohl, *"Ich wundere mich,"* p. 110.
5. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
6. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Gerhard Wahn, BArch B 162/8891, Bl. 42 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2780.00000795).
7. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 822.
8. Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Gerhard Wahn, BArch B 162/8891, Bl. 45–46 (copy at USHMM

RG-14.101M.2780.00000793–00000794).

9. See report of the chairman of the Polotsk oblast' ChGK, *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh*, p. 299.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 352

The Germans established Stalag 352 from Stalag XII A on April 26, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. As of August 26, 1941, the camp deployed to Minsk (map 9b), in the USSR.[1] In 1943 and 1944, the camp had a subcamp in the town of Molodechno. At the end of June 1944, as a result of the Red Army's advance on Minsk, the Germans evacuated the camp westward, and then officially disbanded it on August 20.

The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War (POWs) in the General District White Ruthenia (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalbezirk Weissruthenien*). From December 1941 to June 1943, Oberst Oskar Karkowski held this position. As of November 17, 1943, the camp was subordinate to the General Quartermaster (*Generalquartiermeister*) of the ground forces.[2]

Stalag 352 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 39 306 between February 28 and July 29, 1941. That number was struck between April 23 and November 24, 1944. A second number, 33 909, was assigned on August 8, 1944, and struck on January 25, 1945.

The camp commandants were Major Maximilian Ossfeld (August 20 to December 1941), Major Hans Linsbauer, Gerald Jouin (as of October 1942), Oberst Maximilian Pönicke, and Oberst Sibrand Siegert. The deputy commandants were Hauptmann Heinrich Lipp (from April 1942 to June 1944; died in 1948), Rudolf Klaeber, and Hauptmann Dr. Kurt Uecker (from September to October 1942, he was acting commandant of the camp). The head of the secondary camp in the "Pushkin barracks" was Hauptmann Prob (or Prieb).

The 332nd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp.[3] This battalion deployed to the east on July 20,

1941, and went to Minsk via East Prussia and Lithuania. In Minsk, it guarded the main camp (the so-called forest camp) and the branch of the camp at the Pushkin barracks. Until June 1943, the battalion commander was Hauptmann Patscheck, whom Hauptmann Dammer replaced. To maintain internal order, the Germans also formed a camp police force, made up of Ukrainian and Lithuanian POWs and local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*).[4]

The camp was located near the city of Minsk, in the village of Masiukovshchina (the forest camp; now part of Minsk) and in the town itself, in the so-called Pushkin barracks (the "town camp"). The forest camp was the main camp; it consisted of 21 wooden barracks, intended to accommodate 9,500 prisoners, and contained automotive workshops and garages. The Germans enclosed the entire territory of the camp with several rows of barbed wire, fixed to heavy concrete pillars, 3 meters (almost 10 feet) in height. The space between the rows of wire barriers was also interwoven with barbed wire. At night the wires were electrically charged. Along the line of the wire barriers and in the corners, the Germans erected guard towers with searchlights. In addition, sentry posts were set up along the fence.

The camp held Soviet POWs. From December 1943 to June 1944, the camp also held 3,500 Italian military prisoners.[5] The prisoners lived in barracks, stables, half-destroyed barns, and, frequently, particularly in the fall and winter of 1941–1942, simply out in the open. The Germans placed the prisoners in barracks without any preliminary medical processing. There was no general provision for bathing; when they could, the prisoners washed themselves in cold, dirty water. Their underwear was not washed and not changed. Any light inside the barracks at night was prohibited. If the guards noticed a fire anywhere in the barracks, they immediately opened fire on the windows. The prisoners lacked such necessary items as spoons and mess tins. To hold the thin soup, they used tin cans and broken pieces of crockery.

The Germans quartered the prisoners in separate groups. There were barracks for Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and prisoners from Central Asia. Those with no documents in their possession when they were taken prisoner were kept together. Periodically, the Germans shot them, along with the other "undesirables" such as

Jews and political commissars, in places not far from the camp: in the village cemetery, along the roads, in ditches, and in ravines.[6] Around 8,000 prisoners identified as political commissars were shot in October 1941 alone.[7]

> The Germans set up an infirmary in a three-story stone building, where the sick and injured were not so much treated as "helped" to die. Death rates there ranged from over 10 percent to more than 27 percent. A post-liberation report by forensic medical experts provided information on conditions in the infirmary, as part of a larger investigation into the Germans' treatment of the prisoners in Stalag 352. The document specifically notes that 80.6 percent of the deaths were due to emaciation and colitis … the daily food ration received by the POWs consisted of an insignificant amount of bread—100 to 200 grams [3.5 to 7 ounces], containing 50 percent sawdust—and 1 liter [1 quart] of warm water with an admixture of potato peels or rotten potatoes or musty flour … extraordinary overcrowding in cold, dirty barracks; development of lice due to the lack of baths and the overcrowding; withholding of food as a means of punishment; back-breaking work, accompanied by exhausting marches and systematic beatings…. Living conditions in the camp were such that they even caused POWs to commit suicide. [These conditions] explain with comprehensive persuasiveness the origin, next to Stalag 352, of a separate cemetery with its 197 graves and the 80,000 corpses of Soviet POWs buried in them.[8]

Starting in the spring of 1942, the situation in the camp changed as a result of the fact that Soviet POWs, as a workforce, began to have great significance for Germany's war economy. By the summer of 1942, they all were housed in barracks and there was some improvement in the way they were treated. At the forest camp, a hospital, a disinfestation station, and a bathhouse were placed in operation. To boost the prisoners' productivity, the Germans increased the daily bread ration to 270 grams (9.5 ounces). The number of prisoners had also decreased significantly owing to the enormous death rate in the winter of 1941–1942 and

the shipment of large contingents to other camps. In addition, far fewer new prisoners were arriving now, as a result of the altered situation at the front. At the same time, requests for workers were increasing, both from the Wehrmacht structures in the rear area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe mitte*) and from the civilian administration.

From the moment of the camp's creation, prisoners who were fit for work were placed in work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) for tasks both inside the camp and outside its boundaries. Inside the camp, the work included making repairs, doing construction, stockpiling firewood, tidying up the grounds, and carrying water. Prisoners worked in the garage and at the sawmill. Starting in 1942, workshops began to be set up for carpentry, shoemaking, and sewing and tailoring.

On the basis of applications from local enterprises, the Germans formed parties for work outside the boundaries of the camp. The largest source of requests for workers was Organisation Todt, a German civil and military engineering group. It used POWs for a wide variety of tasks, such as at factories and construction sites and in the dismantling of ruins in the city. A large contingent of prisoners worked at the railroad in connection with requests from the Main Railroad Management Office in Minsk. The camp headquarters put together and placed at that office's disposal work parties positioned at more than 90 railroad stations in Belorussia. These work parties had the status of subcamps, each with its own number. For example, the Mikhanovichi Station and Section 7 were operated by Kommando 2016. The number of prisoners in the various work parties was different and varied within a rather broad range—from a few dozen to 150. Their labor was used for unloading and loading freight cars, repairing and cleaning the roadbed and the spur tracks for the stations, cutting down trees along the railroad lines, transporting gravel, laying railroad ties, and so on.[9]

Mass killings of POWs also took place. According to the verdict in the case of the former commander of the 2nd Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, Major Antanas Impulevicius, this battalion shot around 9,000 POWs in Minsk, in the fall of 1941.[10] In February 1942, a total of 925 prisoners at the camp were shot. In August 1942, 600 prisoners were shot.[11] According to the

testimony of Alois Hetterich, a former private in the 12th Company, 3rd Battalion, 375th Regiment, 327th Infantry Division, his battalion shot about 10,000 men near the Minsk-Tovarnaia Freight Station between January 28 and 31, 1943. The victims were mostly prisoners who were emaciated and unfit for work; Hetterich's platoon alone is said to have shot 1,500 prisoners.[12]

There was a resistance movement in the camp. By November 1941, an underground group was formed in the camp; its plans included freeing all the prisoners (19,000 persons), seizing the airfield, at which Soviet parachutists were supposed to land, and—taking into account the advance of Soviet forces and retreat of German forces after the defeat at Moscow— breaking through to the front line. However, the German Security Police, with the help of prisoners turned informers, found out about this underground group and wiped it out in early January 1942. In *Ereignismeldung UdSSR*, no. 154, dated January 12, 1942, it states: "January 4. Discovery of an insurgent organization in the POW camp. Thus far, a total of 315 arrests."[13]

Prisoners also tried to escape at every opportunity, and local residents often helped them in these attempts. For example, in *Ereignismeldung UdSSR*, no. 172, dated February 23, 1942, it states: "In Minsk … were caught … 2 Russians who helped 12 Russian POWs to escape. Owing to poor guarding, on February 17, 1942, alone, 15 POWs escaped from the camp in Minsk."[14] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), approximately 119,000 Soviet prisoners died at Stalag 352; however, it is likely that this figure is well in excess of the actual death toll, as casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated.[15]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 352 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (7021-87-123, 124, 137, 2: Stalag 352; 7021-148-214); NARB (845-1-63, 64; 4683-3-918); GAMO (69p-1-8; 623-1-425, 581; 2316-1-327, 328, 329, 330); and BArch B 162/9039–9043 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 352 in Minsk).

Additional information about Stalag 352 can be found in the

following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 82–83; R. A. Chernoglazova, *Masiukovshchina: Shtalag-352. 1941–1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2005); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000), pp. 787–788, 851–853; Paul Kohl, *"Ich wundere mich, dass ich noch lebe": sowjetische Augenzeugen berichten* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher-Verlag-Haus Mohn, 1990), pp. 78–88; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 48; V. Mikhailov and V. Romanovskii, *Nel'zia prostit'* (Minsk, 1967), p. 23; Iu. Popov, *Voina i plen: Martirolog* (Minsk: Iunipak, 2005); Alfred Streim, *Die Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im "Fall Barbarossa"* (Heidelberg: Müller, Juristischer Verlag, 1981), p. 285; *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeianiiakh, sovershennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v Belorusskoi SSSR (15-29 ianvaria 1946)* (Minsk, 1947), p. 255; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 264; and O. O. Usachev, "Lager' voennoplennykh i memorial v Masiukovshchine."

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 264; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen*, p. 48.

2. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 787–788.

3. Some members of this battalion were in Soviet captivity and in August 1945 gave detailed testimony about the Soviet POWs'

conditions of confinement in the camp. See the testimonies of Gustav Hager, Hermann Unrau, Karl Hoffmann, and Kasimir Krzyzanowski, BArch B 162/Ordner No. 245 Ab, Bild 52–59, 62–69, 211–220, 227–252.

4. Testimony of POW Hermann Haack, a former serviceman in *Landesschützenbataillon* 332 (November 18, 1944), GARF, 7021-149-103, p. 25.

5. Mikhailov and Romanovskii, *Nel'zia prostit'*, p. 23.

6. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 352 in Minsk, BArch B 162/9039–9043.

7. Streim, *Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, p. 237.

8. GARF, 7021-87-137, pp. 7–11.

9. Chernoglazova, *Masiukovshchina*, pp. 7–9.

10. The trial of Antanas Impulevicius and others took place in Kaunas from October 10 to October 20, 1962. See Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 851. In October 1941, from 2,000 to 8,000 prisoners were shot.

11. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 851.

12. *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 255; Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 852–853. After his liberation from Soviet captivity (at the trial in Minsk in January 1946, Hetterich was sentenced to 15 years of penal servitude), Hetterich declared that he gave this testimony "under torture" and it was not in conformity with reality. Streim also asserts that such an action did not take place, because in late January and early February the 327th Infantry Division was still in France. However, the transferring of the division from France through Minsk to the North Caucasus was not reconstructed in its entirety. Parts of the division, including, most likely, the 3rd Battalion, actually had an unplanned stop in Minsk, though it was two weeks later than stated in Hetterich's testimony (cf. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 853n415).

13. BArch B 162/443, Bl. 96.

14. BArch B 162/446, Bl. 415.

15. Streim, *Behandlung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener*, p. 248.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 353

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 353 on April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III.[1] From August to December 1941, the camp was located about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) west of Grodno (today in Belarus) (map 4c), in an area the Germans annexed. In January 1942, the camp was deployed to Orsha (9b), in Soviet Belorussia, where it took over the former site of Dulag 127; the former site of Stalag 353 near Grodno was then occupied by Stalag 324. The camp was subordinate to the 286th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) and the Prisoner of War District Commandant K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* K). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Wild. The camp was guarded by the 1st Company of the 531st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). Stalag 353 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 15 392 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck on October 22, 1944.

Stalag 353 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Severe overcrowding, malnutrition, and inadequate medical care led to widespread death from starvation and disease. Deliberate mistreatment by the guards further exacerbated these conditions, and the death rate in the camp was extremely high, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942. In January 1942, 100–120 prisoners were dying in the camp each day.[2] The postwar investigation by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) calculated a death toll of 14,000 at the camp in Orsha; however, casualty figures reported by the ChGK are often significantly overstated, and this number should be viewed accordingly.[3] As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, that a detachment of the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or the guards then shot near the camp.[4] The date of the camp's

dissolution is unknown; it was still in service as of September 10, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 353 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-84-10); NARB (file 4683-3-917); and BArch B 162/21206–21208 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 353 zu Orscha).

Additional information about Stalag 353 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941—1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 84–85; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 49; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belarusi. 1941–1944* (Minsk: Instytut historyi, 1965), pp. 241–242; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 368.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 368.
2. Wirtschaftskommando im Divisionsbereich Orscha, Lagebericht vom 15.1.1942, BA-MA F 42901, p. 401.
3. See report of Orsha Municipal ChGK, September 20, 1944, *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh*, pp. 241–242.
4. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 353 zu Orscha, BArch B 162/21206–21208.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 354

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 354 on April 28, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] In October 1941, the camp deployed to the former Red Army post at Borovukha 1 (today Baravukha 1, Belarus) (map 9b), where it took over the site of Dulag 155.[2] Initially, the camp was subordinate to the 403rd Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) and then to the 201st Security Brigade (*Sicherungsbrigade*) and the Prisoner of War District Commandant K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* K). Stalag 354 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 979 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck on April 26, 1944.

The first commandant of Stalag 354 was Major Paul Kuhn; his successor was Major Hans Menz. The deputy commandants were Hauptmann Fritz Weber and Hauptmann Fried-rich Lohrisch. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Ferdinand Krems. The camp doctor was Dr. Horst Felgenhauer. The camp was guarded by the 1st Company of the 894th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[3]

Stalag 354 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was badly overcrowded, the prisoners were malnourished, and virtually no medical care was provided. The guards added to their misery with beatings and abuse. As in other camps, newly arrived prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then shot near the camp by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment or the camp guards.[4]

Because of the terrible conditions in the camp and deliberate mistreatment of the prisoners, the death rate in Stalag 354 was very high. On the basis of reports from partisans, in the winter of

1941–1942, the death rate in the camp was as high as 200 prisoners per day, and, in total, as many as 20,000 prisoners died that winter.[5] According to the testimony of witness Andrei Semenov, who worked as an electrician at the military post, in the winter of 1941–1942 the death rate even rose as high as 250–300 prisoners per day, and a total of 25,000 persons perished during that winter.[6] In January 1943, when the camp held around 2,400 prisoners, there were 122 deaths (5%) per day, and the prisoners who were ill or unfit for work numbered 1,090 (46%).[7] In total, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 29,000 persons are reported to have died in the camp; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially inflated and should be viewed accordingly.[8] The date of the camp's dissolution is unknown; it was still in operation as of October 10, 1943.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 354 is located in BA-MA (RH 22: 225, 230–231, 247–248; RW 41: 4; RH 53-17: 42; Stammtafel); GARF (file 7021-92-221); NARB (file 4683-3-917); GAFSBR; and BArch B 162/9657–9660 (Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Stalag 354 in Barawucha [Sowjetunion] von 1941 bis 1943).

Additional information about Stalag 354 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 84–87; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 49; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 270.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 270.

2. Adamuschko et al., *Lageria sovetskikh voennoplennykh*, pp. 84–87.

3. Aussonderung im ehemaligen Stalag 354, BArch B 162/9658, Bl. 7-12 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2830.00000580–00000585).

4. Aussonderung im ehemaligen Stalag 354, BArch B 162/9658, Bl. 14 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2830.00000587).

5. See the report by the commander of the special group "Smel'chaki," B. V. Khrzhanovskii, to the Moscow and Moscow Oblast' NKVD Directorate concerning activities in the rear area of the enemy for the period of September 17 to December 17, 1942, dated December 31, 1942, GAFSBR.

6. See report of the Polotsk Raion ChGK, dated April 15, 1945, GARF, 7021-92-221.

7. 201. Sicherungs-Division, Ia, Monatsbericht für Januar 1943 vom 5.2.1943, BA-MA, RH 26: 201/8.

8. See report of the Polotsk Raion ChGK, dated April 15, 1945, GARF, 7021-92-221.

9. Adamuschko et al., pp. 84–87.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 355

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 355 on April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V.[1] From June to August 1941, the camp was located in Neusiedl am See (map 4f), in present-day Austria. From September 1941 until the end of 1943, the camp was located in Proskurov (today Khmel'nyts'kyi, Ukraine) (9e). From September 1941 to July 1943, Stalag 355 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in the barracks of a military post in Starokonstantinov. From January 12 to March 22, 1944, the camp was located in Düren, Germany (Defense District VI) (4a), and from March 22 to June 9, 1944, it was in Oerbke, Germany (Defense District XI) (4a).[2] While deployed in Ukraine, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ukraine*).

Stalag 355 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 240 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, renewed on November 11, 1943, and struck for good on May 18, 1944.

Stalag 355 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The population reached a peak of 20,800 in October 1942 before declining to 2,600 in October 1943.[3] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and deliberate abuse by the guards led to a high mortality rate. The prisoners were so badly malnourished that they resorted to eating grass and leaves. Former prisoner Dmitrii Nebol'sin, who was held in the camp in 1942, stated that

> on the grounds of the camp, everything remained as it was before the war: good, sound barracks, neat walks, paths, areas with horizontal bars and parallel bars, suspended washbasins intended for use by dozens of people at one time—only there

was no grass, it had vanished; the prisoners had torn it out all the way down to the rootlets, even including the roots, and eaten it, thus exposing the soil, which had been pounded flat by thousands of feet. A day in the camp seemed like a year, and our thoughts were occupied the whole time with hopes of changes and grub. From early morning everyone was on the move, looking for food, tobacco, and people from the same part of the country. In the common zone, to which we were moved, it was possible to wander freely about the area and drop into barracks to see "old" prisoners. Getting some extra grub "on the side" was almost impossible, and only those who had managed to save some valuables, watches, knives, and the like succeeded in bartering with the *politsais* [police], medical orderlies, and guard squad for a piece of bread or a twist of *makhorka* [tobacco]. In the morning, for our so-called breakfast, we each were issued 100 grams [3.5 ounces] of ersatz bread, which immediately vanished into our empty bellies; for the midday meal, a ladel of *balanda* [weak soup]; and for supper, nothing. On the other hand, we could drink our fill of water—as much as we wanted. People wasted away before our eyes. Soon, even in us "fresh ones," gauntness began to become evident; the furrows on our foreheads were more sharply outlined; our backs became hunched. The cruel cold deprived people of all common sense—they cut and chopped up their belts into very tiny pieces, moistened the crumbs with water, chewed and swallowed. I saw Uzbeks drink clay dissolved in water, and then, the next day, they were rolling on the ground, writhing with agonizing pain in their abdomens, caused by extreme constipation, and they died in unbearable torment. Every day, a wagon drawn by horses drove around the camp and took away the corpses of the prisoners.[4]

As in other camps, the prisoners were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment or the camp guards.[5] The exact number of prisoners who died in the camp in Proskurov is unknown. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, 65,000 prisoners died in the

camp.[6] From November 1941 to January 1942 alone, 40,000 prisoners reportedly died.[7] At the branch camp in Starokonstantinov, another 3,300 perished.[8] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly. The camp was dissolved on October 1, 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 355 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-64- 813); BArch B 162/8896–8900 ("Aussonderung" von russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 355); TsDAHO (file 166-3-214); DAKhmO (file r863-2-44); and AKhmOFSBU (files 70, 998, 7600, 12338).

Additional information about Stalag 355 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), p. 218; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941– 1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 49; D. A. Nebol'sin, *Dvazhdy mladshii leitenant, Chast' tret'ia: Pervyi lager'* (Moscow, 1998); *Podillia u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969), p. 113; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 274.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 274.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 49.
3. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–451.
4. Nebol'sin, *Dvazhdy mladshii leitenant*.
5. "Aussonderung" von russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 355, BArch B 162/8896–8900.
6. GARF, 7021-64-813, p. 2.
7. TsDAHO, 166-3-214, pp. 17–20.
8. DAKhmO, r863-2-44, pp. 1–2, 6–7; *Podillia u Velykii Vitchyznianii*, p. 113.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 357

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 357 on June 23, 1941, in Neusiedl am See (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII.[1] From September 1941 until December 1943, the camp deployed to various locations in occupied Ukraine. From September 1941 to November 1942, it was in Shepetovka (9e); from November 1942 to March 1943, it was in Poltava (9f), with a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Romodan (Poltavs'ka oblast'); and from March to December 1943, it was in Slavuta (9e). From February to September 1944, the camp was stationed in Thorn (Defense District XX) (today Toruń, Poland) (4c). Finally, from September 1944 to April 1945, it was located in Oerbke (Defense District XI) (4a). Stalag 357 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 09 908 between February 1 and July 11, 1941; the number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, but was reissued on November 30, 1943.

While it was deployed in Ukraine, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). During the deployment in Thorn, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XX). While the camp was stationed in Oerbke, it was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI.

The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Westphal. From September to November 1941, Feldwebel Hans Rosenthal was responsible for the prisoners' provisions and forced labor. In Shepetovka, the 3rd Company of the 351st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) guarded the camp. While the camp was deployed in Poltava, it was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 842nd Reserve Battalion.[2]

While it was deployed in Ukraine, Stalag 357 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp population peaked at 19,958 prisoners in April 1943.[3] The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, malnutrition, disease, and abuse led to a high mortality rate. The prisoners' hunger caused them to resort to eating grass and leaves. By October 1941, there were also instances of cannibalism. Former prisoner Sergey Chekanov recalled the conditions in the camp:

> The camp was housed in four-story barracks not far from the railroad station. It was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, and at the corners were towers with machine guns. Only after three days was a kitchen set up. Many who had become enfeebled did not leave the barracks, and others stayed outside in the square to sleep at night, so that the next morning they would be the first to get in line for the *balanda* [a thin soup]. For several days in a row, the commandant [*sic*], Rosenthal, brought in a wagon with bread for the prisoners and circled it around the square for a long time, and the people were reaching for it, but then he took it away. He wasn't satisfied with that: every day he arranged for pogroms in the barracks, looking for commissars [communists] and Jews … In November, Rosenthal was sent to the front. In parting, he got drunk, and the prisoners took him around camp on a cart. His replacement as commandant was Kovarin, an Austrian by nationality and a musician by profession. He ordered the broken windows to be blocked up with bricks, and it got warm in the barracks. The barracks had numbers: Blocks A, B, C, and D. For each prisoner, they introduced cards with a thumbprint, and tokens. When someone died, they broke the token, and one half was thrown into the grave, while the other half was sent to the commandant's office.[4]

While the camp was deployed in Shepetovka, the Germans conducted screenings to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and Communists, who were executed by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or camp guards. The exact number of prisoners who died in the camp at Shepetovka is unknown.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 13,500 prisoners died in Shepetovka, the majority of them in 1941 and 1942; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[5] While the camp was deployed in Slavuta, 6,000–7,000 prisoners perished there. The death rate was very high; 1,368 prisoners died in March 1943 alone.[6]

While the camp was located in Thorn and Oerbke, it held British, French, Polish, Dutch, Norwegian, and American POWs. As of November 9, 1944, the camp held 7,538 prisoners: 7,432 British (3,000 of whom were noncommissioned officers), 33 French, 62 Poles, 7 Norwegians, 3 Dutch, and an American. Many of the British prisoners had been transferred there from Stalag XX A and Stalag Luft VI. Their man of confidence was Regimental Sergeant Major Frederic Turner.[7]

Stalag 357 in Oerbke was located on the site of the former Stalag XI D, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) south of the town. The camp consisted of 16 wooden and stone barracks of varying sizes, with an average of 72 prisoners confined to each room, leading to serious overcrowding. The men slept in double-bunk beds. The barracks were heated by small stoves, which the men also used to prepare the food they received in their Red Cross parcels; however, fuel was only distributed to the central kitchen, so the men had to go into the woods and gather their own logs for the barrack stoves. Thus, the supply of fuel for heating was insufficient for the prisoners' needs and they were always cold.[8]

The wooden barracks were generally well lit, but the electric lights in the stone barracks were insufficient. In the stone barracks, each room had only four 25-watt bulbs, along with four windows. Running water was supplied by faucets in the washrooms of each barrack, except for the three barracks in Block B. Hot showers were only infrequently available to the prisoners because of the lack of fuel; men reported waiting as long as five weeks between showers. However, the sanitary facilities at the camp were generally adequate, and no vermin were present in the barracks. The camp hospital was well equipped and staffed by 9 medical officers, 12 medical aides, and 37 additional sanitary personnel. The prisoners' health was generally good; in November 1944, there was a prisoner being treated for tuberculosis and four being

treated for pleurisy.[9]

For recreational purposes, the prisoners had access to a large sports field, 800 by 250 meters (875 by 273 yards) in area, as well as a variety of sports equipment; the prisoners played soccer, volleyball, rugby, basketball, softball, and cricket. There was a small library; however, there was no reading room or study area available to the prisoners. Courses were taught in the barracks, with 18 teachers for 440 students. A small orchestra was established, mainly consisting of prisoners transferred from Stalag XX A who had brought their instruments with them from that camp. three chaplains conducted religious services in the camp in a makeshift chapel; the capacity of this building was 400 men, but attendance was frequently higher.[10]

By early 1945, the conditions at the camp had deteriorated badly. The number of prisoners in the camp had swelled with Americans captured in the Battle of the Bulge, and the camp's food and medical supplies were inadequate to provide for all of them. Since the barracks were already overcrowded, the newly arrived Americans had to sleep in tents.[11] British forces liberated the camp on April 13, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 357 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); GARF (file 7021-64-818: Shepetovka); DAKhmO (file r863-2-44: Shepetovka); BArch B 162/8751–8755: ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 357 Poltawa und im Zweiglager Romadak [sic]); USHMMA; and TNA WO 224/54 (Stalag 357 Oerbke, Fallingbostel), AIR 40/276 (Stalag 357: nominal rolls, promotions, etc.), AIR 40/277 (Stalag 357, Fallingbostel: nominal roll, casualties, reports etc.), WO 311/1315 (Deaths and transfers: Stalag 357, Oerbke near Fallingbostel, Germany), WO 311/759 (Escape from Stalag 357, Fallingbostel, Germany, Stalag Luft III, Sagan, Poland, and Stalag Luft VI, Heydekrug, Lithuania), AIR 40/2456 (POW Camp History: Stalag 357 [Thorn] and [Fallingbostel] Royal Air Force NCOs), WO 311/1323 (Alleged ill-treatment of allied prisoners of war at Stalag 357, Fallingbostel, Germany: evidence), FO 916/835 (Stalag 398, 383, 357), WO 208/3287 (Stalag Luft 357 Thorn and Fallingbostel), WO 208/3336/393 (Escaped from a march near

Garlstorf during evacuation of Stalag 357, and contacted Allied Forces, April 1945; a duplicated report for this individual can be found in WO 208/3330), WO 208/3336/28 (Sergeant A. S. Wagstaff, service number K52348, Service: Canadian Army, 14th Calgary Tank Regiment. Attempted escape only from working commando attached to Stalag 357 [Fallingbostel] January 1945; a duplicated report for this individual can be found in WO 208/3328.

Additional information about Stalag 357 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 220, 230; Janina Janowska-Tyszkiewicz, "Hitlerowski obóz jeńców wojennych w Toruniu," *Z lat wojny, okupacji i odbudowy* 4 (1975): 75–91; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 49–50; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 281.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 281.

2. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. In Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. Sergey Chekanov, "Memoirs (1946)," http://novotarbeevo.narod.ru/festival/tur_pobed/chekanov.htm.
5. GARF, 7021-64-818, pp. 12–14.
6. The lists used for this analysis were obtained by the author from the archivist at the Central State Archives of Foreign Ucrainica, V. H. Berkovsky (Kiev).
7. Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (November 9, 1944), Stalag 357; NARA II, RG 59, Box 128.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. "A Short History of the Fallingbostel POW Camps," Fallingbostel Military Museum, 2011, at https://fallingsbostelmilitarymuseum.jimdo.com/stalag-xib-357.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 358

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 358 from Frontstalag 358 on October 25, 1942. From September 15, 1941, until November 26, 1943, the camp was located near Zhitomir, in Ukraine (map 9e), where it replaced Dulag 201. The camp had one sub-camp (*Zweiglager*), Stalag 358/Z, which was located in Berdichev until April 1943, when it was taken over by Stalag 339 from Kiev-Darnitsa. The Prisoner of War Camp Hospital (*Kriegsgefangenen-Lazarett*) Bohunia (disbanded in October 1943) was also subordinated to the camp. By order of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) on October 19, 1943, the staff of Stalag 358 was transferred to Tost (today Toszek, Poland), where it took over Ilag VIII H, which was converted into Oflag 6.[1]

During its time in the USSR, Stalag 358 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). Stalag 358 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 23 656 between February 16 and July 18, 1941. The number was struck between July 31, 1942, and February 9, 1943.

The camp commandants were Majors Hagedorn, Pawliska, and Max Schroeter (from the fall of 1942 to November 25, 1943). Their deputies were Hauptmann Schmidt and Hauptmann Zander. The administrative section was headed by Oberzahlmeister Hans Messerschmitt and Oberzahlmeister Bernhard Kamps. The camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 351st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[2]

Stalag 358 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp population peaked at 21,533 in October 1942, before falling to just over 3,000 shortly before the camp in Zhitomir was closed.[3] The camp was located near the village of Boguniia (today the

Bohuns'kyi District). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Malnutrition, disease, and abuse led to a high mortality rate. The prisoners' daily food ration consisted of about 4 grams (0.14 ounces) of fat and 250 grams (almost 9 ounces) of bread, largely made of substitutes; no one received sugar. However, even these meager rations were rarely given in full, as the German noncommissioned officers in the camp stole from the rations to send packages home to Germany.[4] The prisoners received little medical care and lived in crowded, unsanitary conditions, which facilitated the spread of infectious disease. In July 1942, an epidemic of typhus spread through the camp, killing hundreds of prisoners.[5]

New arrivals were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, which a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) detachment then shot in a forest near the camp. Friedrich Buck, who served as a driver at the camp for several months starting in the fall of 1941, stated that during his service in the camp, he, together with five or six other drivers, on 8 to 10 occasions took Jewish prisoners to be shot in a nearby forest. In total, he said, 1,200–1,400 prisoners were taken away.[6]

It is not possible to determine with accuracy the total number of prisoners who lost their lives in Stalag 358. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, more than 65,000 prisoners died of starvation and disease in the camp in Zhitomir and were buried in 28 graves. In addition, 2,150 more prisoners were shot and buried in two ditches.[7] The ChGK stated that an additional 7,590 prisoners died in the branch camp in Berdichev.[8] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly.

At the end of October 1942, the camp handed over a number of prisoners who were not fit for work to the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo), expecting that the Sipo would shoot them. However, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Franz Razesberger, at that time the commander of the Sipo and SD in Zhitomir, was unwilling to carry out this "dirty" job for the Wehrmacht. On his orders, a small number of prisoners who were marginally fit for work were selected from among the prisoners handed over at Zhitomir, while the remaining 78 were moved to an educational and labor camp run by the Sipo in Berdichev.[9]

The prisoners sent to Berdichev had all been severely wounded in battle. Some were missing both legs, others both hands or arms, and others just one limb. A few had all their limbs but had other injuries and could not work. During an inspection of the educational and labor camp on December 23, 1942, SS-Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Kallbach, Dr. Razesberger's successor, ordered the 68 or 70 prisoners who were still alive to be shot immediately. On December 24, members of the SD office in Berdichev (Paal, Vollprecht, Hesselbach, and Schäfer) first shot 18 prisoners, almost all of whom had no legs. During the shooting of a second group of 28 prisoners, many of whom lacked one or even both hands or arms, these prisoners attacked the two SS men (Paal and Vollprecht) who were guarding them (the other two SS men at this time were carrying out the execution in a pit), managed to take away their weapons, fired the weapons at these SS men, and ran away. Searches for the escaped prisoners were quickly initiated but were unsuccessful. The 20 remaining prisoners were shot the following day.[10]

Stalag 358 was formally disbanded on November 26, 1943. In 1969, the central prosecutor's office in Dortmund began a preliminary investigation into the matter of former personnel at the camp headquarters (also among them was the last camp commandant, Schroeter) and former members of the guard company. The investigation was closed on November 13, 1973, due to lack of evidence. The case of the former driver at the camp, Friedrich Buck, was transferred to the prosecutor's office in Osnabrück. Although Buck admitted that he repeatedly drove prisoners to an execution site, the prosecutor's office nonetheless declined to prosecute him.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 358 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens), GARF (file 7021-60-294), DAZhO, USHMMA, and BArch B 162/8514–8519 (Ermittlungen gg. M. Zander u.a. ehem. Angehörige des Stalag 358 in Shitomir [Schytomyr] [Ukraine] wg. der Beteiligung an NSG), 28454 (Tötungen sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 358 in Shitomir und Berditschew) and 7335 (Shitomir).

Additional information about Stalag 358 can be found in the

following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–!944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 214, 216; Ivan Khomich, *My vernulis'* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1959); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 50; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), pp. 284–285.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 50; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 284; Verfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Stalag 358, BArch B 162/8415–8419; OKW/Chef Kriegsgefangenen, Organisationsbefehl No. 51 vom 18.11.1943: Übersicht über Veränderungen in der Organisation des OKW/Chef Kriegsgef. v. Anfang Mai b. Mitte November 1943, BArch B 162/16646, Bl. 18.

2. Verfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Stalag 358, BArch B 162/8415–8419.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. Khomich, *My vernulis'*.

5. USHMMA, RG-22.001, Records Relating to the Soviet Union under Nazi Occupation, Fiche 3, p. 19.

6. Verfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Stalag 358, BArch B

162/8415–8419.

7. GARF, 7021-60-294, p. 96.

8. GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 8.

9. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, vol. 7: pp. 405–413; vol. 22: pp. 325–326.

10. GARF, 7445-2-126, pp. 132ff.; *Der Nürnberger Prozess*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 533–540.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 359

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 359 on April 30, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII.[1] The camp was initially deployed to Falkenau an der Eger (today Sokolov, Czech Republic) (map 4d).[2] From September 1941 to the spring of 1942, the camp was deployed to Poniatowa (5), in the Generalgouvernement, Poland. From the spring to the fall of 1942, the camp was deployed just to the south in Sandomierz (5). While deployed in Sandomierz, on June 1, 1942, the camp held 601 prisoners (including 207 officers) and, on August 1, 1,759 prisoners.[3] In the spring of 1943, the camp was deployed to Znamenka (today Znamianka, Ukraine) (9f), and in July 1943 it was located in the village of Borisovka (today Borysivka, Bobrynets'kyi raion, Kirovohrads'ka oblast', Ukraine) (9g).[4] The camp was also briefly deployed in Russia, in the present-day Belgorodskaia oblast'. The Germans disbanded the camp on November 19, 1943.[5]

From April to September 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). From September 29, 1941, to October 10, 1942, it was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement, Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*), and from October 10, 1942 until its dissolution, it was subordinate to Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) and the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II).[6] While it was located in Poniatowa, the camp was guarded by the 709th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). Stalag 359 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 552 between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

The first camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Richard von Gossmann (1876–1949). In May 1942, von Gossmann was discharged from military service as a result of heart disease and was replaced by Major Freyber, who committed suicide shortly thereafter. As of July 21, 1943, the camp personnel consisted of 126 Wehrmacht members (9 officers, 7 civil servants, 29 noncommissioned officers, and 81 enlisted men), as well as 80 nonmilitary personnel. The camp guards included 77 Germans and 149 Soviet Volunteers (*Hilfswillige*).[7]

During the deployment in Poniatowa, conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners did not receive adequate food or medical care, leading to widespread malnutrition and disease and a high mortality rate. The prisoners' plight was exacerbated by deliberate abuse from the guards. Of the approximately 24,000 prisoners who were sent to the camp before the end of 1941, around 20,000 died and were buried in 32 mass graves.[8]

During the deployment in Sandomierz, the conditions were somewhat better. The camp commandant arranged for disinfection, medical aid, and regular food.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 359 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453), NARA, WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 359), and BArch B 162/19279.

Additional information about Stalag 359 can be found in the following publications: Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 444; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 288; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 50; *Perechen' mest zakhoronenii sovetskiikh*

voennosluzhashchikh i voennoplennykh, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i zakhoronennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha (1995); I. A. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); Edward Dziadosz and Jozef Marszalek, "Więzienia i obozy w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939-1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 3 (1969): 116; Israel Gutman, ed., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, vol. 2 (Munich: Piper, 1998), p. 1156; and Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998), pp. 124–125.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 288.
2. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 124–125.
3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 444.
4. Kriegstagebuch Korück Pz. AOK 4, Eintragung von 13.7.43, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 510.
5. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 288.
6. Ibid.
7. Korück 580/Qu., Gefechts-und Verpflegungsstärken, Stand vom 21.7.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 87, frame 570.
8. Dziadosz and Marszalek, "Więzienia i obozy w dystrykcie lubelskim," p. 116; Gutman, *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, p. 1156.
9. Memoirs of Nikolai Bondarev, S. Nekhamkin, "25 evro ot Frau El'zy," at www.peoples.ru/state/citizen/bondarev/

index.html.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 360

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 360 on April 8, 1941, in Nürnberg-Langwasser, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII (map 4d). From August 1941 to October 1943, the camp was located in the town of Rovno (today Rivne, Ukraine) (9e), and then, until February 1944, it was in the village of Velikii Zhitin (9e), 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) northeast of Rovno. There were three subcamps, located in Zdolbunov, Dubno, and Lutsk; the subcamps in Zdolbunov and Lutsk were later relocated to Brest and Kovel'. Stalag 360 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 143 between February 1 and July 11, 1941. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1942, renewed on November 30, 1943, and struck again for good on March 28, 1944.

While deployed in Rovno, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). Starting in the fall of 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets Süd*). The first commandant was Major der Reserve Carl Gerber, and his adjutant was Hauptmann der Reserve Ferdinand Wild. The officer for assignments was Hauptmann der Reserve Christian Hermann, the camp doctor was Dr. Josef Prost, and the camp doctor's assistants were Wilhelm Müller and Dr. Johann Linnemann.[1] The last commandant of the camp (from October 1943) was Oberstleutnant Otto Kadelke. In January 1944, he moved the camp headquarters through Dubno into Tarnopol. The exact date of the camp's disbandment is unknown, but records indicate that it was still in operation on March 10, 1944.

Stalag 360 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The maximum population of the camp was 12,916 in October 1942. Many of the

prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp.[2] The camp in Rovno consisted of three parts. Camp 1 served as a hospital for sick prisoners. The camp physician, Dr. Prost, was in charge of this camp. The largest section was Camp 3, located in the area of the military post on Belaia Street. Alfred Kühn was the commandant of this camp, which held 15,000 prisoners by November 1941. The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners suffered due to extreme overcrowding, food that was inadequate in both quantity and quality, lack of medical care, forced labor, and abuse by the guards. Malnutrition, exhaustion, and disease led to a high mortality rate.[3] The prisoners were often reduced to eating grass and leaves.

Stalag 360 at Rowno. Soviet POWs in the camp, date unknown.
USHMM WS #50155

The number of prisoners who died in the camp is not known with certainty. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, more than 30,000 POWs lost their lives in Rovno between 1941 and 1943.[4] The number of POWs that perished in the subcamp in Lutsk is 10,530;[5] in Dubno, more than 3,000;[6] and in Zdolbunov, 300.[7] It should be noted that casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially inflated and should therefore be viewed accordingly.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 360 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (files 7021-71-1; 7021-71-40); DARiO (files r534-1-4, r658-1-24); and BArch B 162/2927, 8666–8668, 29812, 29813, 29845.

Additional information about Stalag 360 can be found in the following publications: Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 290; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 51; Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), p. 234; and Iu. Mazuryk, "Tabir dlia viis'kovopolonenykh 'Stalag No. 360,'" *Dialog*, Iu. Mazuryk (2012).

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162/2927, Bl. 9531, 9533, 9546.
2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
3. GARF, fund 7021, register 71, case 1, the sheets 14–16; DARiO, fund p-534, register 1, case 4, sheets 202–206 and fund p-658, register 1, case 24, sheets 14–20.
4. Final Act of prosecutor's office in the Rivne region on 12.4.1994, DARiO, fund p-534, register 1, case 26, sheet 15.
5. GARF, fund 7021, register 55, case 7, sheet 2.
6. GARF, fund 7021, register 71, case 48, sheet 3.

7. GARF, fund 7021, register 71, case 50, sheet 1.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 361

From August 1941 until February 1942, the prisoner of war (POW) camp in Šiauliai (map 9b) was a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag 336 in Kaunas. Starting in February 1942, the camp was managed by the headquarters of Oflag V B (previously located in Biberach an der Riss), which was renamed Stalag 361 on April 17, 1942. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Military Commander Ostland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Ostland*). Its field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 16 510, issued sometime between February 15 and July 30, 1942, and struck on August 27, 1943.[1]

Stalag 361 held Soviet POWs. The camp population as of April 1, 1942, was 10,557; as of May 1, it was 10,330; as of June 1, it was 10,051; as of August 1 (after the transport of about 3,000 prisoners to Germany), it was 7,102; as of September 1 (after 3,000 more prisoners were transferred out), it was 4,098; as of October 1, it was 3,791; as of November 1, it was 4,102; and as of December 1, it was 4,188.[2]

The first commandant of Stalag 361 was Oberstleutnant Eduard Eitner. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Karl Meinel, who remained commandant until August 1, 1942. His replacement, Oberst Karl Sieber, served until February 4, 1943. His successor, Oberst Maximilian Pönicke was commandant until August 14, 1943. Oberst Kurt Sieber then served a brief term as commandant until August 20, 1943. The adjutant was Oberleutnant Greiner and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Seyfried. Stalag 361 was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 405 and 530.[3]

The camp complex consisted of three sections: Lager 1, which had six barracks; Lager 2, composed of new barracks built by the

Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*); and another section inside a leather factory where POWs were presumably employed.[4] The conditions in Stalag 361 were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Severe overcrowding, insufficient food supplies and medical care, and deliberate abuse by the German camp personnel led to a very high mortality rate. In the winter of 1941–1942 and the spring of 1942, there was an outbreak of typhus in the camp, which led to its quarantine. Witnesses stated that many prisoners died of typhus, as well as malnutrition, during this time.[5] As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, the Germans conducted "selections" (*Aussonderungen*) to separate out "undesirable" prisoners (such as political commissars and Jews), who were subsequently executed by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, a total of 22,560 prisoners died in the camp; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly.[6] On January 18, 1944, Stalag 361 was dissolved and the camp was taken over by Oflag 65, which was subsequently transferred to the Western Front.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 361 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens); LCVA; Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden (file 461-32438-475); and BArch B 162/8966–8969: "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 361 in Schaulen (Litauen) (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2786.00000857–00001612).

Additional information about Stalag 361 can be found in the following publications: Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik und Massenverbrechen in Litauen 1941– 1944: Täter, Zuschauer, Opfer" (PhD dissertation, University Freiburg, 2002); Christoph Dieckmann, "Murders of Prisoners of War," in *Karo belaisviu ir civiliu gyventoju zudynes Lietuvoje, 1941–1944: Murders of Prisoners of War and of Civilian Population in Lithuania, 1941–1944*, ed. Christoph Dieckmann, Vytautas Toleikis, and Rimantas Zizas (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2005); G. Erslavaite, Boleslovas Baranauskas, and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masines žudynes Lietuvoje 1941–1944.*

Dokumentų rinkinys, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla Mintis, 1973); *Gitlerovskaia okkupatsiia v Litve. Sbornik statei* (Vilnius: Leidykla Mintis, 1966); and G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 51.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 51.
2. BA-MA, RW 6: 450.
3. "Vorladung der verh. Oberlehrer i. R. Hugo Heinrich Lang," BArch B 162/8966, Bl. 90 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2786.00001003).
4. "Vorladung der verh. Rentner Karl Roos," BArch B 162/8966, Bl. 55R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2786.00000941).
5. "Vorladung der verh. Rentner Karl Roos," BArch B 162/8966, Bl. 55 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2786.00000940).
6. Erslavaitė, Baranauskas, and Rozauskas, *Masines žudynes Lietuvoje*, p. 405; *Gitlerovskaia okkupatsiia v Litve*, p. 139.
7. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 51.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 362

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 362 from the staff of Oflag X A on April 17, 1942. In July 1941, the camp deployed to Slutsk, Belarus (map 9b), about 98 kilometers (61 miles) south of Minsk.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Ostland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ostland*). Stalag 362 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 05 956 between January 27 and July 14, 1942; the number was struck between July 15, 1942, and June 24, 1943.

The commandant of Stalag 362 was Oberst Otto Witt (1871–1952) and his deputy was Major Ernst Herrschel (b. 1874). The adjutants were Hauptmann Otto Machledt (b. 1890) and Hauptmann Friedrich Vogelsang (1895–1961). The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Ramm. The camp doctor was Dr. Wilhelm-Heiner Brandt (1900– 1970). The camp was guarded by personnel from the 551st, 624th, 861st, and 959th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).[2] They were assisted by Russian and Ukrainian POW volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis), who served as guards in the camp in exchange for improved food rations and living conditions.

Stalag 362 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp consisted of a number of wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded, the prisoners did not receive adequate food rations, and little medical care was provided, as the camp's medical personnel were given almost no supplies. The prisoners were also expected to perform hard manual labor in the camp's work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), despite the fact that they were already suffering from malnutrition and exhaustion. As a result, the death rate from starvation and disease was very high. One witness estimated that between 6 and 10 prisoners were dying every day in the fall and winter of 1941.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that in total, about 14,000 prisoners perished in Slutsk.[3] New arrivals in the camp were screened by counterintelligence personnel to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, that the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel then shot near the camp.[4]

Witness testimony indicates that, when Stalag 362 was initially deployed to Slutsk, there were about 12,000 prisoners in the camp and that the camp population soon thereafter swelled to nearly 25,000. However, this number was substantially reduced during the winter as thousands of prisoners died from starvation and disease.[5] Thus, by the spring of 1942, the population of the camp was significantly smaller than it had been during the previous fall. In 1942, the number of POWs in the camp ranged from a little over 2,800 to just over 3,900.[6] Stalag 362 was disbanded by an order dated October 27, 1942.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 362 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 362); and BArch B 162/9259–9262 (Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 362 in Sluzk zwischen April und November 1942).

Additional information about Stalag 362 is available in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 86–87; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 51; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 299.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 51.

2. Aussonderungen sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im ehemaligen "Stalag 362"…, BArch B 162/9260, Bl. 6–10 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2806.00000013–00000017).

3. GARF, 7021-82-9, p. 1. NB: casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly overstated and numbers should be viewed accordingly.

4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 362, BArch B 162/9259, Bl. 45–46 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2805.00002181–00002182).

5. Aussonderungen sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im ehemaligen "Stalag 362"…, BArch B 162/9260, Bl. 12–13 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2806.00000019–00000020).

6. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 299.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 363

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 363, from Frontstalag 363, on November 1, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI.[1] The date of its redesignation as a Stalag is unknown. Initially, it deployed to a forest camp near Posen (today Poznań, Poland) (map 4c). On December 2, 1941, the headquarters (*Kommandantur*) of the camp transferred to Reichshof (today Rzeszów, Poland) (5) in the Generalgouvernement, but, before mid-1942, it was not used. On June 12, 1942, the camp was moved to Khar'kov (9f), where the camp headquarters took over from Dulag 171.[2] The camp was located in Khar'kov until February 5, 1943, when the Germans evacuated the prisoners (around 18,000) westward. The camp headquarters took over Stalag 346 in Kremenchug (9f) on February 20, 1943, where it remained until June 20, 1943.[3] The camp was then relocated to Plauen (4e), where it was dissolved on July 27, 1943.[4]

As of December 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*). Starting on April 15, 1942, it was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). As of June 10, 1942, it was subordinated to Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*), and as of September 25, 1942, to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II) and Commander of Prisoners of War with the Army Group B Rear Area Command (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets B*). Starting on March 14, 1943, it was subordinated to Army Detachment (*Armeeabteilung*) Kempf.[5] Stalag 363 received field post number

(*Feldpostnummer*) 41 755 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 12 and September 7, 1943.

The camp commandant was Major (later Oberstleutnant) Wilhelm Gottschalk until January 31, 1943, when Oberstleutnant Dr. Franz Knoll succeeded him. The deputy camp commandant was Major Mann, the first camp officer (*Lageroffizier 1*) was Hauptmann Rudolf Utz; the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Wilke, as well as Rittmeister Arndt. The adjutant was Oberleutnant August Müller, and the officer for assignments was Oberleutnant Heilgemeyer. The Soviet volunteers *(Hilfswillige*, Hiwi) company that guarded the camp was headed by Oberleutnant Stüwe. The camp doctors were Oberarzt Dr. Gatting, who was succeeded by Stabsarzt Dr. Quante. The prisoner hospital was headed by Unterarzt Dr. Hans Stappert.[6]

Stalag 363 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In Khar'- kov, the camp was located on the grounds of the former Correctional Colony No. 18 (Kholodnogorskaia Prison) near a fireman's watchtower on Sverdlov Street. In October 1942, the camp held 21,000 prisoners.[7] The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded, the food was inadequate in both quality and quantity, the prisoners had to perform heavy labor, the guards were abusive, and the prisoners received minimal medical care. As a result, the death rate was high. According to former Generalleutnant Kurt von Österreich, who served as Commander of Prisoners of War with the Army Group B Rear Area Command in 1942, "when visiting the hospital for Russian POWs in Khar'kov, I saw how gravely ill men were placed in accommodations where there was no heating and all the windows were broken, and the sick men had no clothing or shoes. As a result, 200–300 people died in this hospital each day from exhaustion and epidemic diseases."[8]

The prisoners' constant hunger led to desperation and violence during the distribution of food. A former prisoner, B. Vitman, says in his memoirs,

> In one of the enclosures at the camp, the Germans set up three big cauldrons in which asphalt is made. Using carbines, the

> guards shot the horses used for bringing in the wounded. They chopped the carcasses into pieces and threw them into the cauldrons. The water started to boil. Thousands of hungry eyes watched this procedure. The Germans went out of the enclosure, and the only people remaining near the cauldrons were cooks who also were prisoners. That, apparently, was all the enormous crowd of people was waiting for. In an instant the crowd got through the barriers between the enclosures and rushed toward the cauldrons. Those who were running ahead of the others succeeded in snatching still-raw pieces of horseflesh out of the boiling water. But the people farther back immediately crushed underfoot the ones who were ahead of them. In a few seconds, the cauldrons were concealed from sight by the people swarming all over them. Blood-curdling shrieks were heard, they came from the stupefied guards, who fired several shots into the air. This did not stop anyone. People continued to clamber over the fallen bodies to get to the cauldrons. Those at the back pushed those in front into the boiling water. Only after the guard opened fire on the people and felled several individuals did the wave of human beings fall back. Before distribution of the soup began, it was necessary to fish the boiled corpses out of the cauldrons.[9]

Many prisoners also died during transport to the camp. For example, according to von Österreich, "in October 1942 a special train carrying Russian POWs came to Khar'kov. In Khar'kov it appeared that about 150 of the 1,500 people on this train were missing. Upon clarification, it turned out that 75 people had died of starvation en route, and their corpses were found in the cars of the train. The remaining 75 had tried to escape, but were caught by the guards and shot on the spot."[10]

As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were then shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) near the camp.[11]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 363 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B 162/9290–9293 (Aussonderung von

Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 363 in Charkow [Sowjetunion]); GARF (file 7021-76-978); and DAKhaO.

Additional information about Stalag 363 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 94; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 302; and B. Vitman, *Shpion, kotoromu izmenila rodina* (Kazan': Elko-S, 1993), pp. 37–38.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 94; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 302.
2. BArch, B 162/19268, Bl. 338–339.
3. Ibid.
4. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 302.
5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 94.
6. BArch, B 162/19268.
7. Monatsbericht Berück B, Qu, 9.10.1942, Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Munich), Archiv: MA 870, fr. 1031f.
8. *Niurnbergskii protsess. Sbornik materialov v dvukh tomakh,* vol. 1 (Moscow, 1952), p. 442.
9. Vitman, *Shpion*, pp. 37–38.
10. *Niurnbergskii protsess*, p. 443.

11. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 363 in Charkow (Sowjetunion), BArch B 162/9290–9293.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 364

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 364 on November 1, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV, from Stalag IV B. On November 15, 1941, the camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*), and on November 29, 1941, it was transferred to Reichshof (today Rzeszów, Poland) (map 5). In the second half of April 1942, the camp was redeployed to Nikolaev (today Mykolaïv, Ukraine) (9g), where it was located until the Germans disbanded it on December 13, 1943. From July 15, 1942, until April 9, 1943, Stalag 364 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Kherson.[1]

Starting on April 15, 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). As of February 24, 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Army Group South Rear Area Command (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des Heeresgebiets Süd*). Starting on September 21, 1943, it was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* I).[2] Stalag 364 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 189 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between September 8, 1942, and March 11, 1943.

Stalag 364 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In May 1942, there were 17,200 POWs in the camp. In September 1942, there were 45,000; in December 1942, 27,000; and in February 1943, 20,300.[3] In Nikolaev, the camp was located on the right bank of

the Ingul River in the settlement of Temvod. The first prisoners were POWs transferred from the camp at the Greigovo railroad station, 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) northeast of Nikolaev. These were mainly former soldiers and officers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Armies of the Southern Front; they had been taken captive as early as the fall of 1941. In August 1942, soldiers and officers captured at Sevastopol', in Crimea, were also placed in the camp. In 1943, the Germans also used the camp as a transit camp for civilians whom the authorities were sending to work in Germany. Stalag 364's prisoners were supposed to be the principal workforce for the 61 Communards shipbuilding factory, which was renamed the Southern Shipyard immediately after the German occupation of Nikolaev. On the basis of the Southern Shipyard, the Germans created a headquarters for managing the building of warships and submarines.

Gefreiter Erwin Maier, who served at the camp from September 22, 1942, until November 9, 1943, gave the following description of the camp in his testimony on January 23, 1967:[4]

> Stalag Nikolajew [Nikolaev] was located outside of town, specifically at the edge of the town, in the immediate vicinity of the Bug River. Next to the Stalag was the Nikolaev airfield. Stalag N. had previously been a monastery. The Stalag was surrounded by walls, and inside the monastery were various sturdy buildings, in which the prisoners of war and the permanent staff lived. A guard unit also was stationed inside the Stalag itself. This was approximately a company-strength unit. The Stalag personnel and the guard forces were separate from one another, in terms of their provisions and the table of organization.
>
> Upon questioning, I must state that I cannot give any detailed information about the guard company.
>
> I do recall, however, that the prisoners of war were taken out of the Stalag in groups of 10 for deployment at labor and were guarded by guard personnel.
>
> The camp commandant during my time there was Oberstleutnant Strohbach. While I was there, there was no replacement of the commandant. I am unable to provide

further details regarding Strohbach. In this connection, it comes to mind that the Stalag personnel came from Saxony, specifically from Löbau. I also remember Hauptmann Staudt and Hauptmann Kühn. What functions these two captains performed, I am unable to say. In total, there were 22 officers in Stalag 364.

I can no longer remember the names of counterintelligence officers, camp physicians, interpreters, and orderly-room personnel. I believe that two physicians worked in Stalag 364. I no longer recall their names, however.

Regarding the counterintelligence section, I wish to state that it included around 10 to 12 persons.

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The housing, food, and medical care was inadequate, the prisoners had to perform forced labor, and the guards abused them. Malnutrition, exhaustion, and disease led to a high death rate.

The daily rations were very meager: a small amount of soup made from rotten cabbage and wheat chaff, smelling of kerosene, and often containing no salt, and in addition a little "substitute bread" (*Ersatzbrot*). Almost unclothed, with torn shoes on their feet, or simply wrapped in rags, as thin as skeletons, prisoners walked around the grounds of the camp searching for some kind of food. Often, the exhausted prisoners simply fell to the ground and died on the spot. Many others died of dysentery, typhus, dystrophy, and other illnesses. Typhus Block 25 was always filled to overcrowding. The "burial teams" frequently did not bury the bodies promptly, and they often piled up near Block 26, the "infirmary." At times the mortality rate reached 100 men per day. Many hospitalized prisoners suffering from limb amputations died a slow death. Deep pits were dug near the hospital, and the corpses of the deceased were then thrown into them.

In the hospital, the wounded and sick had to sleep on the floor, and their food was substantially worse than that received by the other prisoners. Many only survived through the selfless help of the Soviet prisoner-physicians. With great difficulty, the prisoner-physicians obtained the medications so necessary to the gravely ill

and wounded. They concealed many Soviet prisoners and kept them from being sent away in prisoner transports. Without the necessary surgical instruments, they performed serious operations and also helped with food, instilled faith in people, and did diligent patriotic work among the camp's prisoners.

A strict system of regulations was in effect in the camp, and prisoners received 21 days in a punishment cell for any violation. In the punishment cell, food was provided only every other day, and then in a small amount. Others were confined in a small cage made of barbed wire, intended to hold several persons, located inside a former stadium. Prisoners stayed in the uncovered cage regardless of weather and received food every other day.

Three underground groups were active in the camp: one in the hospital, one among the captive airmen, housed in Blocks 1 and 3, and one within the work squad in the warehouse of the prisoner kitchen. The members of these groups encouraged POWs not to join various German units, supplied the POWs with Soviet literature and newspapers, and organized escapes from the camp, mainly for the officers.[5]

As in other camps, the Germans screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, whom a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment or the guards then shot near the camp.[6] According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, 30,000 POWs perished in the camp at Nikolaev between 1942 and 1943; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 364 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B 162/9072–9077 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 364 in Nikolajew und im Zweiglager Cherson in den Jahren 1942/43); GARF (file 7021-68-180); TsDAZU (file 57-4-266); and DAMyO (file P10-1-41).

Additional information about Stalag 364 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i

prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), p. 228; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 52; L. Tashlai and T. Danilenko, *Za koliuchei provolokoi: Shtalag-364—lager' smerti* (Nikolaev: izdatel'stvo I. Gudym, 2012); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 305; and "Voennoplennye, dal'neishaia sud'ba kotorykh neizvestna," in *Kniga pamiati Ukrainy. Nikolaevskaia oblast': Tom 10* (Nikolaev, 1998).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 52.
2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 305.
3. Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, p. 228.
4. BArch B 162/15025, Bl. 1065.
5. DAMyO, P-10-1-41.
6. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 364 in Nikolajew und im Zweiglager Cherson in den Jahren 1942/43, BArch B 162/9072–9077.
7. *Nikolaevshchina v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941– 1945 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Odessa: Maiak, 1964), p. 96.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 365

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 365 on April 17, 1942, from the staff of Oflag XI A, which had been deployed in Vladimir-Volynskii (today Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Ukraine) (map 9e) since September 9, 1941. Stalag 365 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Lutsk. Stalag 365 remained in Vladimir-Volynskii until September 1943, when it was redeployed to Novara, Italy (6). The Germans disbanded the camp on March 14, 1944.[1] Stalag 365 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 453 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943, issued again on October 5, 1943, and then permanently struck on April 3, 1944.

While it was located in Vladimir-Volynskii, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). During this time, the camp was guarded by the 2nd Company of the 303rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[2] While it was deployed in Italy, the camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War Regional Command K (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* K).

In Vladimir-Volynskii, Stalag 365 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In June 1942, there were 6,200 POWs in the camp; in August, 4,600; in December, 8,500; in February 1943, 8,700; in June, 5,800; and in September, 6,300.[3] The camp was located in the former Red Army barracks on Kovel'skaia Street. Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded, and many prisoners were without shelter of any kind. The food was lacking in both quantity and quality, to the point that prisoners ate grass and leaves, and even engaged in cannibalism. The prisoners had to perform forced labor, which further exhausted them, and the guards were abusive.

Disease was widespread and very little medical care was provided. These terrible conditions led to a high mortality rate. It is quite difficult to determine exactly how many prisoners perished in the camp. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, about 25,000 POWs died there.[4] However, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly; in addition, these figures may include deaths in the Oflag that preceded Stalag 365.

There were some attempts at organized resistance in the camp. On July 17, 1942, the German authorities reported that

> in … Vladimir-Volynskii, a partisan group was successfully rendered harmless. The group was preparing for an uprising in the town and for the freeing of 8,000 imprisoned Soviet officers from the Oflag located there. The initiative was supposed to be carried out with the help of the ghetto (about 15,000 Jews) and several Bolshevist agents who were present in the town. A great part of the officer POWs had already made sharp knives for this purpose, out of broken helmets. In the course of the security measures taken by the police, 36 communist functionaries were brought to light, as well as 76 Jewish-Bolshevik officers including several political commissars, as instigators. The communist agents, as well as the 76 Jewish officers, were subject[ed] to *Sonderbehandlung* ["special treatment," i.e., execution].[5]

Former POW Viktor Kolmakov described this escape attempt in a letter addressed to the first deputy of the Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Vyshinskii, on December 28, 1943:

> In July [1942] the Germans shot Captain Comrade Viktor Zakharovich Vlasov, the former senior interpreter for the headquarters of the Southwestern Front and a former [NKVD] worker (residing in Moscow, Kuibyshev raion, 3 Moshkov Square, Apt. #3). Comrade Vlasov, who was adept at foreign languages, assisted the prisoners. Finally, having created a group of 30 persons, on June 1, 1942, he was at work in the cemetery burying graves [*sic*], in which dead

bodies were visible. After killing one soldier and tying up the others, the prisoners escaped, and the Germans pursued them. Four comrades—Colonel Starostin, Major Neverov, and two others—covered the departure of the remaining group; they had four rifles and grenades. When all the ammunition was gone, Comrade Starostin rushed to engage in hand-to-hand combat, but the forces were unequal. The butchers brought into the camp four corpses, or more precisely, not corpses but pieces of human flesh, laid them on tables in the middle of the camp, and the entire POW camp filed past the tables. The next day two more individuals were brought in and shot immediately. In all, 16 of the men who escaped were caught, and all were killed (and 300 more in an example of "collective responsibility"). Finally, on July 18, 1942, they brought in Comrade Vlasov, too; he had been caught near Kiev by police. On July 18, they brought Comrade Vlasov to be shot and put him against the wall of the former garrison club. The commandant gave the order to fire, and Comrade Vlasov proclaimed (the entire camp was assembled in formation): "I am not a thug, I am a Red Army soldier! Down with Hitler! Long live the Soviet Union! Long live Comrade Stalin! Hurrah!"[6]

Former prisoner Aleksandr Kuznetsov also gave testimony about the escape attempt, stating that

> [the Germans] brought us to the town of Vladimir-Volynsk, to the camp for officers…. In addition to the officers' camp, another camp for the rank-andfile was located there, and in it they almost all died. But from our camp [to there] regularly went a team of about 27 to 30 people for the purpose of clearing up the corpses. This team was headed by the interpreter, a native of Moscow, the former sailor Vlasov. We were always wary of him, considering that he was connected with the Gestapo. But we were profoundly mistaken in this, and on one of the days when the group of officer POWs went to the Red Army camp to work on clearing away corpses, he organized the escape of this entire group. But there was one *politsai* traitor, [who] went to our camp, to headquarters, and reported [on the escape]. Then the Germans organized a

> pursuit here with dogs, and on this day they caught a great part and shot them all before the eyes of all the prisoners, giving them to understand that the very same fate lay in store for anyone who dared to carry this [an escape] out. But the interpreter Vlasov was caught somewhere far on the other side of Kiev, and was brought here once again, to the camp. The entire camp was made to line up in formation, around 11,000 [men], and he was shot. Before execution he dared to say a few words, which even today are impossible to forget: "Long live the Soviet Union! Long live Soviet Germany! [*sic*] Down with Hitler! We will be victorious!" And with such words on his lips, Comrade Vlasov, former sailor and senior lieutenant, was executed.[7]

While it was deployed in Italy, Stalag 365 held Italian military prisoners. Specific information on the conditions in the camp at this time is not available, but, in general, the Germans treated Italian military internees very poorly, and it is likely that this was the case in Stalag 365 as well.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 365 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-55-1); BArch B 162/8698–8703 (Aussonderung von russ. Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 365 in Wlodzimierz [Ukraine]); TsDAZU (file 57-4-2); TsGLA (file 2528-3-204); and DAVO.

Additional information about Stalag 365 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukraïny, 2000), pp. 206–208; Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev, 2002); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 52; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im*

Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 309.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 309; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 52.
2. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.
3. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–451.
4. GARF, 7021-55-1, p. 3.
5. TsDAZU, 57-4-170, p. 73.
6. GARF, 7021-55-359.
7. Testimony of A. I. Kuznetsov, October 11, 1956, Ts-GLA, 2528-3-204, pp. 1–2.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 366

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 366 (map 5) on October 28, 1941, from the staff of Oflag 58. It was located in Siedlce. The main camp in Siedlce was known as Camp Section (*T eillager)* A, while the section near the village of Suchożebry, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) north of Siedlce, was known as Camp Section B. In 1943, a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) was created in Biała Podlaska. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*).[1] Stalag 366 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 529 between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942.

The first commandant of Stalag 366 was Oberst Weber. He was succeeded in the fall of 1941 by Oberstleutnant Hermann Jansen. Jansen was succeeded in the fall of 1942 by Oberstleutnant von Braun, who was in turn followed by Oberst Willi Liesmann. The last commandant, who took over around mid-1943, was Hauptmann Weiss. The camp was guarded by the 3rd Company of the 874th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[2]

Stalag 366 mainly held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp also held prisoners from France (August 1942 to January 1943) and Italy (November 1943 to March 1944), as well as a small number of Poles. The camp reached a maximum population of 20,175 in December 1942.[3] Starting in the spring of 1942, the camp held men serving in the Eastern Legions (*Ostlegionen*), units made up of non-Russian Soviet POWs who volunteered for service or were conscripted into the Wehrmacht. On October 1, 1942, Camp A held 12,000 men from the Volga-Tatar Legion, while Camp B held 6,000 additional legion soldiers.[4] By an order of the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement dated September 1, 1943, from September 15, 1943, onward, all

members of Eastern Legions who had committed crimes were also sent to the camp. By this same order, all prisoners from the penal camp for legion soldiers at Ostrów Mazowiecka and from the special camps for legion soldiers at Ostrów Mazowiecka and Małkinia Górna were transferred to this camp or to Stalag 307.[5]

The prisoners worked in a gravel quarry, on road work, chopping wood, and unloading freight at a railroad station, as well as on earthworks. In the camp, the prisoners wove straw matting and made wooden shoes. The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war. Overcrowding, malnutrition, inadequate medical care, and deliberate abuse led to a high mortality rate, especially in the winter of 1941–1942. The total number of prisoners who perished is estimated at 9,000–12,000.[6] In the camp, there were regular screenings to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, such as political commissars and Jews, who then were shot by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel or the camp guards.[7]

In July 1944, the majority of the prisoners were evacuated to Garwolin. Several hundred who were unfit to move remained in the camp, only a few of whom survived until the Red Army liberated Siedlce. The camp was officially disbanded on September 14, 1944, in Jakobsdorf, Upper Silesia (today Jakubowice, Poland).

Stalag 366 at Siedlce. Corpses of Soviet POWs shot during an attempt to escape, date unknown. USHMM, COURTESY OF IPN, WS

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 366 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 366); NARA; and BArch B 162/6583–6586 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, u.a. in Ostrow-Mazowiecka [Stalag 324 bzw. Stalag 333], Siedlce [Stalag 316 bzw. Stalag 366] und Benjaminow [Stalag 368]).

Additional information about Stalag 366 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), p. 401; Edward Kopówka, *Stalag 366 Siedlce* (Siedlce: Stowarzyszenie Kreatorow Unikalnej Niebanalnej Kultury Studenckiej, 2004); I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 52; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 97, 447, 479; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 311.

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NOTES

1. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 2 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001724).
2. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 3 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001725).

3. Kopówka, *Stalag 366 Siedlce*, 62.

4. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 227, frame 710.

5. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 227, frame 700.

6. Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*, p. 401.

7. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001773).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 367

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 367 (map 5) on October 17, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, from the staff of Oflag VIII B in Silberberg.[1] From November 1941 to July 1944, the camp was located in Tschenstochau (today Częstochowa, Poland), in the Generalgouvernement. Stalag 367 had two sub-camps (*Zweiglager*). The first, known as Stalag 367/Z, was established on September 2, 1942, on the site of the former Stalag 237 in Petrikau (today Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland). The second, in Kielce was transferred from Stalag 319 to Stalag 367 in April 1944.[2] In August 1944, the main camp of Stalag 367 was relocated to Tillowitz (today Tułowice, Poland) in Upper Silesia.[3] While deployed in Tschenstochau, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander, Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Generalgouvernement Polen*). Stalag 367 received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 18 392 between July 19, 1941, and February 14, 1942. The number was struck on October 6, 1944.

The first commandant of Stalag 367 was Major Kubalek, who was previously the commandant of Oflag VIII B. His successor was Oberstleutnant Hugo von der Marwitz, who was in turn followed by Oberstleutnant Hölzinger. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Jankowski. The adjutant was Hauptmann Lang and his deputy was Oberleutnant Zwinger. The camp staff comprised about 60 men in total. The camp was guarded by about 100 men from the 561st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

From November 1941 to August 1943, Stalag 367 held only Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In September 1943, Italian military prisoners were sent to the camp. The maximum population of the camp was 10,468 prisoners in April 1944.[4]

Stalag 367 consisted of two separate camp facilities: the "northern camp" (*Nordlager*), which was located near the city, and the "Warthe camp" (*Warthelager*)—named for the Warta River (German: Warthe), which flows through Tschenstochau— located about 4 or 5 kilometers (2.5–3 miles) outside the city. The northern camp, established on the site of the former Zawady barracks, had stone buildings, while the Warthe camp was composed of wooden barracks.[5]

The conditions in both sections of the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was badly overcrowded and the prisoners faced malnutrition and disease due to inadequate food supplies and medical care. In addition, they had to perform forced labor and were abused by the guards. The terrible conditions in the camp resulted in a high mortality rate, mainly due to starvation and diseases such as typhus and dysentery, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942.[6] As in other camps for Soviet POWs, newly arrived Soviet prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commando led by Kriminal-Oberassistent Othmar Fleckl.[7] According to a Polish commission for investigation of Nazi crimes, 16,393 Soviet prisoners and 20 Italian prisoners perished in the camp at Tschenstachau.[8] The same Polish commission estimated that about 11,200 prisoners died in the subcamp in Kielce, although this figure includes deaths at the camp prior to its incorporation into the Stalag 367 complex.[9] The camp was dissolved shortly after its relocation to Tillowitz, on August 17, 1944.[10]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 367 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 367); and BArch B 162/8307-8308 (copies at USHMMA, RG 14.101M, Reel 2740).

Additional information about Stalag 367 can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), p. 396; I. A. Makarov, eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits,*

pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 53; Jan Pietrzykowski, *Stalag 367: Obóz jeńców radzieckich w Częstochowie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 1976); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 145–146; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 314.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 53.

2. OKW, Chef KrGefOrg Ic, Az. 2f 24 12c, Nr.2190/44 vom 15.05.44, BA-MA, RH 53: 17183.

3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 314.

4. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 145–146.

5. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 367, BArch B 162/8307, Bl. 34–35 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00000079–00000080).

6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 367, BArch B 162/8307, Bl. 54 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00000094).

7. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des

Stalag 367, BArch B 162/8307, Bl. 64 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00000105).

8. Pietrzykowski, *Stalag 367*, pp. 105–113, 118.

9. Ibid., pp. 115–117.

10. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 314.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 368

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 368 on November 1, 1941, in Görlitz (map 4e), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, from a Frontstalag. From March to November 1942, the camp deployed to a site in the Generalgouvernement near Beniaminów (Województwo Mazowieckie, Poland) (5).[1] In 1942, the camp deployed first to the Army Group South Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Süd*),[2] and then to the Army Group Center Rear Area (*Heeresgebiet Mitte*) from May 1943 onward (replacing Stalag 397).[3] Specifically, in May 1943, the camp was deployed in the village of Saburovets (9c), just to the southwest of Orël.[4] It had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Mariupol' during this time.

While deployed in Poland, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*).[5] In 1943, the camp was first subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet II*), and then to the Commander of the Ninth Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 532) and the Prisoner of War District Commandant A (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant* A).

The commandant of Stalag 368 was Major Oskar Wilke. His deputy was Major Herring and his adjutant was Oberleutnant Fritz Jakobsa. The first counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Arthur Schulz, who was succeeded by Oberleutnant Willi Schubert in December 1941. The camp was guarded by the 1st Company of the 268th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[6]

Stalag 368 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In 1941 and 1942, the number of prisoners in the camp vastly exceeded its capacity, which one former officer estimated as about 5,000. The camp covered an area of about 1 square kilometer (0.4 square miles) and there were only four wooden barracks; thus, many prisoners were forced to sleep in holes in the ground until additional barracks were constructed. As it held a high proportion of prisoners of non-Russian ethnicity (Georgians, Belarusians, Uzbeks, Mongols, etc.), Stalag 368 was also used as a camp for soldiers of the Eastern Legions (*Ostlegionen*), units made up of non-Russian Soviet prisoners who volunteered for service or were conscripted into the Wehrmacht. In August 1942, the camp held 11,305 prisoners,[7] and on October 10, 1942, it held 10,000 men serving in the "Turkestan and North Caucasus Legions."[8]

The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Severe overcrowding, malnutrition, and disease, exacerbated by a lack of medical care and deliberate abuse from the guards, were the rule. These conditions resulted in a high death rate, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942, when as many as 100–150 prisoners were dying in the camp every day (primarily due to a typhus epidemic), according to a former guard.[9] Newly arrived prisoners were regularly screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Communists and Jews, who then were shot by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) or the camp guards.[10] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 10,000 prisoners died at Beniaminów (including totals from both Stalag 368 and Stalag 333); however, as with all figures reported by the ChGK, this estimate should be viewed with caution as it may be substantially exaggerated.[11] The camp was dissolved on February 19, 1944.[12] The former commandant, Major Wilke, was never brought to justice for his crimes, as he died in 1947.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 368 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 368); and BArch B 162: 6583–6586 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Bereich des KdS Warschau, u.a. in Ostrow-Mazowiecka [Stalag 324 bzw. Stalag 333], Siedlce [Stalag 316 bzw. Stalag 366] und Benjaminow [Stalag 368]); 16805, 16807, and 15159 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 368

in Mariupol [Ukraine]); 15156–15158 (“Aussonderung” von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 368 in Benjaminow bei Legionowo [Polen] durch Angehörige des SD und der Gestapo in Legionowo); and 30868 (Überprüfung des zum Stalag 368 gehörenden Kriegsgefangenenlagers Bialobrzegi bei Zegrze nördlich Warschau).

Additional information about Stalag 368 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol’sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939-1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 53; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 95; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939-1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 317.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 53; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 317.

2. Kdr. d. Kgf. i. Op. Geb. II No. 329/43 g, Karte der Kgf.-Lager, Stand 1.4.1943, Leonid Abramenko, ed., *Kyivs’kyi protsess. Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev: Lybid’, 1995).

3. Erfassungstab “G” der Gruppe Weiss—Qu-No. 96/43 g.Kdos, Befehl v. 29.5.1943, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 506.

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen, p. 317.

5. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 2 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001724).
6. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 3 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001725).
7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 95.
8. NARA, Microcopy T 501, roll 227, frame 710.
9. BArch B 162/6853, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00001773).
10. BArch B 162/6855, Bl. 314 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00002228).
11. BArch B 162/6855, Bl. 269 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2224.00002177).
12. Erfassungstab "G" der Gruppe Weiss Br. B. No. 52/43 g. Kdos, Befehl v. 9.5.1943, BArch B 162/19279, Bl. 503.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 369

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 369 (map 5) on May 3, 1942, in Kobierzyn from Oflag XIII A. The original camp, in the barracks of the former Polish 8th Cavalry Regiment in Kobierzyn, held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In June 1942, the Germans also added a penal camp under Stalag 369's administration in the area of Borek Fałęcki. This camp held French and Belgian junior officers whom the Germans were punishing for refusing to work for Germany.

Stalag 369 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoner of War District Kraków (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenenbezirk Krakau*). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Groest, the deputy commandant was Hauptmann Binder, the camp officer was Hauptmann Wagner, the adjutant was Hauptmann der Reserve Wohlrab, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann der Reserve Blaurock, and the postal censorship officer (*Postüberwachungsoffizier*) was Hauptmann der Reserve Ziefreund. The camp was guarded by two companies of the 820th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*). The battalion commander was Major der Reserve Merdes.[1]

The number of French and Belgian officers in the penal camp was much greater than the number of Soviet POWs in the main camp. There were more than 5,000 French prisoners in the penal camp, while the Soviet camp held fewer than 1,000 men. The French prisoners occupied three blocks, each with a capacity to house about 1,500. The blocks were separated with barbed wire, but as time went on the French prisoners were allowed to make contact with each other on Sundays. The French prisoners organized underground classes, university courses, and language courses, a literary circle, handicraft workshops, and even an underground theater. An underground newspaper, *"Le Crack,"*

edited by Pierre Lardin and Gaston Foulland-Buyet, was published (21 issues in total) from July 1942 until February 1944.[2]

The prisoners' rations in the camp were "deficient" during the summer and early fall of 1942, consisting of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread along with a thin soup each day.[3] During the period from June to October 1942, Stalag 369 was referred to by the prisoners as the "hunger camp."[4] The camp's water supply was also inadequate. Many prisoners became ill with dysentery shortly after their arrival due to contaminated water.

The conditions in the main camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The harsh climate and brutal treatment of the prisoners by the guards exacerbated their suffering. During the winter, prisoners were forced to stand outside for hours while temperatures fell below −20ºC (−4°F).[5] Even during the warmer months of the year, the near-constant wind kicked up large amounts of dust due to the sandy soil on which the camp was built. The prisoners were frequently beaten by the guards, and prisoners were occasionally shot for minor violations of camp rules. The Germans regularly screened the Soviet prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and commissars, who were shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel near the camp.[6] The Germans closed the camp on September 15, 1944, sending the prisoners to camps within the Reich, including Stalag VIII C in Sagan, Stalag IX A in Ziegenhain, and Stalag XVIII C in Markt Pongau.[7]

Stalag 369 at Kobierzyn. French POWs playing soccer, 1943–1944. USHMM, COURTESY OF IPN, WS #50246

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 369 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 369); BArch B 162/6588–6593 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 369 zu Kobierzyn bei Krakau); and *"Le Crack": Revue mensuelle du Stalag* 369, nos. 1–20 (2): juillet 1942–décembre 1943, eds., Pierre Lardin and Gaston Foulland-Buye, 2008–2009.

Additional information about Stalag 369 can be found in the following publications: Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 254; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 53; *Perechen' mest zakhoronenii sovetskikh voennosluzhashchikh i voennoplennykh, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i zakhoronennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (1995); and I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i*

grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha (Warsaw: PWN, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Bericht über Kriegsgefangenenlager, BArch B 162/29515, fol. 7.
2. *"Le Crack": Revue mensuelle du Stalag* 369 1–20 (2): juillet 1942–décembre 1943.
3. Section II: Historique du Camp Stalag 369 Kobierzyn, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0035/0007.
4. Ibid.
5. Section II: Historique du Camp Stalag 369 Kobierzyn, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0035/0008.
6. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 369 zu Kobierzyn bei Krakau, BArch B 162/6588–6593.
7. Section II: Historique du Camp Stalag 369 Kobierzyn, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0035/0008.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 370

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 370 on November 4, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X.[1] The camp deployed initially to Reichshof (Polish: Rzeszów) (map 5), in the Generalgouvernement. In April 1942, the camp relocated to Kherson, Ukraine (9g), where it took over the site of Dulag 120. In July 1942, the camp moved to Simferopol' (9h), in Crimea, where it occupied the former site of Dulag 241. While it was located in Simferopol', the camp had subcamps in Sevastopol', Dzhankoi, and Kerch.[2] While it was located in Ukraine, Stalag 370 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). After it relocated to Crimea, the camp was subordinate to the Commander Crimea (*Befehlshaber Krim*). Stalag 370 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 082 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck on November 22, 1943.

The commandant of Stalag 370 was Oberstleutnant Gürtner and his deputy was Major Müller-Jürgens. The adjutant was Hauptmann Laube. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Schwinck.[3] The camp doctor was Dr. Adam. The staff of the camp consisted of about 110 people. During the deployment in Simferopol', the camp was guarded by personnel from the 3rd Company of the 623rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[4]

While it was deployed in Ukraine and Crimea, Stalag 370 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The camp in Kherson held 9,034 prisoners on May 1, 1942, and 8,258 prisoners on June 1, 1942.[5] One witness estimated the population of the branch camp in Dzhankoi at around 600–700 prisoners. The conditions in Kherson and in Simferopol' were similar to those in other camps for Soviet

prisoners. The prisoners faced severe overcrowding, malnutrition, and inadequate medical care as well as deliberate mistreatment by the guards. The prisoners were also required to work in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) near the camp. Because of the terrible living conditions, mistreatment, and hard labor, the death rate in Stalag 370 was very high. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, moreover, new arrivals in the camp were screened to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were then executed by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel near the camp; these actions also took place at the subcamps.[6]

The number of prisoners who died in Stalag 370 during its deployments in Kherson and Simferopol' is unknown because the reports of the camp commandant's office were not preserved. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents regarding Kherson and Simferopol' simply refer to deaths during the entire period of occupation in these areas and do not distinguish deaths in Stalag 370 from those in other camps. Stalag 370 was disbanded on October 10, 1943.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 370 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-77-420, 456); NARA (RG 242); DAKheO (file r1479-1-7); and BArch B 162/8438–8443 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2749).

Additional information about Stalag 370 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941– 1944)* (Kiev: Derzhavnyi komitet arkhiviv Ukraïny; Ukraïns'kyi natsional'nyi fond "Vzaiemorozuminnia i prymyrennia" pry kabineti ministriv Ukrayiny, 2000), p. 256; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), pp. 53–54; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 9: Die Landstreitkräfte 281-370* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 323.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 323.

2. NARA, RG 242, Microcopy T-501, roll 64, frame 422.

3. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 370, BArch B 162/8438, Bl. 39 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2749.00000520).

4. BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 4.

5. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

6. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 370, BArch B 162/8438, Bl. 61 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2749.00000545).

7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 323.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 371

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 371 (map 5), through the reorganization of Oflag VII D, on April 17, 1942. It was located in Stanislau (Polish: Stanisławów; today Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine) in the Generalgouvernement.[1] A subcamp (*Nebenlager*) was established in Stryj (today Stryi, Ukraine) on May 28, 1943. There may have been an additional subcamp in Tarnopol (today Ternopil', Ukraine). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander for the Generalgouvernement of Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*). Stalag 371 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 667 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on November 24, 1944.

The camp commandant was Major (later Oberstleutnant) Wilhelm Schimmer (b. 1889 in Munich). He was replaced as commandant in September 1942 by Oberstleutnant Adolf Rengert. Rengert, formerly the commandant of Stalag 237 in Petrikau (today Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland), was succeeded by Oberst Karl Blomeyer in May 1943. In September 1943, Oberst Dr. Hans Aichholz became commandant, and he remained in the position until the relocation of the camp in January 1944. One former camp staff member recalled that Schimmer was not a dedicated adherent of National Socialism and that he treated the men under his command harshly, factors which led to his eventual replacement. The deputy commandant was Hauptmann Alexander Faber du Faur. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Konrad von Kaas and the camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Rudolf Vogl. The camp doctor was Stabsarzt Dr. Wilhelm Berghoff. The camp was guarded by the 2nd Company and the 3rd Company of the 405th Reserve Battalion

(*Landesschützenbataillon*); there were about 30 guards in total.[2] The commandant of the 3rd Company was Hauptmann Lindenberger.

In the first half of 1942, the camp held only Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). However, despite its nominal status as an enlisted men's camp (Stalag), from August 1942, it held mainly Dutch officers, who were put in the camp as punishment. Most of the Soviet prisoners were transferred to other camps; fewer than 400 remained in Stalag 371. From May to October 1943, there were also some Serbian prisoners in the camp. Stalag 371 was a relatively small camp, with a maximum population of just over 3,000 prisoners in September 1943.[3]

While the treatment of the Dutch and Serbian prisoners generally conformed to the standards of the 1929 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, the treatment of Soviet prisoners often did not. Former staff members insisted after the war that the Dutch prisoners had been treated well in the camp and that they were not subject to any forms of abuse, while acknowledging that the conditions faced by Soviet prisoners were significantly worse. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), malnourishment, disease, and poor sanitary conditions were the rule. At least 25 Soviet POWs died of typhus in April 1942, prior to the arrival of Dutch prisoners.[4] At least one Dutch prisoner was shot by the guards while attempting to escape, but deaths among the Dutch prisoners were otherwise rare, as they were provided with adequate nutrition and medical care.[5]

Upon their arrival in the camp, the Soviet POWs were interrogated by the Germans regarding their background and knowledge of military operations (although, under the Geneva Convention, the prisoners were required to give only their name, rank, and serial number, German interrogators frequently tried to extract additional information). The Soviet prisoners were expected to work on tasks such as the expansion of the camp and construction of new barracks, as well as in the camp kitchen and undesirable duties such as cleaning the latrines. The Dutch prisoners were not required to work, as officers could not be compelled to work under the Geneva Convention. It is unclear whether the Serbian prisoners were required to work. The prisoners were segregated by nationality and the quarters of the

different national groups were separated by barbed wire.[6] Although conditions in the Soviet section of the camp were harsh and the prisoners were subject to mistreatment, witness testimony suggests that the "weeding out" (*Aussonderung*) of "undesirable" Soviet prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, was done in the transit camps (*Durchgangslager*) prior to their arrival at Stalag 371. On January 20, 1944, the Germans reorganized Stalag 371 and it once again became an officers' camp, designated as Oflag 67.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 371 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–451); GARF (files 7021-73-18); DAIFO; and BArch B 162/8314–8319 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2740).

Additional information about Stalag 371 can be found in the following publications: G. van Amstel, *De zak met vlooien: Oflag 67, M Stalag 371: ontvluchtingen van Nederlandse officieren uit krijgsgevangenschap, 1942–1945* (Blaricum: Bigot and Van Rossum, 1974); Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 246, 248; Leo de Hartog, *Officieren achter prikkeldraad 1940–1945: Nederlandse militairen in Duitse krijgsgevangenschap. Nederlandse militairen in Duitse krijgsgevangenschap o.a. in Soest, Colditz, Neu-Brandenburg en Stanislau* (Hollandia, 1983), p. l; G. Higly, *Uit het dagboek van een krijgsgevangene: Stanislau 1942–1945* (1946); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol 1. (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), p. 54; *Onze officieren in krijgsgevangenschap: gedenkboek. Belevenissen op geschreven door Nederlandse militairen in Duitse krijgsgevangenschap o.a. in Soest, Colditz, Neu-Brandenburg en Stanislau* (Den Haag, 1947); K. Radziwonczyk, "Wehrmacht na obszarce generalnego gubernatorstwa w latach 1942–1945," *Biuletyn GKBZH w Polsce* 26 (1975): 22; David Jan Smit, *Onder de vlaggen van Zweden en het Rode Kruis:*

een medisch-historische studie naar aspecten van internationale bescherming van en hulp- en zorgverlening aan Nederlandse militairen in Duitse krijgsgevangenschap van 1940 tot 1945 (Den Haag, 1997); J. G. Sutherland, *Dagboek van mijn krijgsgevangenschap te Neurenberg, Stanislau (Oekraïne) en Neu-Brandenburg* (1985); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 4. See also, Stanislau 1942–1945 at http://www.eindhovenfotos.nl/levensloop_frans_de_waal.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 4.
2. Radziwonczyk, "Wehrmacht na obszarce generalnego gubernatorstwa," 22.
3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Dubyk, *Dovidnyk pro tabory*, pp. 246, 248.
4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 371 Stanislau, BArch B 162/8314, Bl. 94R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001855).
5. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 371 Stanislau, BArch B 162/8314, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001868).
6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 371 Stanislau, BArch B 162/8314, Bl. 12R (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2740.00001768).
7. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 54.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 372

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 372 on May 1, 1942, from the staff of Oflag VI E,[1] in Pleskau (Russian: Pskov) (map 9a), in the rear area of Army Group North.[2] The camp was subordinate to the Rear Area Commander of Army Group North (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord*), the 207th and 285th Security Divisions (*Sicherungsdivisionen*), and the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* IV). Stalag 372 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 45 195 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on November 9, 1943.

The first commandant of Stalag 372 was Oberstleutnant Freiherr von Beverforde. He was succeeded by Major Wilhelm Hirtz. The deputy commandant was Major August Lentz and the adjutants were Hauptmann Hermann Lakenbrink, Oberleutnant Dr. Klaus Holthusen, and Rittmeister Bernhard Deffte. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Fritz Hirzebruch, Hauptmann Paul Müller, and Oberleutnant Kaspar Bauer.[3] The camp was guarded by personnel from Company 2 of the 853rd Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[4]

Stalag 372 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Little specific information on the conditions in the camp during its deployment in Pleskau is available, but they were likely similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Although conditions had improved somewhat by the spring of 1942, the prisoners continued to experience overcrowding, inadequate food, hard labor, nearly nonexistent medical care, and abuse by the guards. The mortality rate was not as high as it was during the winter of 1941–1942, but it remained significantly higher than the mortality rates in camps for Western Allied prisoners. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*)

officer screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[5] The camp was disbanded on May 15, 1943.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 372 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); BArch B 162/9221–9224 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2806.00000678–00001050); and GARF (files 7021-39-329, 330, 331, 332, 333).

Additional information about Stalag 372 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 54; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 7.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 7.

2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61; Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B 162/7178.

3. Abgabebericht: Aussonderung sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Stalag 372, BArch B 162/9722, Bl. 7–11 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2806.00000932–00000936).

4. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG) (Stand: November 1942), BArch B

162/7178.

5. Abgabebericht: Aussonderung sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener durch Angehörige des Stalag 372, BArch B 162/9722, Bl. 18–19 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2806.00000943–00000944).

6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 7.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 373

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 373 from the staff of Oflag XXI A on April 17, 1942, in Bobruisk (map 9b). The Germans disbanded the camp on October 15, 1943, then reestablished it on May 9, 1944, from the staff of Stalag I F/Z in Prostken (today Prostki, Poland) (4c).[1] The camp was permanently disbanded on December 14, 1944.[2] While deployed in Bobruisk, the camp was subordinate to the Army Group Center Rear Area Command (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Mitte*), in support of the 203rd Security Brigade (*Sicherungsbrigade*).[3] During the deployment in Prostken, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen in Wehrkreis* I). Stalag 373 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 47 486 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on November 5, 1943.

The first commandant of Stalag 373 was Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Ignaz Kloimüller. He was succeeded by Major Wilhelm Lindenau, who was followed in early 1943 by Oberstleutnant Walter Däublin. The deputy commandant was Major Hubert Brandt. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Harry Stieger.[4] While it was deployed in Bobruisk, the camp was guarded by personnel from the 2nd Company of the 825th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[5]

While deployed in Bobruisk, the camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and interned civilians. It was also used as a penal camp (*Straflager*) at this time, both for Soviet prisoners who broke the law (including former volunteer concentration camp guards, or *Hilfswillige*) and for civilians accused of collaborating with partisans or other crimes.[6] During the deployment in Prostken, the camp held Italian military prisoners.[7] Conditions in Stalag 373 during its deployment in Bobruisk were similar to those

in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was overcrowded and the prisoners received little food or medical care. Newly arrived prisoners were screened by the counterintelligence officer to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel near the camp.[8] Little information is available about the camp in Prostken, although it is likely that conditions there were poor as well.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 373 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 373); and BArch B 162/9358–9361 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2811).

Additional information about Stalag 373 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 88–89; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 54; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 403–404; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 10; and Jacek Edward Wilczur, *Niewola i eksterminacja jeńców wojennych—Włochów w niemieckich obozach jenieckich, wrzesień 1943-maj 1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1969).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel des Stalag 373, BArch B 162/9361.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 54.

3. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 62; Adamuschko et al., *Lageria sovetskikh voennoplennykh*, pp. 88–89.

4. Abgabebericht: Aussonderung sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im ehemaligen Stalag 373 durch Angehörige der Lager- und Bewachungsmannschaft, BArch B 162/9359, Bl. 4–6 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00002162–00002164).

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG), Stand November 1942, BArch B 162/7178.

6. Gericht der Feldkommandantur 581 an Stalag 373 Bobruisk, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.8.1/0024/0173.

7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 403–404.

8. Abgabebericht: Aussonderung sog. untragbarer Kriegsgefangener im ehemaligen Stalag 373 durch Angehörige der Lager- und Bewachungsmannschaft, BArch B 162/9359, Bl. 12–13 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2811.00002170–00002171).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 378

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 378 on May 26, 1942, in the Wahn district of Köln (Cologne) (map 4a), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. In July 1942, the camp was deployed to Gorlovka (today Horlivka, Ukraine) (9f). While it was located in Gorlovka, Stalag 378 had several subcamps (*Nebenlager*), which were located in Novoekonomicheskii (today Novoekonomichne), Grishino (today Pokrovs'k), Grodovka (today Hrodivka), Dzerzhinsk (today Torets'k), and Nikitovka. After the German defeat at Stalingrad in February 1943, the camp staff withdrew through Krivoi Rog (today Kryvyi Rih) (9g), Zaporozh'e (today Zaporizhzhia) (9f), Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro) (9f), and Khorol (9f), where the Wehrmacht ordered it disbanded on August 26, 1943.[1] Stalag 378 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 799 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck on October 7, 1943.

In 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*). In 1943, the camp was subordinate to the Rear Area Commander of Army Group South (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*). The commandant of Stalag 378 was Oberstleutnant Johannes von Zerboni di Sposetti, and his deputy was Major Hans Edelmann. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Dr. Julius Trumpp.[2] The staff of the main camp totaled about 100 men.

Stalag 378 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The main camp consisted of a number of two-story stone barracks surrounded by barbed wire. One witness estimated that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 prisoners in the camp at a time during its deployment in Gorlovka. The subcamp in Novoekonomicheskii

held about 10,000 prisoners, the subcamp in Grishino about 1,800, the subcamp in Grodovka about 1,000, and the subcamp in Dzerzhinsk between 500 and 800.[3] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners faced severe overcrowding, minimal food supplies and medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards. They were also forced to perform hard labor in the numerous work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were dispatched from the camp. For example, prisoners at the main camp in Gorlovka worked in the ironworks in the city and at a nearby military airfield, and the prisoners in the subcamp in Novoekonomicheskii worked in coal mines as well as on repairing and building roads. The combination of malnutrition, disease, and exhaustion produced a high mortality rate. At least 2,500 bodies were found in 150 graves near the camp in Gorlovka. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, about 2,000 prisoners perished in the camp at Novoekonomicheskii; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly inflated and should be viewed accordingly.[4] As in other camps, prisoners arriving at Stalag 378 were screened to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel or camp guards.[5]

During the westward retreat, the 2,000–3,000 remaining prisoners were left at Stalag 348 in Dnepropetrovsk. The staff of Stalag 378 continued on to Khorol, where the unit was dissolved and its personnel distributed to other units.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 378 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); DADoO (file r1838-1-52); and BArch B 162/9803–9804 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2839).

Additional information about Stalag 378 can be found in the following publications: Maryna H. Dubyk, ed., *Dovidnyk pro tabory, tiurmy ta hetto na okupovanyi terytoryi Ukraïny (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 2000), p. 242; and Viktor Korol', *Trahediia viis'kovopolonenykh na okupovanyi terytoryi Ukraïny v 1941–1944 rr.* (Kiev: Akademiia, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. J. Trumpp wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, insbesondere Juden, durch Angehörige des Stalag 378 in Gorlowka bei Stalino, BArch B 162/9803, Bl. 199 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2839.00001628).

2. Ermittlungen gg. J. Trumpp wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, insbesondere Juden, durch Angehörige des Stalag 378 in Gorlowka bei Stalino, BArch B 162/9803, Bl. 199–201 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2839.00001628–00001630).

3. Ermittlungen gg. J. Trumpp wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, insbesondere Juden, durch Angehörige des Stalag 378 in Gorlowka bei Stalino, BArch B 162/9803, Bl. 92 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2839.0000 1500).

4. DADoO, r1838-1-52, pp. 37, 101–104, 122, 392, 490–492.

5. Ermittlungen gg. J. Trumpp wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener, insbesondere Juden, durch Angehörige des Stalag 378 in Gorlowka bei Stalino, BArch B 162/9803, Bl. 198 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2839.00001627).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 380

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 380 (maps 3 and 5) from Stalag XII C on April 17, 1942.[1] Stalag 380 was deployed to Skarżysko-Kamienna, in the Radom District of the Generalgouvernement. On June 1, 1942, there were 1,750 prisoners (including 285 officers) in the camp, and on August 1, there were 5,722 prisoners.[2] While it was deployed in Poland, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in the Generalgouvernement Poland (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Generalgouvernement Polen*).

No specific information on conditions in Stalag 380 is available, but, in general, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were treated terribly. Camps for Soviet POWs were usually overcrowded and the prisoners did not receive adequate food and medical care. Conditions in Stalag 380 were probably better than the conditions in other camps in the winter of 1941–1942, but housing, food, and medical care were likely still far below the standards of the Geneva Convention of 1929. The prisoners were probably required to perform forced labor, and it is likely that prisoner transports arriving at Stalag 380 were screened to separate out Jews and Communists, who would have been executed near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).

In the fall of 1942, Stalag 380 was transferred from Poland to Norway and deployed in Oppdal and Dombas, with sub-camps (*Zweiglager*) in Drevja and Mirvan. It also held Soviet prisoners at this time. During the deployment in Norway, the prisoners were distributed among 76 work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[3] During the deployment in Norway, the camp was subordinate to the Prisoner of War Regional Commandant with the Armed Forces Commander Norway (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandant beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Norwegen*).

Stalag 380 and its subcamps received separate field post numbers (*Feldpostnummern*); an unusual practice. The main camp received the number 42 709 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. Dombas received number 20 735 W between October 20, 1942, and January 9, 1943. Mirvan received number 21 851 AC on November 4, 1943; that number was struck on January 17, 1945. Oppdal received number 20 735 AF on December 1, 1943. Drevja received number 44 749 W on January 17, 1945. Stalag 380 remained in operation until the capitulation on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 380 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 380); and BArch B 162/8081–8087 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 380 [bis 17.4.1942: Stalag XII c] bei Skarzysko-Kamienna in der Kreishauptmannschaft Kielce/Distrikt Radom [Polen]).

Additional information about Stalag 380 can be found in the following publications: I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Marina Mikhailovna Panikar, *Sovetskie voennoplennye v Norvegii v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Arkhangel'sk, 2008); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 453; Marianne Neerland Soleim, "Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941–1945: Antall, organisering og repatriering" (PhD dissertation, Tromsø, 2005); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 380.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 380.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 453.

3. cf. Soleim, “Sovjetiske krigsfanger.”

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 381

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 381 on April 28, 1942, from the staff of Stalag XXI B.[1] The camp was deployed in the town of Taps (Estonian: Tapa) (map 9a).[2] While it was deployed in Taps, Stalag 381 had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Reval (Estonian: Tallinn). The Germans disbanded the camp on May 15, 1943.[3] The camp was subordinate to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 207, under the Rear Area Commander of Army Group North (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord*). Stalag 381 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 105 between March 1 and September 7, 1943. The number was struck on February 9, 1944.

The commandant of the main camp in Taps was Hauptmann Walter Hühn, and the commandant of the branch camp in Reval was Hauptmann Hitzigrad. The deputy commandant was Oberleutnant Max Heinzl. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Fritz Birkhoff. The camp doctor was Dr. Walter Mühlbacher.[4] The camp was guarded by personnel from the 1st Company of the 275th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) and the 1st Company of the 683rd Reserve Battalion.[5]

Stalag 381 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The main camp consisted of about 20 wooden barracks with a total capacity of about 1,000 prisoners; one witness estimated that the average population of the camp was around 500.[6] The camp in Tallinn was located in a former Estonian army barracks. The conditions in the main camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners received minimal food and medical care. In addition, they had to perform forced labor and were subject to deliberate abuse by the guards, which exacerbated an already high death rate. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and

political commissars, who were executed near the camp by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) personnel or camp guards.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 381 is located in BA-MA (RW 6); GARF (file 7021-97-20); and BArch B 162/9301–9305 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2808).

Additional information about Stalag 381 can be found in the following publications: Meelis Maripuu, "Soviet Prisoners of War in Estonia 1941–1944," *Estonia 1940–1945: Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity*, ed. Toomas Hiio, Meelis Maripuu, and Indrek Paavle (Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity, 2006), pp. 739–768; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 28–29, 55; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 28.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 28.
2. Anlage 3 zu GenQu II/775/42 g. Kdos. v. 24.5.1942: Einsatzorte und Unterstellungsverhältnis der Kriegsgefangeneneinheiten, Stand 20.5.1942, BArch B 162/7188, Bl. 61; Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG), Stand: November 1942, BArch B 162/7178.
3. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 28.
4. Verfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 381, BArch B 162/9302, Bl. 5–10 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2808.00000706–00000711).

5. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG), Stand: November 1942, BArch B 162/7178.

6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 381, BArch B 162/9301, Bl. 155 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2808.00000692).

7. Verfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 381, BArch B 162/9302, Bl. 13 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2808.00000714).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 382

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 382 through the redesignation of Stalag VI H on April 29, 1942. Stalag 382 was located in Borisov (today Barysaw, Belarus; 71 kilometers [44 miles] northeast of Minsk) (map 9b).[1] The camp operated under the authority of Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 286 and was formally subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commanders K and P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirks-kommandanten* K and P). Stalag 382 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 256 between March 1 and September 7, 1943. The number was struck on October 13, 1944.

The commandant of Stalag 382 was Oberst Wolff Graf von Metternich. He was succeeded by Oberstleutnant Max Keyser. The deputy commandant was a naval officer, Kapitänleutnant Dürselen. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Erwin Müller and Hauptmann Paul Käuffer. The camp doctor was Dr. Franz Weiser.[2] The camp was guarded by 100–120 men from the 2nd Company of the 495th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) and Ukrainian volunteers (*Hilfswillige*).[3]

Stalag 382 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a large camp, with witnesses estimating a population from 30,000 to as many as 50,000 prisoners. The POWs lived in barracks that had formerly been used by a Soviet armored division.[4] The conditions in Stalag 382 were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded and the prisoners received minimal food and medical care. Malnutrition, epidemics of diseases such as typhus, and deliberate abuse led to a high death rate; one former camp officer reported that in 1942, as many as 60 prisoners were dying every day.[5] As in other camps, prisoners arriving in the camp were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, whom a Security Service

(*Sicherheitsdienst*) detachment or camp guards shot near the camp.[6] The camp was dissolved on September 25, 1943.[7] The camp staff was then transferred to Dulag 110.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 382 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 22: 248; RH 23: 128); BArch B 162/9105–9109 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2795.00001354–00002190); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 382).

Additional information about Stalag 382 can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., *Soviet Prisoners of War Camp in Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), pp. 88–89; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 55; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 30.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 30.
2. Abgabebericht: VI 319 AR-Z 62/70, BArch B 162/9107, Bl. 53–64 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2795.00002099–00002110).
3. Kriegsgefangenenwesen in den besetzten Teilen der UdSSR u. i. Osten (ausser GG), Stand: November 1942, BArch B 162/7178.
4. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 382, BArch B 162/9105, Bl. 87 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2795.00001442).

5. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 382, BArch B 162/9105, Bl. 69 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2795.00001424).

6. Abgabebericht: VI 319 AR-Z 62/70, BArch B 162/9107, Bl. 68–69 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2795.00002114–00002115).

7. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 55.

8. Adamuschko et al., *Lageria sovetskikh voennoplennykh v Belarusi*, pp. 88–89.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 383

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 383 (map 4d) on February 18, 1943, by converting Oflag III C Hohenfels into a Stalag. In 1944 and 1945, the camp had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Steinburg (also known by the names Bogen and Parsberg). Although Hohenfels was located in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII, Stalag 383 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII).

The prisoners in the camp were noncommissioned officers from Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. In April 1943, the camp held more than 4,000 prisoners of war (POWs). In early 1944, there were approximately 5,000 prisoners in the camp, and in early April 1945, there were about 7,000.[1] Stalag 383 was a camp for troublesome prisoners who refused to work. Nonetheless, they enjoyed considerable freedom and comforts. The men lived in small dormitory huts (400 in total), each holding no more than 14 prisoners. The huts ("snug billets," as one prisoner described them) had stove heating, for which coal and wood were used; the prisoners were allowed to gather the wood in a nearby forest. The prisoners regularly received food parcels from the International Red Cross and also could prepare food for themselves (food shortages did not become a problem until late 1944 and early 1945).

Opportunities for recreational activities in the camp were abundant thanks to the intervention of the Red Cross and YMCA. The prisoners had many musical instruments, and they organized 15 musical groups and orchestras as well as a chorus with 500 participants. The prisoners also created two theaters, in which various shows were regularly offered. The prisoners created dozens of groups and clubs reflecting different interests, arranged sports competitions, grew vegetables, raised rabbits, and even kept

bees. The camp had athletic fields as well as places for relaxing and taking walks. There was also a swimming pool, which in winter was converted into an ice-skating rink; 100 pairs of skates were supplied by the Swedish Red Cross.

The camp had substantial opportunities for activities of an intellectual nature, including a library with 10,000 books and a school with the capacity for 2,000 men, which the prisoners made out of the old horse stables, with separate classrooms and a reading room. Though it was officially prohibited, the prisoners had radio receivers, cameras, watches, and other such items. The prisoners had pocket money, which they could use at 22 exchange points to acquire practically whatever they liked—ranging all the way from little powder puffs to false teeth. If they were unable to acquire something by legitimate means, they obtained these items through the German guards in the black market, in exchange for cigarettes.[2]

There were some Jewish prisoners in the camp. Unlike at some other camps, they were not subjected to discrimination or special restrictions. Jewish prisoners who were athletes and participated in the camp's sports competitions on a separate team even obtained the right to hoist the national blue and white flag with a six-pointed star. On April 25, 1944, when this camp, like others where Western prisoners were in captivity, held a regular sports festival for POWs of all nationalities, each team marched to the tune of its own national music. The Jewish athletes sang "The Company Song" in Hebrew.[3]

The camp was evacuated on April 28, 1945. Of the prisoners held in the camp at that time, around 5,500 were evacuated on foot, while more than 1,000 men who were not healthy enough to march were moved in vehicles and several hundred others hid, awaiting the arrival of the American forces.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 383 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 383).

Additional information about Stalag 383 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–*

1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); M. N. McKibbin, *Barbed Wire: Memories of Stalag 383* (New York: Staples, 1947); Dudley Muff, *Dear Alison: A New Zealand Soldier's Story from Stalag 383*, ed. Simon Pollard (New York: HarperCollins, 2009); and Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45: Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954), pp. 248–249, 388–389, 461–462, 468. See also the Wartime Memories Project—STALAG 383 POW Camp at http://www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag383.html.

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NOTES

1. Wynne Mason, *Official History*, pp. 248, 388, 468.
2. Ibid., pp. 248–249, 388–389.
3. A. Shneer, *Plen*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Mosty kul'tury, 2005).
4. Wynne Mason, p. 468.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 384

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 384 from Stalag IV E on June 1, 1942.[1] In the second half of 1942, the camp deployed to Kursk (map 9d). Beginning on August 24, 1942, the headquarters of Stalag 384 also ran a camp for civilian prisoners (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) in the town of Shchigry (Kurskaia oblast').[2] In the first half of 1943, Stalag 384 deployed to Konotop and Romny (9f), and, in June and July 1943, it was in Darnitsa, just east of Kiev (9e).[3] On July 19, 1943, the headquarters of Stalag 384 took over the camp at Belaia Tserkov' (today Bila Tserkva) (9e) from Stalag 334.[4] Stalag 384 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 36 222 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on May 4, 1944.

The camp was initially subordinate to the Commander of the Second Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580), and then to the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*). The camp commandant was Oberstleutnant Möller. On October 1, 1943, the camp's personnel consisted of 185 people: 18 officers, 10 civil servants, 74 noncommissioned officers, and 83 enlisted men. The camp was guarded by 165 Soviet volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis).[5] As of October 10, 1943, the guard company consisted of 157 Germans and 188 Hiwis.[6]

Stalag 384 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). In the second half of September 1943, a small number of Italian military prisoners were also held in the camp.[7] The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Overcrowding, insufficient food, and inadequate medical care led to widespread malnutrition and disease, resulting in a high mortality rate. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were shot by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*)

personnel near the camp.[8] The Germans dissolved Stalag 384 in December 1943; records indicate that a liquidation detachment was still active on December 28.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 384 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/16642–16645 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 384).

Additional information about Stalag 384 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 56; Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich: 1943 bis 1945; verraten-verachtetvergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990), pp. 210–212; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 37.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 37; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen,* p. 56.

2. Korück 580/Qu., Besondere Anordnungen für die Kgf.-Einheiten #3 v. 22.8.1942 (Nürnb. Dok. 2167).

3. Korück 580/Qu., Besondere Anordnungen für die Versorgung #78 v. 12.3.1943; Korück 580/Ia, Einsatz der Kgf.-Einheiten v. 13.3.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 75, frames 123, 135–136.

4. Berück Süd v. 23.7.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 27, frame 1236.

5. Korück 580, Gefechts- und Verpflegungsstärken, Stand: 1.10.1943, NARA, T 501, roll 87, frame 1050.

6. Korück 580/Qu., Kgf. Lagerbestandmeldung, Stand: 10.10.1943, 24.00 Uhr, NARA, T 501, roll 87, frame 756.

7. Schreiber, *Italienischen Militärinternierten*, pp. 210–212.

8. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 384, BArch B 162/16642–16645.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 385

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 385 from Stalag V D Strassburg on May 30, 1942 (map 4f).[1] In 1942 and 1943, the camp was deployed in various localities in occupied Ukraine, including, in 1942, Chistiakovo (today Torez, Donets'ka oblast') (9d) and, in 1943, Nikopol' and Marganets (9h). The Germans disbanded the camp on September 5, 1943, under an order of the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*) issued on August 26, 1943.[2] Stalag 385 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 12 120 between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943. The number was struck on December 17, 1943.

The camp was subordinate to the Army Group South Rear Area Command (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*) and the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operational Area II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Operationsgebiet* II). Stalag 385 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). While the camp was deployed in various localities in the Ukraine, the conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Camps were typically overcrowded, the housing inadequate or nonexistent. The food was insufficient in both quantity and quality, and there was little or no medical care. Prisoners had to perform hard labor, and the guards were abusive. The resulting exhaustion, malnutrition, and disease led to a high mortality rate.

During the deployment in Chistiakovo, the prisoners had to work in mines. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents, more than 40,000 prisoners passed through Chistiakovo, and more than 5,000 of these POWs perished; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often substantially exaggerated and should be treated with caution.[3] As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 385 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag 385); and BArch B 162/16785–16787 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 385).

Additional information about Stalag 385 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 40.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 40; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen,* p. 56.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 40; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtun-gen,* p. 56.

3. DADO, r1838-1-57, pp. 195–197.

4. "Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 385, BArch B 162/16785–16787.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 386

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 386, from part of the staffs of Stalag VI B and Stalag VI C, on June 10, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. In July 1942, the camp was deployed to Stalino (today Donets'k, Ukraine) (map 9f), and in late August or early September 1942, it was relocated to Shakhty, near Rostov (9i). Stalag 386 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 250 between March 1 and September 7, 1942; the number was struck on May 4, 1944.

The commander of Stalag 386 was Major Rudolf Villinger, his deputy was Rittmeister Heinrich Auerbach, and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Paul Dörr and Hauptmann Andreas Hürtgen.[1] The camp was guarded by German soldiers from the camp staff, assisted by two companies of Soviet prisoner volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis). The camp medical staff consisted of two Soviet prisoners who were doctors.[2]

Stalag 386 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners did not receive adequate food, shelter, or medical care. The poor conditions in the camp led to an outbreak of typhus in the fall of 1942. The prisoners worked in the coal mines near Shakhty and built antitank ditches. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were executed by the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[3]

The camp was evacuated in January 1943 as the Red Army recaptured Rostov and the surrounding area. It relocated to the Mius Front, a line of German fortifications along the Mius River in the Donbass region. In September 1943, when the Soviets broke through the Mius Front, the camp headquarters was transferred to Zaporozh'e (today Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine) (9f), where it was in the

process of being disbanded as of October 1, 1943.[4] The camp staff was transferred to another camp, possibly Stalag 387.[5] An investigation into the camp staff was opened in 1972; however, the commandant, deputy commandant, and counterintelligence officers had all died by that time, so no charges were brought against them.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag 386 is located in BArch B 162/9961–9963 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001515–00001975).

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 386 wg. Verdachts des Mordes…, BArch B 162/9962, Bl. 7–8 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001727–00001728).

2. Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag 386 wg. Verdachts des Mordes…, BArch B 162/9961, Bl. 152 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001680).

3. Ibid., Bl. 20–21 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001539–00001540).

4. Ibid., Bl. 177 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001709).

5. Ibid., Bl. 18 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2848.00001537).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 387

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 387 from Oflag 57 on May 26, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I.[1] In 1942 and 1943, the camp deployed to various towns in occupied Ukraine, including Stalino (today Donets'k) and Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro) (map 9f). The Germans disbanded the camp in early 1944 (the exact date is unknown, but the camp was still in the process of being disbanded as of February 28). Stalag 387 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 764 between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was struck on February 14, 1944.

While deployed in Ukraine, the camp was subordinate to the Rear Area Commander, Army Group A (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets* A) in 1942, and then to the Rear Area Commanders, Army Group South (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*) in 1943.

Stalag 387 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. Camps were overcrowded and unsanitary; housing, rations, and medical care were severely inadequate; prisoners were forced to perform hard labor; and the guards were abusive. The resulting exhaustion, malnutrition, and disease led to a high mortality rate. As in other camps, the Germans screened the prisoners to separate out Jews and Communists, who were then shot near the camp by the guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*).[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 387 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/15627–15629 (Ermittlungen gg. W. Hachenberg u. A. wg. des Verdachts der Beteiligung an der Aussonderung sogenannter "untragbarer" sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag 387 in Stalino und Dnjeprpetrowsk zwischen 1942 und 1943).

Additional information about Stalag 387 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 49.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 56.

2. Ermittlungen gg. W. Hachenberg…, BArch B 162/15627–15629.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 388

The Wehrmacht formed Stalag 388 from the staff of Oflag XII A on June 20, 1942, in Hadamar, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII (map 4d). From July to September 1942, the camp was deployed to Khorol, where it took over the site of Dulag 160 (9f). On September 6, 1942, the Germans converted the camp into a base for Eastern Legions (*Ostlegionen*)—designated as *Legionär-Sammellager II*—and ceased using it as a prisoner of war (POW) camp.[1] Stalag 388 received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 06 088 between January 27 and July 14, 1942. The number was struck on February 2, 1944.

While deployed in Khorol, the camp was subordinate first to the Rear Area Commander, Army Group B (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets* B), and then to the Commander of Prisoners of War with the Armed Forces Commander Ukraine (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen beim Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Ukraine*).[2] The command personnel of the camp were quartered about 5 kilometers (3 miles) away from the camp itself, on the eastern side of Khorol. The camp commandant was Oberst Kurt Eder, and his deputy was Major Bernhard Deffte. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Josef Vogt.[3]

Stalag 388 held Soviet POWs. About 10,000 POWs were confined in the camp. The conditions were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners faced severe overcrowding, inadequate nutrition and medical care, forced labor, and deliberate abuse from the guards. The terrible conditions in the camp produced a high death rate, primarily due to malnutrition and disease. As in other camps, the camp staff screened newly arrived prisoners to separate out Jews and political commissars, who were executed near the camp by Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*)

personnel or camp guards.[4]

A German guard in the camp, Arnold Kostrowski, was tried and convicted in East Germany in 1975 for authorizing the shooting of five Soviet prisoners of war from Stalag 388 who were accused of partisan activity in August 1942.[5] He was given a life sentence.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 388 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/9719–9720 (Ermittlungen gg. K. Eder wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung und Erschiessung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener sowie von Zivilgefangenen im Stalag 388 in Chorol im Jahr 1942).

Additional information about Stalag 388 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 51.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 56.

2. Befehlshaber d. Heeresgebiets B, Oberquartiermeister, vom 11.8.1942, in NARA, T 501, roll 18, frame 643.

3. Ermittlungen gg. K. Eder …, BArch B 162/9719, Bl. 235–236 (copies at USHMM RG-14.101M.2833.00000604–00000605).

4. Ermittlungen gg. K. Eder …, BArch B 162/9719, Bl. 237–238 (copies at USHMM RG-14.101M.2833.00000606–00000607).

5. Lfd. No. 1021a, *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung Ostdeutscher Strafurteile wegen Nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, vol. I (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), p. 668.

6. Ibid., p. 680.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 391

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 391 from Stalag I D on September 3, 1943. The camp was deployed to Copenhagen, Denmark (map 3). The exact location of the main camp is unknown; however, the return addresses on prisoner postcards indicate that it may have been located in the Skydeskolen on Christanshavns Voldgade, part of the ring of fortifications in the Christianshavn neighborhood of Copenhagen. It had 19 subcamps. The Germans disbanded the camp on November 8, 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander Denmark (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Dänemark*).

Stalag 391 held Danish military personnel. The conditions were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The camp administration and guards treated the prisoners decently.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 391 is located in BA-MA (RW 6) and BArch B 162/16648–16650, 16721 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 391).

Additional information about Stalag 391 can be found in the following publications: J. Andersen, "Kriegsgefangenenlager Stalag 391 in Dänemark," *AGZ-Rundbrief* 178 (1977): 35; A. Klabes, "Post der Internierten nach dem 29. August 1943 (in Dänemark) Stalag 391," *AGZ-Rundbrief* 23 (1979): 4–5; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945,*

Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 63.

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MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 397

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 397 from Stalag 237 on September 2, 1942.[1] In the fall of 1942, the camp was stationed in Iasinovataia (today Iasynuvata, Ukraine) (map 9d), where it replaced Dulag 182.[2] It was later deployed to the following places: Stalino (today Donets'k, Ukraine) (9f), Krasnaia Zvezda (Donets'k oblast') (9f), then, from March to April 1943, Zaporozh'e (today Zaporizhia, Ukraine) (9f), Krivoi Rog (today Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine) (9g), Orel (9c), and, in May 1943, Kromy (Orlovskaia oblast') (9d). After the decisive Soviet breakthrough at Orel in October 1943, the camp's personnel were evacuated westward to Gomel' (9c), Bobruisk (9b), Białystok (4c), and finally to Brest (9e).[3] The unit received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 41 235 between March 12 and September 7, 1943; the unit was disbanded and later the number was struck on February 2, 1944.

From September 5, 1942, the camp was subordinate to the Commander in Operations Area (*Operationsgebiet*) II; from November 20, 1942, to the Higher Field Command (*Oberfeldkommandantur*) Donets; from March 21, 1943, to the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) in Operations Area II; from April 18, 1943 to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Operations Area III and the Commander of the Ninth Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 582); and from September 1943 to the Commander of the Prisoners of War in Operations Area III and the Commander of the Second Army Rear Area (Korück, 580).[4]

The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Adolf Rengert, who had formerly been the commandant of Stalag 371 in Stanislau (today Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine) and Stalag 237 in Petrikau (today Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland). On September 11, 1942, he was replaced by Oberstleutnant Wilhelm Schimmer, also

a former commandant of Stalag 371. The final commandant was Oberstleutnant Josef Starzinski, who took over Schimmer's position on April 21, 1943.[5] The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann (later Major) Richard Grabner.

Stalag 397 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The conditions in the camp were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The prisoners faced poor housing conditions, malnutrition, inadequate medical care, and deliberate mistreatment by the camp personnel. Upon arrival, the prisoners went through a selection to identify "undesirables," such as Communists, Jews, and the terminally ill, who were then shot by the camp guards or the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*). While the camp was in Iasinovataia, it was referred to as the "typhus camp" and "cholera camp." The prisoners lived in unheated stables and disease was rampant. Plans to build a permanent camp in Iasinovataia never materialized as Stalag 397 was soon redeployed to Stalino. In October 1942, when there were 2,295 prisoners in the camp at Iasinovataia, 80–90 men were dying every day (a death rate of nearly 4%).[6] During the liquidation of the camp on November 30, 1942, the Security Services killed 77 disabled or incurably ill prisoners, probably using a gas van.[7]

While the camp was in Stalino, it held around 1,000 prisoners in a more developed camp facility. In Krasnaia Zvezda, it held about 4,000–5,000 Soviet prisoners. As the camp was repeatedly relocated westward, all prisoners who were capable of marching were brought along. The camp at Kromy held between 300 and 600 prisoners. The last remaining prisoners were deposited in another camp in the vicinity of Bobruisk shortly before the dissolution of Stalag 397 at Brest on December 17, 1943.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 397 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt/Chef des Kriegsgefangenenwesens; RH 49/11: Stammtafel Stalag 397) and BArch B 162/6594–6597 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag 237 in Petrikau [später Stalag 397]).

Additional information about Stalag 397 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–*

1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 56–57; Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg: Berichte und Dokumente 1941–1945* (Heidelberg: C. F. Müller, 1982), pp. 128–129; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 76.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 76.

2. Bef. H.Geb. B, Abt. Qu./Kgf v. 5.11.1942, Beitrag zum Monatsbericht, BArch B 162/9330.

3. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 237 bzw. 397, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 295 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002256).

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 56–57; Stammtafel Stalag 397, BA-MA, RH 49/11.

5. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 237 bzw. 397, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 165 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002121).

6. Bef. H.Geb. B, Abt. Qu./Kgf v. 5.11.1942, Beitrag zum Monatsbericht, BArch B 162/9330.

7. Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg*, pp. 128–129.

8. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag 237 bzw. 397, BArch B 162/6594, Bl. 307 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2225.00002268).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) 398

The Wehrmacht established Stalag 398 (map 4f) on February 27, 1943. It operated until May 4, 1945, when American forces liberated it. The camp was located between Pupping and Hartkirchen (Oberösterreich, Bezirk Eferding, Austria), and it consisted of 15 wooden barracks.

Most of the prisoners of war (POWs) who passed through Stalag 398 were French. Second in terms of numbers were Italian POWs, followed by Soviet prisoners. The fourth-largest group was Serbian prisoners. Stalag 398 was a relatively large camp, with a population that varied between approximately 23,000 and 35,000 prisoners in 1943 and 1944.[1] The conditions in the camp differed according to nationality. The Western prisoners' conditions were more or less tolerable. American and British prisoners occupied a camp in good condition with above average rations. International observers found little to criticize about the circumstances of the Western POWs in the camp during their visit in August 1944.[2] Hygiene and sanitation facilities were adequate, as were the heating, ventilation, and arrangements of the barracks. Medical personnel displayed overall competence and treatment facilities were adequate despite some problems with fleas. At the canteen, prisoners could purchase "as much beer as they wish" but little else. Overall, the POW leadership expressed satisfaction on all fronts with treatment and conditions in the camp.[3]

The conditions for the Soviet POWs were substantially worse, which led to a higher mortality rate.[4] In total, 1,032 Soviet prisoners died in the camp. Most of the prisoners, however, died in 1941–1942, that is, during the period when the camp in Pupping was a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) to Stalag XVII B, Stalag XVII B/Z. In addition, one French POW and one Romanian POW died in the camp.[5]

Reserve Hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) Haid bei Linz was

subordinate to Stalag 398. The hospital complex consisted of several barracks in a compound that chiefly functioned as a civilian labor camp at a nearby ironworks. In addition to treating prisoners from work detachments in Stalag 398 who had fallen ill, the hospital treated injured Allied soldiers from the Italian front and airmen shot down over Germany. Most of the treatment was done by interned Italian medical officers. Because the camp was subordinate to Stalag 398, prisoners were treated as nonworking POWs and given the lowest possible rations. The prisoners were fed a soup made from grass, a "half-cooked mush made out of an unknown grain which caused nausea" and other similarly inedible fare; as a result of the poor rations, the prisoners in the hospital depended almost entirely on Red Cross parcels for their nutrition.

The hospital was located in a wooden barrack. The medical care provided there was very poor due to a lack of equipment and supplies, and an "almost … total absence of any kind of medication," as noted by American first lieutenant Paul Scully, who was a patient at the hospital from May to September 1944.[6] Furthermore, the camp was infested with bugs and flies. The commander of the hospital delayed sending patients to the hospital in Linz for X-rays (the hospital at Haid did not have its own X-ray facilities), even when he was informed by the doctors that they were medically necessary. This treatment, along with the poor food and supplies, exacerbated the prisoners' suffering rather than healing them.

Stalag 398 was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII). From September 4, 1941 to May 20, 1944, the camp commandant was Generalleutnant Hugo Schäfer; Schäfer was convicted of war crimes by a Soviet military tribunal and executed on November 12, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag 398 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); NARA (RG 389); OoLa, Nachlass Conrad Rauch (Schachtel 2, Mappe 27–40); GaH (Sterbebuch der Militärinternierten im ehemaligen Kriegsgefangenenlager Pupping); BArch B 162/17305–17309 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XVIII B in Spittal/Drau, später Stalag 398 in Pupping [Wehrkreis XVIII-Salzburg]); and TNA (WO

224/56, WO 361/1783, FO 916/835).

Additional information about Stalag 398 can be found in the following publications: Roswitha Helga Gatterbauer, "Arbeitseinsatz und Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen in der Ostmark während des Zweiten Weltkrieges" (PhD dissertation, Salzburg, 1975); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 7; C. Rauch, "Das Kriegsgefangenenlager in Pupping," *Eferdinger Land*, ed. H. Sperl (Eferding: Trauner, 1985); H. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939–1945* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2003), 258–62; H. Speckner, "Kriegsgefangenenlager in der Ostmark 1939– 1945: Zur Geschichte der Mannschaftsstammlager und Offizierslager in den Wehrkreisen XVII und XVIII" (PhD dissertation, Vienna, 1999); and "Stalag 398," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, Etat-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, 1945), pp. 373–378.

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NOTES

1. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- und Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

2. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 260.

3. Report by the International Red Cross (August 12, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2151.

4. C. Rauch, "Das Kriegsgefangenenlager in Pupping"; OoLa, Nachlass Conrad Rauch (Schachtel 2, Mappe 27–40).

5. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 208–209.

6. Testimony of First Lieutenant Paul Scully, NARA II, RG 153, File 100-489, Box 52.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) I A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag I A (map 4c) on September 6, 1939, in Stablack (today Dolgorukovo, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I. Stalag I A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). The camp was closed on January 25, 1945, when the Germans evacuated the prisoners to the west.[1]

Stalag I A was located on the Military Exercise Ground (*Truppenübungsplatz*) Stablack. The camp complex comprised two sections: Camp North (*Lager Nord*) in Stablack-Nord (today Dolgorukovo), and Camp South (*Lager Süd*) in Stablack-Süd (today Kamińsk, Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, Poland). The camp facilities were located near the rail line to Zinten (today Kornevo, Russia), which passes through the Stablack rail station, and the road from Stablack (today Dolgorukovo, Russia) to Görken (today Górki, Gmina Stary Dzierzgoń, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland). In addition, Stalag I A was responsible for at least 21 prisoner labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp. The first commander of the camp was Oberstleutnant Karl Schulz. He was succeeded by Oberst Hartmann. The last-known commandant was Oberst von Pirsch, who held the position from 1942 to 1944.

The first prisoners of war (POWs) to arrive in Stalag I A were Polish prisoners captured during the German invasion in September 1939, including those from the Pomorze (Pomeranian) Army and others captured in the Polish Corridor and the vicinity of Warsaw. The prisoners in the camp initially included not only enlisted men and noncommissioned officers but also officers and Jewish civilians.[2] Stalag I A was the only POW camp in East Prussia until the establishment of Stalag I B on October 10, 1939. After the German invasion of Western Europe in the spring of

1940, French and Belgian prisoners arrived in the camp. In 1941, Soviet prisoners captured during Operation Barbarossa were brought to the camp. Finally, in late 1943, Italian military prisoners were sent to Stalag I A. Small numbers of British and Serbian prisoners were also present for a short time. Stalag I A was one of the largest POW camps in the Reich, with a population that remained around or above 60,000 prisoners for most of the war. The maximum population of the camp was 69,292 prisoners in December 1943.[3]

When the first prisoners arrived, the camp did not have any barracks or other permanent structures for their use. Upon arrival, the prisoners were taken to Camp South, where they were registered and then selected for either internment in the main camp or work in a work detail.[4] They were held in an open field surrounded by barbed wire, which was divided into two sections: one for POWs and the other for Jewish civilians.[5] One Polish prisoner who was in an early transport to the camp described the experience: "After a half-hour march from the railway station we were led to a camp fenced in with barbed wire. Inside the camp were 12 tents each of which held about 100 people…. We were not allowed to enter those tents. After two days of living on water, sleeping outside, we waited for allocation…. After 8 days in the camp the divisions were formed and escorted to a neigbhouring camp located close to the railway line."[6] Once the prisoners reached the main camp, they slept in tents with only straw or wood shavings for bedding.[7] Jewish POWs were kept in a separate section of the main camp and were not allowed any contact with the non-Jewish prisoners. The Jewish prisoners were also singled out for harassment by the guards.[8] About 800 Jewish prisoners were transferred to the Biała Podlaska concentration camp in October 1940; those who were still alive were transferred to the camp at Końskowola in May 1941.

The construction of the prisoner barracks began at the end of 1939 and continued into early 1940. Each wooden barrack was built to accommodate between 300 and 400 men, who slept on large wooden bunks that held 6–10 people. The barracks were arranged on either side of the street that ran through the camp (*Lagerstrasse*), with an open area in the center where roll call was held. In addition to living quarters, the prisoners also built the

administration buildings, as well as the camp kitchen, bathing facilities, latrines, and a building that became the prisoners' chapel.[9]

Conditions in the camp during this time were poor, as they were in most camps for Polish prisoners early in the war. Arriving prisoners were required to bathe and undergo delousing. As one survivor recalled:

> We had to completely undress in the courtyard, and tie all our clothes with our underwear. The bundles were then thrown into a large vessel in the shape of a cylinder. While the clothes were being steamed we went in groups of 20–25 to the baths, where under [streams of] cold water and a bit of soap we quickly washed ourselves so as to make place for the next group. Before we left the baths we were smeared with a bunch of cotton wool, affixed to a long rod, soaked in some black-brown grease, across parts of the body, with the exception of our heads.[10]

The camp infirmary comprised seven barracks. It was staffed by Polish (and later French) doctors and medical orderlies under the supervision of German doctors. However, hygienic and sanitary conditions in the camp remained poor, and infectious diseases—such as typhus and gastrointestinal illnesses—were common.[11] The delousing measures were ineffective, and lice and other vermin were abundant. One witness recalled that in 1939, there were 10 full tents (out of about 100 total) that held typhus victims,[12] and another noted that deaths due to illness were commonplace during this time.[13] Food rations were also inadequate; the prisoners received black ersatz coffee and a small piece of bread in the morning, half a liter of watery soup with cabbage or potatoes at lunch, and another small piece of bread and cup of coffee in the evenings, along with a small amount of butter or margarine.[14] Most of the prisoners did not have winter clothing and their uniforms became worn from continuous wear and work. The Germans replaced their worn-out clothes from surplus stock, including French uniforms from World War I.[15]

The first French and Belgian prisoners arrived in the camp in May 1940. The treatment of Western Allied prisoners in the camp

was generally satisfactory and in compliance with the requirements of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). Red Cross observers noted that their barracks were clean during a visit in September 1941; by this time, the conditions for the Polish prisoners had also improved compared to the first months of the war.[16] Both Western Allied and Polish prisoners had access to religious, cultural, and other recreational activities. They held religious services in their own chapels, kept libraries of books in various languages (the Belgians had more than 2,500 and the Poles had over 700 when the Red Cross visited in late October 1942), held classes in languages and other subjects, played board and card games, and held sporting events and competitions. These competitions included a football championship between the various national groups of prisoners in 1942, which was won by the Belgians. At one point, the camp had three separate orchestral groups, with between 10 and 22 members in each.[17]

After the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Soviet POWs were brought to Stalag I A. They were kept in a separate section of the camp, away from the Polish and Western Allied prisoners. As in other camps for Soviet POWs, the conditions they experienced in Stalag I A were terrible, with inadequate housing, food, and medical care, leading to a high mortality rate, particularly in the fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942. Soviet prisoners arriving in the camp went through selections (*Aussonderungen*) by the camp guards or Gestapo personnel, which were intended to separate out prisoners who belonged to "undesirable" groups, such as Jews and political commissars. Prisoners identified as such were executed by the guards in the woods near the camp. The Italian military prisoners who arrived in the camp in late 1943 also experienced poor conditions, as was the case in other camps. Soviet survivor Iurii Apel' described the conditions experienced by Soviet and Italian prisoners in Stalag I A in 1944, which, although difficult, were somewhat better than they had been in this and other camps earlier in the war. As Apel' recalled:

> The food in the camp was significantly better than that in all my previous camps. It was impossible, of course, to put on

> weight and get out of the *dokhodiaga* ("goner") category, but there was practically no threat of starving to death here either. The food was simple and, in comparison with other camps, of good quality, but it was not very nutritious, and there was not enough of it … [the Germans] fed [the Western prisoners] better than the Russian and Italian ones. They had a separate kitchen. They got just as much bread as we did, their *balanda* [soup] was higher in quality, and in addition, every day they were given one boiled potato, which they didn't eat, and *shlaim* [a substance derived from processing animal intestines in meat-packing plants], which they apparently didn't touch at all. *Shlaim* was a paste-like food, yellow-orange in color, without sugar and salt, completely tasteless; I don't know what it was made from and whether it contained anything of nutritive value. But this was not what ensured [Western Allied prisoners] a comfortable and well-fed existence. Every month, each of the [Western] Europeans received a large parcel from the International Red Cross, containing such a lot of things: tinned butter, meat, fish, cheese, flour, all kinds of cakes, cookies, condensed and powdered milk, sugar, cigarettes, wool sweaters, pullovers, socks, and many, many other items. Before the landing in Brittany and the occupation of Western Europe by the Allies, our neighbors received each month, in addition, one or two packages from home with all kinds of home-cooked foods. I don't mean that our food simply couldn't be compared with the food of our Western neighbors: I'm certain that even ordinary Germans, both civilians and military, in those days did not have foodstuffs in such variety, of such high quality, or in such abundance. Only the Italians from Badoglio's army and the Soviet POWs never received anything, either from the Red Cross or from anybody else.[18]

Prisoners of all nationalities in Stalag I A were required to work in the camp or labor detachments, as permitted by the Geneva Convention. They were used primarily as agricultural laborers throughout East Prussia, particularly in the Sambia and Memel regions. They also worked in industry, including the Schichau shipyard in Elbing (today Elbląg, Poland); the railway workshops

in Memel (today Klaipėda, Lithuania) and Königsberg (today Kaliningrad, Russia); the flax factories in Schippenbeil (today Sępopol, Poland); and the sawmill in Tilsit (today Sovetsk, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia). Others were used as manual laborers, clearing forests, building and paving roads, and digging anti-tank ditches. Those who worked a large distance from the main camp were quartered at their work sites—in barns, cellars, annexes, stables and other farm buildings, or provisional barracks on factory grounds.[19] Others worked in the main camp, performing maintenance tasks, such as removing snow; administrative jobs in the camp offices; unloading rail wagons; assisting in the camp hospital; and burying dead bodies.[20] Prisoners worked an average of nine hours per day, with most receiving Sundays off; however, men working in the factories were often required to work on Sundays as well.[21]

The Germans evacuated the prisoners from the camp on January 25, 1945, as the Red Army approached from the east. They were marched westward along the road paralleling the shore of the Vistula Lagoon (Polish: Zalew Wiślany). Prisoners who could not march—including 160 Soviet prisoners and about 80 Polish and French prisoners—were left behind in the camp.[22]

The number of prisoners who died in the camp is uncertain. Several thousand prisoners are known to have died there, the majority of them Soviets. More than a quarter of a million prisoners may have passed through the camp during the course of the war.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag I A is located in ACMJW (RiW); BA-MA (RH 49/5, 49/20, 49/26, 49/170); BArch B 162/15416–15418; WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag I A); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2).

Additional information about Stalag I A can be found in the following publications: Jolanta Adamska, "Śmiertelność jeńców polskich w Stalagu I A," *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* no. 3 (1992); Iurii Apel', *Dokhodiaga: Vospominaniia byvshego pekhotnika i voennoplennogo* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Bohdan Koziełło-Poklewski, "Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich (na marginesie książki Zygmunta Lietza),"

Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie no. 4 (1983): 517–536; Bohdan Koziełło-Poklewski and Bohdan Łukaszewicz, eds., *Ze znakiem "P," relacje i wspomnienia z robot przymusowych w Prusach Wschodnich w latach II wojny światowej* (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, 1985); Paul Lambert, *Hommes perdus à l'Est* (Paris: Dessart Editeur, 1946); Jean Legros, *Stalag I A* (Brussels: Editions de la Cité, 1945); Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 9; Jerzy Necio, "Stalag I A Stablack. Próby upamiętnienia," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 34 (2011): 53–65; and Albert Silbert, "Le camp des Aspirants," *La Revue d'Histoire de la Deuxiume Guerre Mondiale* 28 (October 1957): 16–34.

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1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 9.

2. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, pp. 69–70.

3. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

4. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 328, 377, 466, 485, 510, 521, 529, 805.

5. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 676, 805.

6. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 805.

7. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 238, 263, 555, 805

8. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 555, 676.
9. Koziełło-Poklewski and Łukaszewicz, *Ze znakiem*, pp. 132–133; Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, pp. 143–146.
10. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 1113.
11. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, pp. 143–146.
12. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 805.
13. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 1113.
14. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 398, 510.
15. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, p. 124.
16. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 21.
17. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 15–16.
18. Apel', *Dokhodiaga*, chap. 15.
19. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, pp. 175, 181; ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 150, 202, 328, 398, 510, 529, 550, 555, 617, 696, 712, 882, 1113.
20. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 90, 140, 150, 166, 179, 238.
21. ACMJW, RiW, sygn. 173.
22. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*, pp. 205–206.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) I B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag I B (map 4c) from Dulag Hohenstein on October 10, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I and deployed it near the town of Hohenstein (today Olsztynek, Poland).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 201 and Reserve Battalion 224 (among others) guarded the camp.

The first prisoners were Polish military personnel who had been captured in September 1939, as well as interned Polish civilians. On October 30, 1939, the camp held 18,276 Polish enlisted personnel and 11 officers, as well as 1,143 civilians.[2] Between 1940 and 1941, the Polish prisoners were administratively transferred to forced laborer status, set free, or transferred to other camps. Their place in Stalag I B was taken by French prisoners of war (POWs). Between 1941 and 1945, the French prisoners constituted the majority. Soviet POWs made up the second-largest group between 1942 and 1945, and Italian military personnel were in third in late 1943 and 1944. Most of the prisoners were distributed among the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*); 80 percent of these labor details were used in agriculture and forestry.[3] Stalag I B was a large camp, with a maximum population of 55,172 in October 1943.[4]

Stalag I B at Hohenstein. Soviet POWs behind the barbed wire enclosure, date unknown. USHMM, COURTESY OF IPN, WS #50208.

Conditions for the POWs varied according to nationality. Western prisoners enjoyed more or less tolerable conditions, while the Soviet POWs' conditions were inhumane. For the latter, enormous overcrowding, unhealthy food in small quantities, and lack of proper medical aid resulted in mass starvation, exhaustion, and illnesses, which in turn produced a high mortality rate. Mistreatment by the guards added to the misery and number of deaths.

In January 1945, as the Red Army approached, the Germans evacuated prisoners who could walk to Stalag II A in Neubrandenburg.[5] During this process, the camp guards shot prisoners who were not able to continue. More than 10,000 prisoners perished. In the camp cemetery, there are 380 mass graves and 303 individual graves. The remaining survivors at Stalag II A were liberated by the Red Army on January 23, 1945. After the war, the remains of the French and Belgian prisoners who died in the camp were moved to France and Belgium, respectively, while the remains of deceased Italian prisoners were reinterred in the Italian cemetery in Warsaw.[6]

An estimated 650,000 prisoners passed through Stalag I B and its subcamps and work details, of whom between 50,000 and 55,000 (mostly Soviet POWs) died and were buried in a mass

grave in the nearby Sudwa cemetery. Perhaps as many as 25,000 prisoners (mostly Soviet) died in the winter of 1941– 1942 alone, due to mistreatment, malnutrition, and typhoid.[7]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag I B is located in the BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-1/18) and in the WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag I B).

Additional information about Stalag I B can be found in the following publications: P. Bugeaud, *Militant Prisonnier de Guerre* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990); Z. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 9; Maria Ilena Mileska, "Olsztynek," *Słownik geograficzno-krajoznawczy Polski* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1994), p. 478; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag I B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 9–14; and Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 347.

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1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 9.
2. Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie*.
3. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag I B," p. 14.

4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 347.

5. Prisoners of War, General Notes, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0009.

6. Makarov et al., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov*.

7. Mileska, “Olsztynek,” p. 478.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) I D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag I D (map 4c) on July 1, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I from two disbanded camps, Oflag 52 and 60. From July to October 1942, the camp deployed to Ebenrode (today Nesterov, Kaliningrad oblast', Russia), and from November 1942, it was in Heydekrug (today Šilutė, Lithuania).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). The camp was guarded by personnel from the 469th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Stalag I D held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a relatively small camp; the prisoner population peaked at 1,348 in October 1942.[2] Specific information about the conditions in the camp is not available; however, conditions in camps for Soviet POWs were generally poor, with inadequate food, shelter, and medical care, and it is likely that the conditions in Stalag I D were similar. The camp was reorganized as Stalag 391 on September 3, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag I D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag I D).

Additional information about Stalag I D can be found in the following publications: Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); and G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 9.

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2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) I E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag I E (map 4c) from the disbanded Oflag 56 on June 5, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I. From July to September 1942, the camp deployed to Prostken (now Prostki, Poland), and in October 1942, it was located in Sudauen (today Suwałki, Poland).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I). The camp was guarded by personnel from the 555th Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).

Stalag I E held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a relatively small camp; the prisoner population peaked at 966 in October 1942.[2] Specific information about the conditions in Stalag I E is not available; however, conditions in camps for Soviet POWs were generally poor, with inadequate food, shelter, and medical care, and it is likely that the conditions in Stalag I E were similar. The camp was dissolved in October 1942 due to a typhus epidemic.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag I E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–452); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag I E); and BArch B 162/6582 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen im Oflag 56 bzw. Stalag I E in Prostken [Wehrkreis I]).

Additional information about Stalag I E can be found in the following publications: Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 9; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945.*

Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 481.

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1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) I F

The Wehrmacht created Stalag I F (map 4c) from Oflag 68 on June 5, 1942, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I. The camp was deployed to Sudauen (today Suwałki, Poland), with subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Prostken (today Prostki, Poland), Fischborn (today Dłutowo, Poland), Liese über Mischienitz (today Łyse, Poland), Schützenort (today Prigorodnoe, Kaliningradskaia oblast', Russia), and Prökuls (today Priekulė, Lithuania).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

Stalag I F occupied an area of approximately 50 hectares (120 acres), surrounded by a barbed wire fence and guard towers. The camp facilities included a kitchen, bakery, latrines, and bathhouse. The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The population fluctuated markedly, from a low of about 470 to a high of over 7,100. The prisoners lived outdoors in dugouts until 1943, when 43 barrack huts were built; however, because the camp was severely overcrowded, many prisoners were still forced to live underground.

Additional details about the conditions in Stalag I F are not available, but given the high death rate and existing information about the conditions in its predecessor camp, Oflag 68, it can safely be assumed that conditions were harsh. More than 100,000 POWs (the vast majority of them Soviets) passed through Stalag I F, of whom over 50,000 died, mostly from malnutrition, exposure, and typhus. The camp was disbanded by November 9, 1944, as the Red Army approached.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag I F is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag I F); and BArch B 162/16382: Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener

im Kriegsgefangenenlager Suwalki (Oflag 68 bzw. Stalag I F) zwischen Juni 1941 und Ende 1944.

Additional information about Stalag I F can be found in the following publications: Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w Prusach Wschodnich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Aleksander Omelanowicz, "Walka podziemna z okupantem hitlerowskim na Suwalszczyzny w latach 1939– 1944," *Studia i materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), pp. 403–405; Rein-hard Otto, Rolf Keller, and Jens Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam 1941–1945," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 56, no. 4 (2008); *Perechen' mest zakhoronenii sovetskikh voennosluzhashchikh i voennoplennykh, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i zakhoronennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (1995); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 481.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Otto, Keller, and Nagel, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutschem Gewahrsam."

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) II A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag II A (map 4b) on September 1, 1939, in Neubrandenburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. It was located on the grounds of the Fünfeichen estate and is sometimes referred to as "Camp Fünfeichen." The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).[1] On September 23, 1940, a separate officers' camp (*Offizierslager*), Oflag II E, was established nearby; this camp was later redesignated as Oflag 67 and was eventually reintegrated into Stalag II A as "Subcamp Oflag" (*Teillager Oflag*) on December 1, 1944.[2]

The first commandant of Stalag II A was Oberst Neumann; his successor, in 1941 or 1942, was Kapitän zur See Max Fischer. The final commandant was Oberstleutnant Wuttke, who became commandant in 1943.[3] The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Frankowski. The head of the camp infirmary (*Lazarett*) was Oberstabsarzt Dr. Hartmann.[4] The camp was guarded by personnel from the 281st Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*).[5]

Stalag II A was a very large camp, with a population that peaked at 48,536 prisoners and never fell below 25,000 after the first months of the war, although the majority of the prisoners were assigned to labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp.[6] The camp originally held Polish prisoners of war (POWs) captured during the German invasion of Poland. The first transport of prisoners arrived in the camp on September 12, 1939. The camp's structures were primitive at this time, and most of the prisoners lived in tents for the first months of its existence. Many of them were subsequently transferred out of the camp to work, primarily as agricultural laborers, while others remained in the camp to construct the barracks and other camp buildings. After

Germany invaded the Low Countries and France in the spring of 1940, prisoners from Belgium, the Netherlands, and France (including colonial troops) arrived in the camp; all of the Belgian prisoners were subsequently transferred to other camps. The next to arrive were Serbian prisoners, along with a small number of Greek prisoners from the Axis campaigns in Southeastern Europe. Soviet prisoners captured during Operation Barbarossa arrived in the summer of 1941; they were confined in a separate camp (*Russenlager*) located south of the main camp. After the Italian capitulation in September 1943, some Italian military internees were sent to the camp. Finally, after the Allied landings in France in 1944, British and American prisoners were brought to the camp.[7]

The Polish POWs faced harsh conditions in the camp's early months; in addition to a lack of permanent housing, their food rations were also insufficient, consisting of a small piece of bread with marmalade, margarine, or sausage and a thin vegetable soup and a few small potatoes once a day, with ersatz tea in the mornings and evenings. Jewish prisoners were kept in a separate section of the camp, away from the non-Jewish Poles. One former Jewish prisoner, Adam Szus (born Schüss), recalled that the conditions for the "few hundred" Jews in this section of the camp were "very bad" and that they were prohibited from interacting with the non-Jewish prisoners. In early 1940, the Jewish prisoners were taken out of the camp and sent to forced labor camps near Lublin, in the Generalgouvernement.[8] The conditions improved after the first months of the war, and the remaining Polish, Serbian, and Western Allied POWs enjoyed better treatment, generally conforming to the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. However, even in 1943, some of the barracks were overcrowded and recreational activities were poorer than those in other camps.

Religious services were available for the Polish and Serbian prisoners, although they were not held consistently, to the consternation of both the prisoners and international observers.[9] There was a library with about 1,100 books in Polish, though visitors from the YMCA noted in early 1943 that books for the Serbian prisoners were lacking; the book situation apparently improved later on, and with the addition of books in Serbian and

French, the total number of volumes in the library increased to over 16,000. The prisoners organized courses on various subjects, including foreign languages (such as English, French, and German), and there was a small Serbian orchestra. The prisoners had to fit these activities in around a daily work schedule that began with morning roll call at 6:30 a.m. and concluded with evening roll call at 7:00 p.m.[10]

As in other camps, Soviet POWs in the separate camps experienced the worst conditions, including inadequate housing, minimal food rations and medical care, and deliberate abuse by the guards. Mortality was high among the Soviet prisoners; at least 6,000 are known to have died in the camp, compared with approximately 500 prisoners of other nationalities. Newly arrived Soviet prisoners were screened to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were transferred to concentration camps, including Gross-Rosen, for execution; for example, on October 22, 1941, a group of 20 Soviet prisoners from Stalag II A was executed and cremated at Gross-Rosen.[11] The Germans evacuated the camp in late April 1945, shortly before the Red Army liberated it on the night of April 29–30.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag II A is located in BArch B 162/15625–15626 (copy at USHMMA RG-14.101M.2892.00000555–00000983); ITS Digital Archive; USHMMA (RG-15.079M, Konspiracyjne archiwum getta Warszawskiego: Archiwum Ringelbluma, Reel 24 and RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, 1940–1945, Reel 2); and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about Stalag II A can be found in the following publications: Jolanta Aniszewska, *Pomeranija: serbscy jeńcy wojenni w II Okręgu Wojskowym Wehrmachtu 1941– 1945: Katalog wystawy* (Stargard: Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne, 2013); Natalja Jeske, *Das Stalag II A in Neubrandenburg Fünfeichen. In Feindes Hand—Kriegsgefangene der Wehrmacht im Deutschen Reich. Das Beispiel des Wehrkreises II (Mecklenburg und Pommern)* (Barth: L. M.-V. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012); Dieter Krüger, *"Doch sie liebten das Leben": Gefangenenlager in*

Neubrandenburg 1939 bis 1945 (Brandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 1990); Arnaud Liszka, and Reno Stutz, eds., *B. 304: Französische Geistliche in einem Rostocker Kriegsgefangenenlager—Eine Chronik 1941–1945* (Rostock: Ingo Koch, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 10; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 7–10; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrüch: Biblio, 1975), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 10; this source erroneously lists the closing date as February 1945, but the camp remained open until the prisoners were evacuated in late April 1945.
3. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag II A, BArch B 162/15625, Bl. 94 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2892.00000643).
4. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag II A, BArch B 162/15625, Bl. 272 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2892.00000843).
5. Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag II A, BArch B 162/15625, Bl. 83 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2892.00000631).
6. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 9.
7. Ibid., pp. 7–10.

8. Szus, Adam. Interview 4409. *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1995.

9. USHMMA RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 25.

10. USHMMA RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 28–29.

11. Liste über die am 22. Oktober 1941 im hiesigen Lager exekutierten und eingeäscherten russischen Kriegsgefangenen, ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.1/0011/0107.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) II B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag II B (map 4b) on September 15, 1939, in Hammerstein (today Czarne, Poland).[1] The camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

The camp commandants were, in turn, Oberstleutnant von Bernuth and Oberst von Keppler. The Camp Officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Hauptmann Springer, the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Giesel, and the camp doctor was Hauptmann Wagner.

Stalag II B at Hammerstein. Camp entrance, November 1942.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The camp deployed on the grounds of a former military firing range and was divided into two parts: North Camp (*Nordlager*) and East Camp (*Ostlager*). North Camp held Polish, French,

Belgian, Serbian, and American prisoners, while East Camp held Soviet and Italian prisoners. From October 1939 until the summer of 1940, the camp held Polish prisoners exclusively. Because there were no barracks as yet, they lived in tents, even in the winter of 1939–1940. The majority of those prisoners worked inside the camp, where they constructed barracks; some of the prisoners were located in work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the boundaries of the camp.

By mid-1940, the Germans had moved most of the Polish prisoners to other camps (on December 31, 1940, 1,691 Polish prisoners remained) and, starting in May–June 1940, new prisoners arrived: French and Belgians first, followed by Serbs in April 1941. Among the French prisoners from the colonial forces (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Sudan, Madagascar, and Indochina), there was a high mortality rate, caused by the lack of warm clothing and by malnutrition. In November 1941, Stalag II B took over the former site of Stalag 315 (II F), about 1.5 kilometer (0.9 miles) away, as Ostlager. As of August 1943, the camp also held American prisoners, and, starting in September 1943, Italian prisoners as well.[2]

The table below lists the number of prisoners in the camp on the given dates and their distribution by nationality.[3]

The Polish prisoners, who were among the first to arrive in the camp, endured harsh conditions, including extremely sparse quarters and poor sanitary conditions. As former prisoner Jan Kwiatkowski noted: "The entire winter [1939–1940], we slept on straw, which became very muddy due to condensation. The rations were also bad and insufficient. These bad conditions caused many prisoners to become infected with dysentery, which, for many, ended in death."[4] Many of the Polish prisoners were transferred to the labor details, where conditions were little better; the Germans attempted to coerce them to "voluntarily" surrender their status as prisoners of war (POWs) and become civilian laborers, which would have allowed the Germans to ignore the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). In November 1940, Jewish-Polish POWs from Stalag II B were sent to a forced labor camp for Jews at Biała Podlaska, where they were treated horribly and many died from hunger and disease. The survivors remained at Biała Podlaska until the camp in which

they lived was closed on May 15, 1941; they were subsequently transferred to the Końskowola forced labor camp.

The treatment of the Western Allied prisoners was within the bounds of the Geneva Conventions; however, they too had to deal with harsh living conditions, albeit better than those experienced by the Polish POWs in 1939–1940. The men lived in small, damp, overcrowded rooms that left no room for storage or seating. They slept in triple bunk beds on mattresses filled with straw or wood shavings. International observers regarded these conditions as "primitive" and "dirty."[5] The barracks had electric lights and were heated; however, the electric current was often weak, and the heating was generally insufficient, due to inadequate supplies of coal for the barrack stoves. Thus, the barracks were often "extremely cold," and many men suffered from frostbite in the winter.[6]

	February 28, 1941	July 1, 1941	September 1, 1941	October 1, 1941	October 1, 1942	October 1, 1943	October 1, 1944
French	26,233	23,939	22,351	19,154	18,220	16,988	16,951
Belgians	1,664	1,535	1,523	1,016	949	848	856
Serbians		2,441	2,424	2,080	1,907	1,682	1,676
Poles	7		—	3	3	3	3
Soviets			—	16,126	10,119	14,052	13,267
Italians			—		12,904	1,111	171
Americans			—		1,467	5,946	7,087
In all	27,904	27,915	26,298	38,379	45,569	40,630	40,011

Food in the camp generally gave the men enough nutrition to survive, but little more. American private first class Nicklas Betters, who was at Stalag II B in October and November 1943, reported that the daily ration was a fifth of a loaf of bread, a small amount of soup, and a small amount of margarine, with two ounces of meat twice a week and a small amount of sugar once a week.[7] Reports from American prisoners repatriated to the United States in May 1944 indicated that rations remained similar in early 1944. They were given hot water for ersatz coffee or tea in the morning and a barley and turnip soup with black bread for lunch

and dinner; they received a small piece of sausage and some margarine three times a week.[8]

Private Frank R. Trocino, who was an inmate at Hammer-stein from May through November 1944, stated that the food he was given was insufficient, consisting of ersatz coffee in the morning, a soup made with carrots or potatoes, a small portion of bread, and margarine or meat every three to four days.[9] By the latter stages of the war, the American medical officers in the prison believed that the men were being fed less than 500 calories a day.[10] The prisoners depended upon the parcels provided to them by the Red Cross for supplemental nutrition. Many men became weak and sick due to hunger, and some lost a considerable amount of weight.

Illnesses among the prisoners were treated at the camp hospital. This facility had sufficient beds and excellent heating and was highly regarded by international observers until late in the war.[11] By the end of the war, however, the sanitary conditions in the camp had deteriorated to the point where the medical facilities were considered by the American observers to be "totally inadequate."[12] This situation was in no small part due to the arrival of 650 chronically ill men from Stalag III B and Stalag VI A, which placed enormous stress on the hospital resources.

Within the camp, precautionary health measures were standard. While typhus was allowed to ravage Soviet POWs in the winter of 1941–1942, an outbreak in the American camp in February 1944 led to swift action. Sixty American POWs were placed in a quarantine zone to prevent the spread of an epidemic.[13] The men were able to take a hot shower once a week. However, the open pit latrines in the camp were unsanitary. Furthermore, despite the Germans' efforts to delouse the prisoners and their living quarters, lice and fleas remained in the barracks.

Western and Polish POWs were allowed to publish their own handwritten newspapers. For example, the Polish prisoners published a daily paper, *Gazeta Ilustrowana*, the Belgian prisoners had a monthly, *L'Hirondelle*, and the Americans had *The Yanks* and *POW—Prisoner of War*. A later edition of the American prisoner paper was called *Barbs and Gripes* (a play on the US soldiers' paper, *Stars and Stripes*). They also received the

English-language German propaganda newspaper for POWs, *Okay*, which was largely ignored. In 1944, a French-language nightly radio news program was broadcast in the camp.

Western, Polish, and Serbian prisoners also had access to other intellectual and recreational activities. There were libraries for each nationality with varying numbers of books in their respective languages; a German Red Cross representative noted in late May 1943 that the Belgians and French had significantly more books than did the Serbs.[14] All prisoners also had access to sporting goods (provided by the YMCA) and facilities; common activities included football and table tennis. Most prisoners also had access to religious services. Early in their time in the camp, the Serbian prisoners had no priest who could conduct Orthodox mass for them and were thus without spiritual support.[15] However, by 1943, priests of all nationalities were present in the camp, and Serbian Orthodox and French and Belgian Catholic and Protestant services were held in the camp every Sunday.

Most able-bodied prisoners were put to work in the work details. As of December 1944, there were 233 work commandos for American prisoners alone.[16] Conditions in the work details varied greatly. In some cases, the men were given decent housing and good food; in others, they lived in pigsties and were fed very poorly. For example, American private Olin R. Sanders reported that in *Kommando* 1560 in Stolp, the prisoners were quartered in small houses with 11 men in one room; they only had one small washbasin.[17] Private O. T. Morgan lived in a farm building while working at *Kommando* 1562 in Budow.[18] William D. Zartman experienced even worse living conditions in his commando on a farm near Raffenburg, where the men lived in a cow barn and slept on piles of straw on the barn floor.[19]

Food supplies in the commandos were often no better than in the main camp. Zartman noted that he and the other prisoners in his commando did not receive food between 6:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m.; sometimes, they were not fed until as late as 10:00 p.m.[20] However, in some cases, the food provided represented a slight improvement over the normal rations. Private Sanders stated that he received ersatz coffee in the morning, potato soup and a quarter of a loaf of bread at lunch, and boiled potatoes in the evening with

a quart of skim milk.[21]

Many men in the work details reported being abused by the Germans supervising them. Private Morgan, for example, was beaten with a rifle butt by Obergefreiter Herman Geise; Morgan believed that he had been beaten for no reason, and reported that Geise frequently abused his fellow POWs.[22] Private Sanders reported that a German guard shot an American private and beat another with his rifle.[23] Even when they were not being deliberately abused, the men working in the commandos were nonetheless subjected to difficult working conditions. Zartman said that the men in his commando performed backbreaking agricultural labor for 14 hours a day, after walking between 5 and 6 kilometers (3.1–3.7 miles) from their quarters to their work site.[24]

The treatment of the Soviet POWs, as in other camps, was inhumane. Not until late November and early December 1941 were the last of them resettled from dugouts into unheated barracks with no windows or flooring. The prisoners were fed soup made from rutabagas and were given one tinned loaf of bread to share among 10 persons. Basic sanitary conditions were absent. Prisoners also lacked medical aid. All this led to a typhus epidemic, which lasted from November 1941 until March 1942. In this period, thousands of Soviet prisoners died in Ostlager. In the winter of 1941–1942, on some days as many as 200 prisoners died.

Only when the epidemic ceased to be an internal matter in Ostlager (when cases of typhus began to occur among the German personnel and the French and Belgian prisoners who worked at disinfection sites for Soviet prisoners) did the camp administration involve Polish doctors in the struggle against typhus. In April 1942, the camp administration finally wiped out the epidemic by shooting the remaining patients. The prisoners who survived the epidemic were put into the “sick battalion,” from which very few returned.

Surviving prisoners and newly arrived prisoners were used for slave labor in the numerous work details on farms, in the forestry industry, on the railroad, and in construction of the highway from Stettin to Danzig. In these detachments, many prisoners also died of malnutrition and inhumane treatment. In total, between 1941

and 1945, around 64,000 Soviet POWs are said to have perished in the camp.[25] On January 29, 1945, the prisoners in Stalag II B were evacuated to the west due to the approach of the Red Army, which liberated the camp on February 26, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag II B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-2/16); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag II B); BArch B 162/26073 (Überprüfung des Stalag II b zu Hammerstein); NARA (RG 59, RG 153, RG 389); and TNA (FO 916/20).

Additional information about Stalag II B can be found in the following publications: Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, "Obozy jenieckie na Ziemi Koszalinskiej (1939–1945)," *Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Ziemi Koszalińskiej w latach 1933–1945* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Ośrodek Naukowo-Badawczy, 1968); Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski and Andrzej Zientarski, *Oboz jeniecki w Czarnem—Stalag II B Hammerstein* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Ośrodek Naukowo-Badawczy, 1975); Tadeusz Cyprian, "Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na polskich jencach wojennych," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 32 (1987): 115–120; I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 10; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag II B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 28–33; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 141–142; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw, 1986); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die*

Landstreitkräfte 1-5 (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.
2. Bojar-Fijałkowski and Zientarski, *Oboz jeniecki w Czarnem*.
3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 141–142.
4. Cyprian, "Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na polskich jencach wojennych," 119.
5. Report by the International Red Cross (May 16, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
6. Testimony of Pvt. Frank R. Trocino, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 21, Folder 1.
7. Testimony of Pfc. Nicklas Betters, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 21, Folder 1.
8. Reports of Prisoners Repatriated in May 1944, Stalag II-B, NARA II, RG 59, Box 127.
9. Testimony of Pvt. Frank R. Trocino, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 21, Folder 1.
10. Report by the International Red Cross (April 13, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
11. Summary Report, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 21, Folder 1.
12. Ibid.
13. Report by the International Red Cross (April 13, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

14. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Regarding Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 49.

15. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 46–47.

16. Summary Report, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 21, Folder 1.

17. Testimony of Pvt. Olin R. Sanders, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

18. Testimony of Pvt. O. T. Morgan, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

19. Ibid.

20. Testimony of William D. Zartman, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

21. Testimony of Pvt. Olin R. Sanders, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

22. Testimony of Pvt. O. T. Morgan, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

23. Testimony of Pvt. Olin R. Sanders, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

24. Testimony of William D. Zartman, File 100-417, Stalag II-B (Hammerstein, Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 23, Folder 6.

25. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 142.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) II C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag II C (map 4b) on September 28, 1939, in Woldenberg (today Dobiegniew, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. Starting on May 20, 1940, the camp was deployed in Greifswald, Germany, and the campsite in Woldenberg became Oflag II C.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

Stalag II C initially held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). The first Polish prisoners lived in tents while they built the camp barracks. In early 1940, the camp held about 15,000 Polish POWs, of whom 14,500 worked in various agricultural labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[2] After the redeployment of the camp to Greifswald, the Polish prisoners were transferred to another camp and replaced by Belgian and French prisoners. In 1941, they were joined by Serbian and Soviet POWs. In September 1942, the camp contained approximately 5,000 Belgian and French prisoners and about 5,000 Soviet prisoners. Almost all the Soviet POWs were in labor detachments outside of the camp, working in agriculture, industrial concerns, and railway construction. About 1,000 French and Belgian prisoners were also in labor detachments, while around 4,000 were in the main camp and did not work. There were two special camp sections within Stalag II C, one for Red Army political personnel and one for Belgian and French prisoners who violated the camp rules.

According to the periodical published by the Serbian prisoners in the camp, on August 29, 1943, the camp authorities granted them permission to hold a funeral service for their compatriots who had died and were buried at Greifswald. The Serbian man of confidence, Tihomir Lukić, made a record of all of the prisoners who were buried in the graves and their locations, so that the families of the deceased could be told where their relatives were

buried. The bereaved were to be informed by letters from the Serbian Red Cross based on information provided by Lukić.[3]

Stalag II C at Greifswald. Prisoners at evening roll call, June 1942.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

On September 25, 1944, the camp held 9,461 French prisoners and 5,573 Belgian prisoners[4] The Belgian and French prisoners were treated decently and their living conditions were generally satisfactory. The International Red Cross had a permanent office within the camp that monitored the status of the Belgian and French prisoners and the Germans' compliance with the terms of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

Western and Serbian prisoners had access to cultural and recreational activities in the camp and, to a limited extent, in the labor detachments. The French and Belgian prisoners held both Catholic and Protestant services together, as there were several priests and a Belgian Evangelical minister in the camp. Serbian Orthodox services were conducted by a theology student.[5] The camp had collections of books in the languages spoken by the prisoners, provided by the Red Cross and YMCA; however, the French and Belgian prisoners had far more books available to them than did the Serbs. The French and Belgians also had a small orchestra and a theater troupe. Opportunities to play sports in the camp were limited because the camp was located on a damp, soft

patch of ground that was often unusable for such activities.[6]

By contrast, the living conditions for the Soviet POWs were inhumane. Their housing, food rations, sanitation, and medical care were all inadequate, resulting in a high death rate from malnutrition and disease. As many as 768 Soviet prisoners from Stalag II C are buried in the new city cemetery in Greifswald. The names of 638 of these prisoners are known, while the other 130 remain unknown.

On February 8, 1945, prisoners from other camps further east were evacuated to Greifswald via Stargard. Of these prisoners, 90 were either sick or considered to be dangerous and were brought by train instead of on foot. The camp was used as a transit point for prisoners being sent to the west.[7] The prisoners of Stalag II C were themselves evacuated a few weeks later. The Red Army liberated the camp on April 30, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag II C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 53-2/16: Kriegsgefangenenlager/ Mannschaftsstammlager II A-E); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag II C); BArch B 162/17361–17363 (Überprüfung des Stalag II C); and TNA (FO 916/20: Stalag II B, II C, II D, III A, III D, III E).

Additional information about Stalag II C can be found in the following publications: A. N. Bystritskii et al., eds., *Rossiiskie (sovetskie) voinskie memorialy i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii* (Moscow: Assotsiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); *Entre camerades: Journal des prisonniers de guerre du Stammlager II C Greifswald* (Nîmes: Lacour, 1991); Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach II wojny światowej* (Poznan´: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), pp. 108, 110; Wiktor Lemiesz, *Miejsca martyrologii na Ziemi Lubuskiej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), p. 69; Louis Masset, *L'odyssée du prisonnier de guerre 30362: Stalag 2C* (Bressoux: Dricot, 1984); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 10; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau,

"Stalag II C," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 34–39; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 156; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 10: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1976), p. 127.

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1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 10; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 156.

3. Der Bote des Serbischen Roten Kreuz, Dezember 1945, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.23/0010/0516.

4. USHMMA, RG 30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 51.

5. USHMMA, RG 30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 52.

6. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag II C," p. 34.

7. Kurzbericht zur Lage im Oberlandesgerichtsbezirk Stettin—Bereich des Generalstaatsanwalts für die Zeit vom 27. Januar bis 10. Februar 1945, ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.2.0/0006/0149.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) II D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag II D (map 4b) on September 20, 1939, in Stargard in Pommern (today Stargard, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II, on the site of the former Dulag L (also known as Dulag Stargard).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II). The Germans evacuated the camp on February 25, 1945, as the Red Army approached from the east. Soviet forces liberated the campsite sometime between March 4 and March 6, 1945.

Stalag II D was divided into three sections: the main camp (*Hauptlager*), and two "forecamps" (*Vorlager*), known as Vorlager I and II. The first commander of Stalag II D was Oberst Dommerget.[2] By January 1940, he had been replaced by Major Wilhelm Diemer.[3] He was succeeded by Oberst May sometime in mid-1940.[4] May was replaced by Generalmajor Hans Henke at an unknown date.[5] Henke left the position in mid-1942 and was succeeded by Generalmajor Adolf Plammer, who remained at the camp until at least May 30, 1944.[6] The final commandant of the camp was likely SS-Obersturmführer Karl-Heinz Müller.[7] The deputy commandant for at least some of the camp's operation was Major Kröplin. The adjutants were Hauptmann Bertram and Hauptmann Simon. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Johannes Boldt.[8] The camp was guarded by personnel from the 269th, 271st, 978th, and 980th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).[9]

The first prisoners to arrive at Stalag II D were Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who were captured during the German invasion of September 1939. In late 1939 and early 1940, the Polish prisoners were gradually transferred to other camps. After the German invasion of Western Europe, French and Belgian POWs were brought to the camp; the French would remain the largest group of

prisoners in the camp throughout the war. In April 1941, Serbian prisoners were brought to the camp, followed in the summer of 1941 by Soviet POWs, after the German attack on the Soviet Union. In late 1943, Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp, along with small numbers of Dutch prisoners. Finally, British and Canadian prisoners captured during the Dieppe Raid were brought to the camp in January 1944. Stalag II D was a large camp, with a population that remained well over 30,000 throughout the war; the maximum recorded camp population was 39,991 in October 1941.[10] However, the majority of the prisoners (at times as many as 96 percent of them) worked outside the camp in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). Stalag II D was responsible for more than 1,500 such detachments.[11]

A POW hospital, *Reserve Lazarett* II, was attached to Stalag II D. Germans ran the hospital as part of Stalag II D, though it treated prisoners from nearby camps, including Stalag II B and Stalag Luft 4.[12] The hospital held several hundred prisoners in a large three-story former school building. Individual wards held between 4 and 30 men, each in a single well-constructed bed with adequate bedding. The hospital was well built and was heated during the winter months. A garden behind the hospital allowed opportunities for patients to take walks or to otherwise pass time outdoors.[13] However, the hospital suffered from chronic shortages of medical supplies, which was a common problem in POW hospitals. By 1945, regular access to basic medicines and supplies became unreliable. This compounded the limitations of the hospital, which had only a basic operating room and laboratory. As a result, any serious cases of illness or injury were transferred to the larger prisoner hospital in Elsterhorst.[14]

When prisoners arrived in the camp, they were taken to one of the Vorlager where they registered and deloused before being allowed into the main camp. For the first few months of the war, there were no permanent structures in Stalag II D; during this time, it was a “tent camp” (*Zeltlager*). The Polish POWs built their own barracks, as well as other camp buildings, such as the kitchen, showers, and infirmary, in late 1939 and early 1940. Each section of the camp was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, with a paved street passing between the rows of brick and wooden barracks. By January 1941, there were 46 barracks in the camp,

each of which had a capacity of between 250 and 300 men.[15] Within the camp, the prisoners were segregated by nationality.

As in other camps, the conditions endured by the Polish prisoners during the first months of the war were difficult. In addition to the poor housing situation, their food rations were entirely insufficient, particularly for prisoners who were expected to do difficult manual labor. For breakfast and dinner, the prisoners received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and half a liter (1 pint) of ersatz coffee, and at lunch, they were fed a watery soup made from cabbage or beets. Some of the Polish prisoners lost nearly 40 kilograms (88 pounds) of body weight during their time in the camp.[16] For some prisoners in the work details, food supply was even worse, consisting mostly of rotten potatoes and cabbage. While delousing procedures in the camp prevented the spread of typhus, such protections were not afforded to the prisoners in the work details, many of whom were infected during the winter of 1939–1940. Mortality rates among these prisoners were as high as 50 percent, with higher mortality rates generally concentrated in work details in the eastern and southeastern parts of Pomerania.[17] Jewish prisoners were subject to especially harsh discipline. They were later transferred to concentration camps, such as the Lipowa Street camp in Lublin and the camp in Biała Podlaska. Many of them would later perish when those camps were liquidated. There were still 112 Jewish prisoners in Stalag II D in May 1940.[18]

The Western Allied and Serbian POWs experienced better conditions and were generally treated according to the requirements of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). Their section of the camp was visited on several occasions by international observers, including the Scapini Mission and the Red Cross. These prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities within the camp.[19] Most prisoners were able to attend religious services in their language; the exceptions were the Muslim Yugoslavian prisoners and Catholic Canadians, for whom no clergymen were available.[20] In terms of recreational activities, the prisoners had libraries of books available to them, and some national groups, such as the Serbs, had small musical and theater groups. The Serbian camp also had a swimming pool, which was built by the prisoners in the summer of 1943.[21]

The first transport of Soviet POWs arrived at Stalag II D on October 1, 1941. As in other camps, the conditions endured by the Soviet prisoners were terrible and in violation of all standards of international law regarding the treatment of POWs. Their food rations were inadequate and their barracks were severely overcrowded, which, combined with minimal medical care, allowed diseases to spread rapidly. The mortality rate for Soviet prisoners was very high, primarily due to malnutrition and disease. Conditions were especially harsh in 1941 and early 1942 but improved somewhat later in the war. Soviet prisoners were also subject to "weeding out" (*Aussonderung*) operations conducted by the Gestapo, which identified "undesirable" prisoners (such as Jews and political commissars) who were sent to concentration camps, mainly Sachsenhausen, for execution.[22]

The first Italian military prisoners arrived on September 15, 1943. By October of that year, there were more than 6,400 Italian prisoners in the camp. They were also treated poorly by the Germans, as was the case in other camps. British and Canadian prisoners were brought to the camp in January 1944. Though the Germans treated them according to the requirements of the Geneva Convention, by the last months of the war, the conditions in German POW camps had worsened for all prisoner groups. Canadian prisoner Bill Larin, who was captured at Dieppe, described his experience in the camp:

> We … arrived at [Stalag] II D on January 29, 1944. I was the only one with a beard when we arrived. I got orders to shave it off by the Germans, which I did, pronto…. We were there about five days, when 30 of us were sent on a work party, to a place called Rensin. It was a large state potato farm, with a Nazi civilian in charge. We did all kinds of farming jobs, including planting, hoeing, and grading seed potatoes. We had a few problems here. The Germans got a bit rough with the guys. One day, while planting potatoes, the Germans wanted more speed, and walked behind the boys with bayonets on their rifles. It didn't work, as the boys stuck together. It took a bit of courage, believe me. We also had a bed bug infestation one night. They sure knew how to bite. Our quarters were fumigated, and that took care of the bugs.

> We got word of a Second Front here, and the next day after that, hundreds of American Flying Fortresses [B-17 bombers] came over us. The German fighters tried to get at them, but were held off by armed B-29 [*sic*] bombers. What a racket they made. At night, we heard the British and Canadian planes bombing Stettin [Szczecin], it was very loud and the ground was trembling. One day, the Gestapo called, and just about tore the place apart. They were evidently looking for maps and compasses. I don't know if they found anything. We had some Poles working on the farm and living next to us. They took two of them away with them, a man and a woman, reputed to be brother and sister. God knows what happened to them, but we suspected the worst. If any of their people got caught out of their area, they were hanged at a crossroads as a warning. The Germans didn't like the way we worked, so we were replaced by some Italians. We were sent to a saw mill at Plathe [today Płoty, West Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland] on June 24, 1944. We made rough lumber, peeled logs, etc. While here, a couple of our guys escaped. We never heard what happened to them. It was a dangerous time to be on the loose. The Germans were getting nervous, as the Russians were coming from the east. We weren't getting much food at this time. We lived on potatoes, but they didn't stay with you for long.[23]

As Larin noted, escape attempts were common both in the work details and in the main camp. However, most of those who escaped were recaptured and several prisoners were shot during their flights.[24] The Germans began evacuating the prisoners to the west on February 25, 1945. Some were taken by sea to Flensburg, while others were marched to Sassnitz, Jarmen, and Friedland (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern). The Canadian prisoners were sent to Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel.[25] Larin recalled of the evacuation:

> We packed what we could carry, and dressed warmly, took a blanket each, and on February 25, 1945, we headed out. It wasn't too warm. We marched toward Stettin, but before crossing the bridge, we met some German troops going east toward the Russians. They looked like boys 15–16 years old,

> and very scared. I felt sorry for them. We could hear the Russian guns in the distance. We marched all day, every day, and stayed over on farms at night. We didn't get much food from the Germans, and scrounged and stole what we could. The Germans hollered loud and long. We ran into other groups from the east, crossed the Oder and Elbe rivers, and went past Rostock, a port on the Baltic, around Berlin, past Hamburg and Bremen. We finally crossed the Elbe River again near Brunswick [Braunschweig], headed south, and all the roads were packed with POWs. Some columns were strafed by our own planes, with some casualties. We bumped into the Russians, gave them what we could, and they gave us lice—not a good experience. They were in very bad shape, wore rags, and some had no shoes. We couldn't do much for them, as we had to move on.[26]

The Red Army arrived a week later and liberated the former site of the camp, along with approximately 300 prisoners who had been left behind because they were unable to march.[27] The Soviets used the site as a field hospital, and after the war it was turned over to the Polish army. The number of prisoners who died in Stalag II D is uncertain. The former commandant, Generalmajor Henke, died in 1956 without facing trial.[28] In 1965, the West German government opened an investigation into crimes committed at Stalag II D, with the aim of prosecuting the former Commandant of Prisoners of War in Defense District II, Generalleutnant Josef Lehmann. However, the investigation was dropped in 1976, as Lehmann had died in the intervening time.[29]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag II D is located in ACMJW; AŻIH; BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 49/123); BArch B 162/6624–6627 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2228.00000154–00000559); CAMO; IPN; NARA (RG 389); the National Archives in Szczecin; PAAA; *Rapports CICR Genève*; TNA; USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag II D).

Additional information about Stalag II D can be found in the following publications: Jolanta Aniszewska, "Quellen zur Erforschung der Problematik der Gefangenenarbeitskommandos

am Beispiel Stalag II D Stargard/Źródła do badań nad problematyką jenieckich komand pracy na przykładzie Stalagu II D Stargard," in *Zwangsarbeit in Pommern von 1939 bis 1950: Sachstand und Perspektiven der Forschung und der historischen Bildungsarbeit in Deutschland und Polen/Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1950. Stan i perspektywy badań naukowych oraz edukacji historycznej w Polsce i w Niemczech* (Greifswald; Szczecin, 2014), pp. 219–238; Jolanta Aniszewska, "W obowiązku pamięci: Stalag II D i formy upamiętniania jeńców wojennych w Stargardzie Szczecińskim," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 34 (2011); Jolanta Aniszewska, Ranata Kobylarz-Buła, and Piotr Stanek, eds., *Zwykły żołnierski los. Jeńcy wojenni na Pomorzu Zachodnim (1939–1945)* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców, 2011); James H. Burke, *Fünf Mann—A Prisoner of War Story* (Skaneateles, NY: Meredith, 1999); Andrzej Czechowicz and Tadeusz Gasztold, *Hitlerowskie prześladowania Polaków na Pomorzu Zachodnim, 1939–1945: Dokumenty, relacje, wspomnienia* (Koszalin: Okręgowa Komisja Badan Zbrodni Hitlerowskich, 1974); Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach II wojny światowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969); Pierre Gascar, *Histoire de la captivite des Français en Allemagne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967); I. A. Makarov et al., eds., *Katalog zakhoronenii sovetskikh voinov, voennoplennykh i grazhdanskikh lits, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i pogrebennykh na territorii Respubliki Pol'sha* (Warsaw: PWN, 2003); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 10; John Mellor, *Forgotten Heroes: The Canadians at Dieppe* (Toronto: Methuen, 1975); Jerzy Ostrzyżek, "Obóz jeniecki—Stalag II D w Stargardzie Szczecińskim," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 3 (1972); *Perechen' mest zakhoronenii sovetskikh voennosluzhashchikh i voennoplennykh, pogibshikh v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny i zakhoronennykh na territorii*

Respubliki Pol'sha (1995); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 469–470; Janusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Antoine de Roux, *Journal dessiné d'un prisonnier de guerre*, 4th ed. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1945); Georges Scapini, *Mission sans gloire* (Paris: Morgan, 1960), pp. 27–28; Stanisław Senft, "Jeńcy polscy w stalagu II D Stargard," *Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny* 3 (1978): 32–48; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 127; and Gracjan Bojar-Fijałkowski, Losy jeńców wojennych na Pomorzu Zachodnim i w Meklemburgii 1939– 1945 (Warsaw: MON, 1979). See also Bill Larin, "Dieppe and My POW Experiences," *R.H.L.I.* January 19, 1992, at www.rhli.ca/archives/veterans/larin.html.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierteneinrichtungen*, p. 10; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.

2. Bojar-Fijałkowski, *Losy jeńców wojennych*, 162.

3. CAMO, 500/12450/41; National Archives in Szczecin, County Offices in Łobez, index no. 265, pp. 261–262.

4. *Rapports CICR Genève*, October 18, 1940, p. 1; CAMO, 500/12450/41.

5. IPN, index no. GK 151/XII/17, pp. 42–47.

6. CAMO, 500/12450/41; PAAA, index no. R 67056.

7. Ostrzyżek, "Obóz jeniecki," 123–124.

8. Abschlußbericht, BArch B 162/6625, Bl. 301 (copy at

USHMMA, RG14.101M.2228.00000476).

9. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127.

10. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 470.

11. National Archives in Szczecin, County Offices in Łobez, index no. 265, p. 262; *Rapports CICR Genève*: October 18, 1940, p. 1; January 30, 1941, p. 1; October 21, 1941, p. 2; November 26, 1942, p. 1; July 26, 1944, p. 1.

12. Report by the International Red Cross (August 14, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2146A.

13. Report by the International Red Cross (August 21, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2146A.

14. Report by the International Red Cross (December 12, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2146A.

15. *Monographie du Stalag II D*, Secrétariat d'Etat à la Défense, DSPG, Lyon, August 12, 1943, p. 1; *Rapports CICR Genève*, November 26, 1942, pp. 1–2; TNA, index no. AIR 34/636.

16. Senft, "Jeńcy polscy w stalagu II D Stargard," 36.

17. Ibid., 43.

18. ACMJW, DRK, index no. 10, 526, 567, 752, 911; AŻIH, Lublin Jewish Council, 1940–1944, index no. 253/3: Lublin. Obóz na Lipowej 7. Kartoteka jeńców żydowskich; *Rapports CICR Genève*, May 26, 1940, p. 1.

19. Scapini, *Mission sans gloire*, pp. 27–28.

20. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 58.

21. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 62.

22. National Archives in Szczecin, County Offices in Łobez, index no. 1030 and 1032; Czechowicz and Gasztold, *Hitlerowskie prześladowania*, pp. 221–223, 227–229; *Rapports CICR*

Genève, July 22, 1942, p. 1.

23. Bill Larin, "Dieppe and My POW Experiences," *R.H.L.I.* January 19, 1992, at http://www.rhli.ca/archives/veterans/larin.html.

24. Abschlussbericht, BArch B 162/6625, Bl. 314–317 (copy at USHMMA, RG14.101M.2228.00000490–00000493).

25. Gascar, *Histoire de la captivite*, p. 291; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 470; Mellor, *Forgotten Heroes*, p. 156.

26. Larin, "Dieppe and My POW Experiences."

27. National Archives in Szczecin, Compilation of Bogdan Frankiewicz, index no. 370, pp. 5–42.

28. Abschlussbericht, BArch B 162/6625, Bl. 301 (copy at USHMMA, RG14.101M.2228.00000476).

29. Abschlussbericht, BArch B 162/6625, Bl. 317 (copy at USHMMA, RG14.101M.2228.00000493).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) II E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag II E (map 4b) from Dulag Gross Born on November 9, 1939, in Gross Born (today Borne-Sulinowo, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. On June 1, 1940, the camp was converted into Oflag II D. On August 14, 1941, Stalag II E was reestablished in the town of Schwerin.[1] The camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District II (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* II).

The first commandant of Stalag II E in Schwerin was Hauptmann Dr. Franzen. His successor was Major Oberhausen. The camp in Schwerin was located in a clearing in a wooded area near Schwerin Lake (Schweriner Innensee). The prisoners lived in wooden barracks that, shortly after their construction, were described as clean and "modern" by observers from the YMCA. A small garden was planted near the camp.[2]

While the camp was deployed in Gross Born in 1939 and 1940, it held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). When the camp was deployed in Schwerin, it held Polish, French, Serbian, and Soviet POWs. The number of prisoners in the camp rose as high as 15,000, including 10,000 French prisoners and 4,000 Soviet prisoners. The treatment of the Polish, French, and Serbian prisoners and the conditions in their sections of the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities, although these took some months to develop after the reestablishment of the camp in Schwerin. By August 1942, the Serbian prisoners had organized a small theater group and performed shows every fourth Sunday. Other cultural offerings, such as the library, however, were minimal at that time (only 20 books were available for 400 Polish prisoners).[3] More books for

these prisoners arrived later, though, from the YMCA. No religious services were available for the Polish or Serbian prisoners, but the French prisoners held Catholic mass in their chapel every Sunday. While the Polish and Serbian POWs did not have time to organize educational courses for themselves, they did find the time to partake in some sports, including football and table tennis.[4]

The conditions for Soviet POWs were harsh. They faced severe overcrowding, malnutrition, and inadequate sanitation and medical care, which contributed to a high mortality rate.[5] In 1981, a mass grave containing about 500 Soviet POWs was discovered near the former site of Stalag II E; another such mass grave containing between 450 and 500 bodies had been unearthed 20 years earlier during the initial investigation into crimes committed at the camp.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag II E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-2/16); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag II E); and BArch B 162/25985 (Ermittlungen infolge der Entdeckung eines Gräberfeldes nahe Schwerin/Mecklenburg mit mutmasslichen Opfern aus den Lagern Stern-Buchholz und Zippendorf des Stalag II E).

Additional information about Stalag II E can be found in the following publications: Bogdan Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach II wojny światowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), pp. 107–108, 110; Bernd Kasten, "Die Beschäftigung von Zwangsarbeitern und Kriegsgefangenen in Schwerin während des Zweiten Weltkrieges," *Zeitgeschichte Regional: Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 1 (2000): 22–23; Bernd Kasten and Jens-Uwe Rost, *Schwerin: Geschichte der Stadt* (Schwerin: Thomas Helms, 2005); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 114; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und*

Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5 (Osnabrück, Biblio, 1966), p. 127.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 127; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 114.
2. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 67.
3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 67.
4. Ibid., pp. 65–66.
5. Kasten, "Beschäftigung von Zwangsarbeitern und Kriegsgefangenen," 22–23; Ermittlungen infolge der Entdeckung eines Gräberfeldes nahe Schwerin/Mecklenburg mit mutmasslichen Opfern aus den Lagern Stern-Buchholz und Zippendorf des Stalag II E, BArch B 162/25985.
6. Vorermittlungsverfahren gegen Josef Lehmann, BArch B 162/6621, Bl. 29 (copy at USHMM RG-14.101M.2227.00002147).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) III A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag III A on September 28, 1939, in Luckenwalde (map 4b), about 50 kilometers (32 miles) south of Berlin, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. On April 30, 1941, part of the staff of Stalag III A was used to create the headquarters of Stalag 333. On December 31, 1941, Oflag III A (also located in Luckenwalde) was dissolved and converted into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag III A. Additional sub-camps were located in Brandenburg, Pritzwalk, and Wustrau.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

Stalag III A comprised several compounds. All were enclosed within a larger outer camp (*Aussenlager*), which held administrative buildings and the canteen. Prisoners rarely entered the outer camp and, even then, only with special permission. The prisoners lived in about 40 stone barracks in the inner camp (*Innenlager*), which was further subdivided into several smaller sections. Additional German barracks, offices, and storage facilities were located in the forecamp (*Vorlager*). The main camp (*Hauptlager*) was the largest compound, which was divided into sections by nationality. Additional compounds for prisoners of war (POWs) included the East, West, Middle, and South Camps (*Ostlager*, *Westlager*, *Mittellager*, and *Südlager*).[2] The kitchen, infirmary, and quarantine barracks were located in the northern part of the camp. Most of the prisoners were concentrated in the southwestern part of the camp compound, but Soviet prisoners were confined to the northwestern part of the camp.[3]

The first commandant of Stalag III A was Oberst Bruno von Westernhagen. In October 1941, he was replaced by Oberst Carl Sturm. Sturm was succeeded by Oberst Georg Treiter in January 1943. In August 1944, Treiter was replaced by Oberst Julius

Wolff. The final commandant was Oberst Alfred Lutter, who took over from Wolff in November 1944.[4] The adjutant was Hauptmann Erich Haack and the counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers were Hauptmann Erwin Heuser and Hauptmann Dr. Werner Kieljahn.[5] The first camp doctor (*Lagerarzt*) was Dr. Karl-Wilhelm Clauberg, who was succeeded in 1940 by Dr. Friedrich Heuer.[6] The camp infirmary was led by Oberarzt Dr. Popovic, who was assisted by 12 British and 8 Serbian doctors.[7] The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 303, 305, 307, 316, 326, 333, and 334.[8] They were assisted by auxiliary police (*Hilfspolizei*) personnel, recruited from local civilians (who guarded Polish, Serbian, and Western Allied prisoners) and regular Wehrmacht personnel (who guarded the Soviet prisoners).[9] In total, there were about 130 permanent staff and 1,000 guards employed at the camp.[10]

Stalag III A held American, Belgian, British, French, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, and Soviet POWs as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a large camp—the largest in Wehrkreis III and one of the largest in the entire Reich, with a constant population of more than 38,000 prisoners and maximum population of 53,617 prisoners in September 1944. Although the number of prisoners registered in Stalag III A was large, the majority of the prisoners did not live within the main camp and were instead deployed outside the camp in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were subordinate to the camp.[11] Most of the Polish prisoners in the camp were employed in the agricultural and forestry sectors in the relatively rural areas surrounding the camp, while many prisoners of other nationalities were employed in various industrial concerns in Luckenwalde.[12] Their deployment outside the camp often brought them into contact with German civilians, with whom relations were mixed; French prisoners recalled that some civilians resented them and expressed a hatred for the French, while other prisoners were able to get along well with the civilian population.[13]

Special labor units (*Sonderarbeitskommandos*) were created for prisoners who had committed violations within the camp or who had attempted to escape. A select unit of guards worked with these units to maintain order within the camp.[14] Serbian officers

were for some time put to work in labor details—in contravention of the provision of the Geneva Convention that excepts officers from forced labor—until early 1945 when they were extended privileges under the convention.[15]

The first prisoners brought to Stalag III A were Polish prisoners captured during the invasion of Poland in September 1939. When they arrived, the permanent barracks had not been built yet and the prisoners slept in tents. By December 1939, there were 19,337 Poles in the camp. The Poles were gradually transferred out to other camps or reclassified as civilian laborers. The first French and British soldiers arrived in the camp in the spring of 1940. The French became and would remain the largest prisoner group in the camp; as of September 10, 1940, there were 41,682 French prisoners, 77 British prisoners, and 1,284 Polish prisoners. Small numbers of Belgian prisoners were also intermittently present in the camp. In April 1941, Serbian prisoners who had been captured during the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia were brought to the camp; there were 4,451 Serbian prisoners in the camp by May 1941. The first Soviet prisoners were brought to the camp in November 1941. After the Italian capitulation, Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp in September 1943.[16] A small number of Romanian prisoners were brought to the camp in November 1944. In January 1945, a group of about 1,500 Americans was transferred to Stalag III A from other camps in the Reich.[17]

Stalag III A at Luckenwalde. Prisoners on kitchen duty, October 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The prisoners in Stalag III A experienced conditions that varied by nationality. The Polish prisoners who arrived early in the war did not have adequate housing due to the lack of permanent buildings, and their food rations were usually insufficient. The Germans tended to treat Western Allied prisoners well, and their living conditions generally conformed to the requirements of the Geneva Convention. As of August 1940, food rations for the French prisoners consisted of coffee and bread with either marmalade or a piece of sausage at breakfast, lunch at their work site (provided by their employer), and soup and a piece of bread at dinner.[18] The prisoners worked from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., with an hour-long break for lunch.[19] There were approximately 4,000 French colonial prisoners from various parts of Africa in the camp. Health problems such as tuberculosis were common among these prisoners, who were not accustomed to the colder climate of northern Germany, and most of them were sent back to France in the fall of 1940. However, during their time in the camp, they were used as subjects for Max Kimmich's propaganda film *Germanin*,

which documented German doctors' efforts to create a treatment for African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness).[20]

The Polish, Western Allied, and Serbian prisoners in the camp had access to some cultural and recreational activities. Religious services for Catholic, Protestant, and Serbian Orthodox prisoners were provided by clergy within the camp. There was a small camp library and the prisoners organized educational courses on various subjects. A small theater troupe and orchestra were created, although their ability to perform together was limited by the distribution of most of the prisoners to work details.[21] Prisoners also had access to a large sports ground, which was jointly shared: French prisoners had access four days a week, Serbians three days, Italians three days, and British four days.[22] There was a French-language camp newspaper entitled *La Double Gamelle* (*The double mess tin*).[23] The American prisoners managed to hide two radios in their barracks, which they used to access Allied news sources, such as the BBC; this practice was officially forbidden and highly risky.[24]

Unlike the Western Allied prisoners, the Soviet prisoners were treated terribly. Their quarters were overcrowded and they received minimal food and medical care. The poor living conditions and lack of proper hygiene and sanitary facilities led to an outbreak of typhus in November in which large numbers of Soviet prisoners died and that resulted in their section of the camp being quarantined.[25] As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, the counterintelligence personnel in the camp performed selections (*Aussonderungen*) to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were taken out of the camp by the Gestapo, SS, or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) and executed.[26] Approximately 5,000 prisoners are known to have died in Stalag III A. More than 4,000 of the dead were Soviets, the majority of whom died in the fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942 and whom the Germans buried in mass graves near the camp.[27]

In addition to the mistreatment of Soviet prisoners, Nazi racial ideology manifested itself in the treatment of Jewish prisoners in Stalag III A. In late October 1944, camp officials discovered 12 Jews among French prisoners that had recently been transferred to

the camp from Stalag I A in Stablack. They were immediately transferred to Stalag II E in Schwerin, which had been officially designated as the primary site of confinement for French Jewish prisoners.[28] American Jews who arrived in the camp from Stalag XII A in Limburg in January 1945 were segregated from the other prisoners in a separate barrack. One of these prisoners, Private Jacob Blumenfeld, recalled that there were between 20 and 30 prisoners, some of whom were not actually Jewish but had Jewish-sounding surnames. Ironically, their segregation led to better living conditions, as the barrack to which they were confined was less crowded than the main barracks and had radiators for heating, rather than stoves.[29] Another Jewish American soldier, Harry First, was not discovered as a Jew until early March 1945. He was held in solitary confinement for four or five days before the camp was evacuated.[30]

As in most other camps, Italian military prisoners in Stalag III A were also treated poorly, as the Germans viewed them as traitors after Italy's capitulation to the Allies in September 1943. The approximately 16,000 Italians in the camp lived in crowded barracks or in tents, where their living conditions were very primitive. The food and medical care they received was little better than that afforded the Soviets. The best chance for survival among these prisoners was to "volunteer" for service in the special Italian units created by the Wehrmacht, which promised better living conditions and rations than those they experienced in the POW camps. However, despite this incentive to collaborate with the Germans, some Italian prisoners remained defiant and organized a resistance movement within the camp.[31]

Late in the war, conditions deteriorated for all prisoners in the camp regardless of national groups. Prisoners from camps farther to the east, such as Stalag III B in Fürstenberg an der Oder and Oflag 64 in Schubin, were evacuated to Stalag III A.[32] This influx of new prisoners resulted in significant overcrowding in the camp; in some places, barracks that had been intended to hold 200 men held as many as 400; other prisoners were forced to live in tents with only straw for bedding. The sanitary conditions in the camp became a serious problem. Food rations also decreased as the camp administration had to feed larger numbers of prisoners with the same amount of food supplies as they had received before the

evacuations. Many prisoners bartered with others to obtain additional food. Harry First recalled that he traded his cigarette rations to other prisoners for bread.[33]

In late February and early March 1945, as Soviet forces approached from the east, the Germans evacuated the prisoners in Stalag III A westward to Stalag XI A in Altengrabow.[34] The Red Army liberated Stalag III A on April 24, 1945.[35]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag III A is located in BA-MA (RH 49/28, 49/23, 49/32, 49/40); BArch B 162/17321–17324: "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag III A in Luckenwalde (Wehrkreis III)" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2986.00000866–00001804); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 72–81).

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NOTES

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9. Ibid., pp. 49–51.
10. Ibid., p. 43.
11. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 20–23.
12. Mai, *Kriegsgefangen in Brandenburg*, p. 28.

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14. Tagesbefehl No. 57, Kommandant Stalag III A (June 24, 1944), BA-MA, RH 49/32, Bl. 97.

15. Kommandant Stalag III A zum Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis III (January 12, 1945), BAMA, RH 49/28.

16. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 20–21.

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MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) III B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag III B on December 6, 1939, by converting Dulag D in Amtitz into a Stalag. The camp relocated to Fürstenberg an der Oder (today part of Eisenhüttenstadt) (map 4b), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. On May 15, 1941, Stalag 343 was established using part of the staff of Stalag III B. On June 4, 1942, Stalag III E in Kirchhain became a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag III B; from September 25 to December 14, 1944, the camp in Kirchhain operated as a subcamp of Stalag III D in Berlin-Lichterfelde before being returned to Stalag III B. Stalag III B was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III). Although it remained within the Reich throughout its deployment, Stalag III B received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 02 972 between January 2 and April 27, 1940; the number was struck between January 25 and July 31, 1943.[1]

Although Stalag III B officially opened on December 6, 1939, there were no permanent structures at the campsite at that time. The Polish prisoners who were the first to arrive in the camp lived in tents and at a glass factory in Fürstenberg. Even after the first Western Allied prisoners arrived in May 1940, the permanent barracks were not complete, and the prisoners had to live in tents or sleep under the open sky for several months, until the barracks were finally finished in mid-August 1940. There were 40 barracks in the main camp (*Hauptlager*), which was divided into 10 equal sections (four barracks each with a capacity of 1,000 prisoners). The entire main camp was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire. The prisoners' kitchen and canteen were also located in the main camp. Most of the structures used by the camp staff (including the commandant's office, the post office, and the counterintelligence [*Abwehr*] and guards' offices), as well as the camp infirmary and the arrest barrack were located in the forecamp (*Vorlager*).[2] The

guards lived in barracks in a separate section of the camp about 300 meters (984 feet) south of the main camp; the staff office was also located in this section.[3]

The main camp was divided in two by the camp street (*Lagerstrasse*). The barracks in the five sections to the east of the Lagerstrasse were primarily occupied by French prisoners, while the barracks to the west held prisoners of other nationalities. The Serbian prisoners lived in the barracks previously occupied by the Poles, while the Soviets used the former Dutch barracks. After most of the Serbs were repatriated, their section was used by Italian military prisoners. The Americans initially had three sections in the western part of the camp to themselves; however, they were later given only two sections. French Jews were kept in their own separate barrack. Barrack 6, in the western section of the camp, was a "special" barrack that held prisoners in transit to the Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) in Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland). The Americans later had their own infirmary within their section of the camp. A camp hospital (*Lagerlazarett*) was established in August 1944 after the closure of the Prisoner of War Reserve Hospital (*Kriegsgefangenen-Reservelazarett*) in Guben, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from the camp.[4]

Stalag III B at Fürstenberg an der Oder. American section of the camp, February 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The first commandant of Stalag III B was Oberstleutnant May, who had also been the commandant of Dulag D prior to its dissolution. He was succeeded by Oberst Fritz Steindamm in 1940. On April 15, 1943, Steindamm was replaced by Oberst Dr. Ing. Albrecht Blau. The final commandant of the camp, who took over the position on February 25, 1945, just before the evacuation of the camp, was Oberst Erich Wagner. The deputy commandants, in order, were Korvettenkapitän Dr. Kurt Oberüber, Oberst Karl-Friedrich von Houwald, and Oberstleutnant Richard Ballas. The adjutant was Hauptmann Richard Schmidt, and the counterintelligence officer was Hauptmann Ernst Torgau.[5]

Stalag III B held American, Belgian, British, Dutch, French, Polish, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a relatively large camp, with a population that remained above 22,000 throughout the war and a maximum population of 52,434 in December 1941. However, the majority of the prisoners registered in the main camp were not housed there but were instead deployed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the area surrounding the camp.[6] The prisoners who remained in the camp were mainly noncommissioned officers (NCOs), who could not be compelled to work under the Geneva Convention, and those who were unfit to work (*Arbeitsunfähige*). Most of the prisoners in Stalag III B worked in agriculture, forestry, mining, or industry (e.g., for IG Farben) in Fürstenberg and nearby towns. Conditions were generally better in the agricultural work details than those employed in industry, where the food was worse, the labor was more exhausting, and the discipline was stricter.[7]

Maurice Buisson, a French prisoner who arrived at Stalag III B in August 1940, worked in several different work details; his experiences in these different units demonstrate the diversity of conditions even within the work details of a single Stalag. At Kommando 590 in Gallinchen (near Cottbus), he worked on excavation at a shooting range. He recalled that many of the prisoners in this unit were ill with dysentery and malnourished but were nonetheless berated by the commandant of the unit if they were unable to work. In November 1940, Buisson was transferred to Kommando 696 in Hammermühle (near Senftenberg), where he worked on construction projects for the city of Senftenberg. His

commander there, an Alsatian named Kieffer, treated the prisoners well and requested additional food for them.[8]

The first prisoners in the camp were Polish prisoners who had originally been held at Dulag D in Amtitz (today Gębice Gubinskie, Poland). As of December 13, 1939, there were 11,922 Polish prisoners in Stalag III B. French and Belgian prisoners arrived from the western front in the spring of 1940, and French prisoners became the largest national group in the camp (and remained so throughout the war); as of September 10, 1940, there were 25,146 French, 509 Polish, and 148 Belgian prisoners in the camp.[9] The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the camp in the spring of 1941 after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia that April. The first Soviet prisoners arrived in September 1941. American prisoners were first brought to Stalag III B in the spring of 1943, and, in the summer of that year, 100 Dutch prisoners arrived in the camp. Italian military prisoners were brought to Stalag III B after the Italian capitulation in the fall of 1943; 13,500 Italians had been brought to the camp by October 1943. Small numbers of Belgian, British, and Polish prisoners were intermittently present in the camp between mid-1942 and early 1945.[10]

Conditions in Stalag III B varied based on the prisoners' nationalities. The Polish prisoners who made up the original population of the camp were generally treated reasonably well, in contrast to many other camps in the Reich. However, there were several instances in which Polish prisoners were abused and mistreated, including prisoners being tortured and killed by the guards in the camp.[11] The Germans generally observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention in their treatment of Western Allied and Serbian prisoners. The sections of the camp where these prisoners lived were regularly visited by inspectors from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the protecting powers of the respective nationalities.[12] However, at least one incident was reported by a witness at a postwar trial in which two French colonial prisoners were shot and killed in 1940 for stealing food.[13] Some prisoners who violated camp rules—for example, American prisoners who bartered with French farm laborers for additional food—were locked in the arrest barrack, where their food rations consisted of two pieces of bread and a cup of tea per day.[14]

The Polish, Serbian, and Western Allied prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities within the camp. The French man of confidence (*homme de confiance*) was a professor who organized the sports, theater, and educational activities for the French prisoners.[15] Religious services were conducted for Catholic, Protestant, and Serbian Orthodox prisoners by clergymen within the camp.[16] In addition to the educational courses and theater, there was also a camp library with 6,200 volumes and a 21-man orchestra.[17] Prisoners attempted to create a cultural life in some of the work details as well. Buisson recalled that while he was working in Kommando 406 near Welzow, the prisoners established a small theater troupe.[18] There was a French-language camp newspaper called *Espoir* (*Hope*).[19]

As in other camps, the Soviet POWs in Stalag III B were treated horribly, in a manner that violated international law regarding the treatment of POWs. The Soviet prisoners' quarters were overcrowded and unsanitary and they received minimal food and medical care. These terrible conditions led to a high death rate, mainly as a result of malnutrition and diseases such as typhus and dysentery, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942, when more than 1,000 Soviet prisoners died in the space of less than six months. A special Gestapo detachment (*Einsatzkommando*) from Frankfurt an der Oder (commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer und Kriminalsekretär Willi Rüdiger) carried out selections (*Aussonderungen*) of the Soviet prisoners, with the assistance of the Torgau, to identify "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were then sent to concentration camps such as Gross-Rosen and Sachsenhausen and executed.[20]

In the later years of the war, the conditions in Stalag III B and other camps deteriorated for all groups of prisoners. The Americans who arrived in 1943 were among the first prisoners to experience these worsening conditions and were heavily dependent on outside help in the form of Red Cross food parcels to stave off malnutrition.[21] Their rations in the last months of the war consisted of a cup of tea in the morning, a bowl of rutabaga soup (sometimes with potatoes) and another cup of tea at lunch, and a cup of tea and four pieces of bread at dinner (earlier they had received a spoonful of jam or butter, but this was discontinued).[22]

Conditions for American prisoners in the work details were generally better than those in the main camp; the prisoners' meals were prepared by German civilians and were often more varied and more substantial than the rations they received in the camp. However, the work the prisoners performed was difficult, with days beginning at 6:30 a.m. and lasting until sundown. A number of Americans working at a nearby coal-fired power plant suffered from both the difficulty of the work and the health hazards from the sooty air.[23] By May 1944, many Americans in the main camp chose to remain there and await assignment to one of the agricultural details rather than engage in that industrial labor.[24] Some American prisoners reported abuse from the German guards in the work details. Private Floyd D. Pilcher recalled that he worked the night shift in a detachment unloading railcars in Fürstenberg, and the guards used their rifle butts to hit prisoners who worked too slowly.[25]

The Americans in the main camp were primarily NCOs who refused to volunteer for work duty (they could not be compelled to work under the Geneva Convention). At first, camp leadership regarded this as evidence that the men were "lax in their military manner" and preferred to spend their time "loafing, doing nothing."[26] By May 1944, however, it had become clear that this was in fact evidence of "passive resistance" among the men.[27] Resistance within the camp also took more active forms, as demonstrated by a notable incident in February 1944, when 10 Americans were caught and taken under guard after throwing food to Soviet prisoners in the neighboring camp.[28] This behavior was not isolated, as the Americans developed a system for smuggling food to the starving Soviet prisoners. In response, German authorities subjected the American prisoners to reduced rations and random inspections and seizures of goods.[29] The Soviet prisoners also attempted their own resistance activities. The Soviet camp doctor organized contacts with the German Communist Party via a confederate German officer.[30]

In February 1945, the prisoners from Stalag III B were evacuated westward to Stalag III A in Luckenwalde. In at least one instance, a straggling American prisoner, Sergeant John-son, was shot by the Germans.[31] In late February and early March 1945, they were evacuated westward once again, toward Stalag XI A in

Altengrabow. The Red Army liberated Stalag III B on April 24, 1945, and on April 28 the Soviets also caught up with the marching column that included the former prisoners from the Stalag.[32]

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25. Testimony of Floyd D. Pilcher, Pvt., NARA II, RG 153, Box 11, File 100-402, Stalag III B (Furstenberg [*sic*], Germany).

26. Report of the International Red Cross (May 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

27. Report of the International Red Cross (May 20, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

28. Report of the International Red Cross (May 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

29. Report of the International Red Cross (May 20, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

30. Drieschner and Schulz, "Das Stalag III B in der Geschichte und Erinnerung Eisenhüttenstadts," in *Stalag III B*, ed. Drieschner and Schulz, p. 16.

31. Memorandum from the officer in charge, NARA II, RG 153, Box 11, File 100-402, Stalag III B (Furstenberg [*sic*], Germany).

32. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 12.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) III C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag III C (map 4b) on June 12, 1940, in Alt-Drewitz (today Drzewice, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III.[1] Apparently, the Germans used Polish prisoners of war (POWs) to construct the camp, but it is unclear whether they were part of a work detail (*Arbeitskommando*) or an established camp. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

Stalag III C held Polish, French, Serbian (as of May 1941), Soviet (as of September 1941), Italian, British, American (as of September 1944), and Belgian prisoners. The maximum number of prisoners was close to 40,000.[2] In February 1941, the camp held 19,393 French prisoners, and on July 1, 1941, there were 21,295 prisoners (18,808 French, 2,467 Serbs, and 20 Poles). Beginning in 1942, the number of Serbian prisoners decreased: on June 1, 1942, there were 1,253 Serbs; on October 1, 1943, there were 849; and on October 1, 1944, there were 753. There were 5,923 Soviet prisoners in the camp on April 1, 1942, and 13,455 on October 1, 1942. Starting in the fall of 1943, the camp also held Italian military internees (14,578 on October 1, 1943). On October 1, 1944, the camp had a prisoner population of 31,303: 16,013 French, 1,001 British, 8 Belgians, 1 Pole, 753 Serbs, 10,958 Soviets, 1,449 Italians, and 1,120 Americans.[3] On December 1, 1944, the camp contained 38,017 prisoners: 2,036 Americans, 631 Belgians, 1,416 British, 17,568 French, 1,046 Italians, 2 Poles, 1,591 Serbs, and 13,727 Soviets. The majority of the prisoners were in labor detachments.

Stalag III C at Alt-Drewitz. Camp kitchen, October 1940.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The Western Allied prisoners were treated decently and the conditions in their camp were generally in keeping with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, in late 1944 and early 1945, their situation deteriorated rapidly, as Germany's fortunes sank. The treatment of Soviet POWs, by contrast, was inhumane from the outset. A former Soviet prisoner, Il'ia Erenburg, recalled:

> In December 1941 I was taken to Germany to the town of Küstrin, to Camp III C, where they hung badge number 15624 on my chest and sent me to the so-called *Lazarett* [sick quarters], located inside the camp and fenced off from the other blocks with two rows of barbed wire. In the *Lazarett* there were eight barracks: two barracks for servicing the infirmary and six for housing the patients, each one holding 250 men. They put me in Barracks C, where men

with infectious diseases and wounded men were placed together. No medical aid was provided. They experimented on us. They injected preparations of some kind into the muscle on the left side of the chest and into the vein. Every week we gave two or three test tubes of blood apiece, and once a week they drew a cup of blood from us. During my time in the *Lazarett*, I endured typhoid fever and typhus. Cold (closing the windows was forbidden, and every day the floor got damp) and hunger (in the morning they gave us acorn coffee, and for dinner "soup" consisting of unwashed rutabagas in water) reigned in the *Lazarett*. The bread ration was one tinned loaf per 12 persons per day. At night, two German guards behaved with brutality. For farfetched infractions, they beat sick prisoners whom they singled out for punishment, and in the morning the orderlies carried out the dead bodies. With the objective of further increasing the already-high mortality rate in the *Lazarett*, they equipped a special room where "prisoners being punished" who were still alive were frozen to death. The mortality rate in the *Lazarett* was very high. Finally, in March 1942 the discharge of invalids who had "convalesced," or more simply put, who had survived, was begun. On our left arm they tattooed a number corresponding to the chest badge, and we joined the camp's *Arbeitskommandos*. I was assigned to work in the bathhouse. The bathhouse served as a decontamination station for newly arriving prisoners, and it always handled both the prisoners who constantly lived in the camp and the labor details that were attached to the camp, made up of prisoners who worked in factories and plants and on farms. I was supposed to operate the shower room, with disinfection/ decontamination following. The shower room and the room for disinfection treatment were in a small building, in which for 16 to 18 hours a day, sometimes even 24 hours a day, it was necessary to breathe the heavy steam that came from the filthy bodies and acrid disinfectant solutions. In addition, I, like the other bathhouse workers, was forbidden to leave my workplace for the duration of the whole shift, and even forbidden to enter into conversation with prisoners who did not work in the bathhouse. And thus I worked until September 1944. In September 1944 they arrested me and my

> fellow worker for having entered into an unlawful conversation with prisoners who had come from the punishment barracks, and we were sent to a rock quarry that was located near Berlin, in the village of Rüdersdorf. Few were able to withstand this punishment and survive. With a pick, I had to break off boulders from the cliff, reduce them to fragments, load them onto a trolley with a capacity of 0.75 cubic meters (26.5 cubic feet), and take the trolley to the lift. Our quota was 35 trolleys per two men per shift. For failure to meet the quota, we were punished, beaten with canes. By the end of November 1944, reduced to the point of complete exhaustion, I ought to have died. But two men saved me. A Russian POW, Dr. Georgii Fedorovich Siniakov, who had started working in the infirmary, and a German interpreter, Corporal Helmut Tschacher. Thanks to them, I was taken back to the camp and put in a separate cubicle for TB patients, which the German personnel tried to avoid. All this became possible because the situation at the front lines had changed by the end of 1944, and some leniency was shown to us prisoners. For example, the first Russian doctors, drawn from among the prisoners, made an appearance, and the Germans started increasing the bread ration to one tinned loaf per six men per day, and other things. In March 1945 I escaped and joined the forward units of the Soviet Army.[4]

As a result of the inhumane conditions, there was a high mortality rate among the Soviet POWs. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 12,000 Soviet prisoners perished; however, casualty figures from the ChGK are often significantly exaggerated and should be viewed accordingly.[5] In 1941 and 1942, a Gestapo team from Frankfurt an der Oder regularly conducted screenings of the Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Communists and Jews, who were then sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were usually executed upon arrival.[6] For example, on October 8, 1941, 25 prisoners from the camp were taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and executed.[7]

On March 12, 1945, the camp was liberated by the Red Army. Prior to the arrival of Soviet troops, the Germans tried to evacuate

the prisoners to the west. At this time, several dozen American prisoners were killed by Soviet soldiers who did not realize that they were POWs, rather than enemy combatants.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag III C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-3/22: Kriegsgefangenenlager/ Mannschaftsstammlager III A-E); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag III C); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (WO 224/8: Stalag III C; FO 916/1149: Stalag II A, II D, III A, III C); and BArch B 162/9324 (Ermittlungen gg. W. Rüdiger u.a. wg. Aussonderung und Tötung politischer Kommissare und sog. untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener aus dem Stalag III C [Alt-Drewitz bei Küstrin]).

Additional information about Stalag III C can be found in the following publications: Emil Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse: Heimliche Aufzeichnungen aus der Politischen Abteilung des KZ Sachsenhausen Dezember 1939 bis April 1943* (Berlin: Metropol, 2010); Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), pp. 402–403; Wiktor Lemiesz, *Miejsca martyrologii na Ziemi Lubuskiej* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1969), p. 62; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 12; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 244–245; "Stalag III C," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre*, Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau (Paris, 1945), pp. 66–71; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 196; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). See also the Wartime Memories Project—

STALAG 3c POW Camp, at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag3c.html.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 196; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 12.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945*, p. 12.

3. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 245.

4. See the recollections of I. Z. Erenburg, March 12, 2008, Stalag III-C Alt-Drewitz (www.sgvavia.ru/forum/110-157-1).

5. Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*, pp. 402-403.

6. Ermittlungen gg. W. Rüdiger u.a. wg. Aussonderung und Tötung politischer Kommissare und sog. untragbarer sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener aus dem Stalag III C (Alt-Drewitz bei Küstrin), BArch B 162/9324.

7. Büge, *1470 KZ-Geheimnisse*.

8. The Wartime Memories Project—STALAG 3c POW Camp, at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag3c.html.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) III D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag III D (map 4b) on August 14, 1940, on the corner of Landweg and Osdorfer Streets in Berlin-Lichterfelde. The existing prisoner of war (POW) labor units in the area, which had previously been subordinate to Stalag III A in Luckenwalde, were reorganized and subordinated to Stalag III D. The new guard units arrived at Stalag III D on August 28, 1940.[1]

Stalag III D was the only main POW camp located in a major German city, Berlin. Most POW camps had been built on military exercise grounds or near villages or small cities. Its existence there is somewhat surprising, given the priorities for Polish and French POW labor in 1940: agriculture, first and foremost, followed by forestry, industry (mining, railway construction, the synthetic chemical industry, road construction, and quarries), and state cultural activities.[2] The camp in Berlin was established for a different reason: to support the Reichsbahn's need to expand the thoroughfares in and around Berlin, which was of particular interest to the General Construction Inspector for the Reich Capital City (GBI), Albert Speer. Following a decree that Hitler issued on June 25, 1940, Speer announced the need for 180,000 laborers to redevelop the capital, of whom 30,000 were to be POWs. This order was the catalyst for the construction of a Stalag in Berlin.[3]

Stalag III D at Berlin-Lichterfelde. Prisoners exercising in the camp, February 1944. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag III D was not a reception and holding camp but a "shadow camp" (*Schattenlager*), as Rolf Keller referred to it;[4] however, the term "administrative camp" (*Verwaltungslager*) is probably more appropriate. Very few POWs were held in the main camp; instead, as was true of most main POW camps eventually, it provided the infrastructure for the administration of at least 120 labor details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were distributed across Berlin. The command office of the camps as well as the Labor Office Action Offices were located at 10608 Belle-Alliance Street in Kreuzberg (today Blücherplatz 1/AGB) until the spring of 1942. It was relocated to Tempelhof Ufer 2 no later than 1944.

Stalag III D did not have its own hospital. Ill prisoners were transferred to the Camp Hospitals (*Reserve Lazaretts*) 119 (Neukolln) and 128 (Biesdorf). The hospital in Neukolln (at Donau Street 122/27), with 400 beds, was established on October 1, 1940, to treat POWs. The hospital in Biesdorf was established a month later with the same capacity.

Since Polish prisoners were working primarily in agriculture in 1940, most of the prisoners in the main camp at Stalag III D were French. Of the 18,172 prisoners present in the camp in January 1941, 18,160 were French.[5] Almost all the POWs were working in the labor details, with only a small percentage working within the

camp and few unable to work for health reasons. In April 1941, 20,686 of the 21,370 POWs (97 percent) were deployed as laborers and only 684 remained in the camp.[6] In June 1941, there were 21,322 POWs from the Stalag in labor service with almost exactly half (10,562) doing forced labor for the GBI in Berlin.[7]

The national composition of Stalag III D's population changed in 1942. In 1941, relatively few Soviet POWs were brought to Berlin. However, in August 1941, Speer was informed that he would be able to use 10,000 Soviet prisoners as laborers in the city.[8] The first transport of Soviet POWs arrived on October 8, 1941, and were sent to Lager Friedrichsfelde-Ost to work for the Berlin railway directorate (Arbeitskommando 21). Other Soviet prisoners worked at Marienfelde and Grossbeeren. Most of the Soviet POWs who arrived in 1941 came from Defense District VIII (Upper Silesia). In September 1941, they were frequently registered in the camps at Neuhammer (VIII/308) and Lamsdorf (VIII/318). Because, initially, Soviet POWs could only be held and registered in so-called Russian camps (*Russenlager*), in which there were no POWs of any other nationality, and because there was no such Russian camp in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, Soviet POWs who arrived in Berlin in 1941 had always been registered in another Defense District. At the beginning of December, there were still only 58 Soviet POWs in Stalag III D. Only that month did extensive transports of Soviet prisoners arrive in Berlin, and by January 1, 1943, there were 3,703 Soviet POWs.[9] French prisoners remained the largest group in the camp, however, even as more Soviet POWs were transported to the capital. French and Soviet prisoners comprised more than 90 percent of the population of Stalag III D. However, based on the data from three available overviews, one can see that the largest national group that existed in Stalag III D at that time has disappeared from the statistics. This comprised the Italian military prisoners from January to July 1944. In mid-1943, Italian military prisoners arrived in the camp, and, by January 1944, there were 31,738 registered in Stalag III D; however, their number declined substantially by the end of 1944, and there were no Italian prisoners in the camp by January 1945.[10]

Stalag III D also became the site of solemn and propagandistic celebrations as Italian military prisoners made the transition into

the civilian workforce. On August 20, 1944, 6,000 Italian military prisoners were released from POW status.[11]

Little is known about the commanders of the Stalag. Until February 1944, the commanding officer was Oberstleutnant Kleffel; he was followed by Oberst Hans-Joachim Breyer, the former head of the OKW General Department for POWs.[12] Breyer, who had been part of General Hermann Reinecke's General Army Office (*Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt*) since 1939, may have been removed for expressing concerns about adherence to the Geneva Convention in the camp.[13] His deputy in 1940 was Major Kühn. Hauptmann Heinevetter was responsible for the allocation of prisoner labor from 1940 to at least 1943. Other officers in the camp were Hauptmann Eichentopf and Hauptmann Paschke. The medical officer in 1941 was Stabsarzt Dr. Wieck.

The guards were primarily members of the 334th and 344th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*), consisting mostly of elderly soldiers or soldiers who were no longer fit for active service. There were also civilian guards who were appointed as auxiliary police as well as members of the factory guards or private security guards. The French prisoners were generally treated decently by the guards. However, employers complained that French and Soviet POWs were not sufficiently motivated for work and that the guards prevented harsh measures.[14] Even the camp commandant was forced to state that the companies did not have internal control over the prisoners and threatened civil consequences if they acted to the contrary: "Neither employers nor their employees or any other member of staff have the right to punish the POWs…. The main camp can automatically terminate the deployment of the entire labor detail without replacement if the firm or any of its members imposes any punishment [on the laborers]."[15]

By contrast, the Italian military prisoners, who were often regarded as traitors, were treated poorly. The commander of a Reserve Battalion forwarded a telegram from the Commander of POWs in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III) to the guards: "The Führer, as a result of many complaints about the laziness of the Italian military prisoners, orders that the guards ensure through sharp

measures that they are the most diligent workers and that any negligence is dealt with by harsh measures."[16] The Italian prisoners at Heinrich List KG were treated so poorly that the company complained to the commandant at the main camp. The commander there, a noncommissioned officer named Schulz, beat the Italians several times and took away their warm coats. Additionally, the guards spread rumors about the laziness of the Italians and partly out of self-interest demanded that the company confirm this: "The management is required to provide an immediate assessment of the prisoners' output in the work stations. The management is reminded that such assessment should not be too favourable so as to prevent a withdrawal of the guards."[17] The company replied that the output of the majority of the Italians was satisfactory.

There are very few surviving documents relating to the Stalag command. Files from the companies as well as the Reichsbahn and the GBI are dispersed and rarely give a comprehensive view of the labor details. One of the better documented cases was Arbeitskommando 861, consisting of Soviet POWs, which was deployed primarily at the Bergmann Electrical Plant in Berlin-Wilhelmsruh. In January 1942, there is evidence of a transfer of 75 prisoners and 5 German guards to the work detail.[18] The detail grew constantly until the end of 1942, and by Christmas 1942 consisted of 1,237 Soviet POWs. There were 26 guards, of whom one was an officer and two were NCOs.[19] Sick prisoners were transferred to Camp Hospital 128.[20] In the spring of 1942, many of the prisoners were weak, undernourished, and sick because the Wehrmacht let them starve in camps close to the front before they arrived at Stalag III D. The situation improved that summer because of improved weather, better basic rations, and the increasing use of supplementary rations for those prisoners doing heavy labor. As a result, the number of sick prisoners in Kommando 861 from the fall of 1942 was less than in the other company camps, consistently about 15–45 percent lower.[21]

The output of Soviet POW laborers from Stalag III D improved from the summer of 1942. Complaints from the companies only began to increase in the spring of 1944, after the situation at the front began to deteriorate. A report from July 1944 noted that "the labor output of the Soviets in the last few months, especially since

June, has markedly declined. There are an increasing number of cases of refusal to work, escape and supposed 'illness.'"[22] The camp was disbanded no later than early April 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag III D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 784) and LAB.

Additional information about Stalag III D can be found in the following publications: Helmut Bräutigam, "Der Arbeitseinsatz beim Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt 1938–1942," in *Zwangsarbeit in Berlin 1938–1945*, ed. Berliner Regionalmuseum (Berlin: Metropol, 2003), pp. 105–127; Gabrielle Hammermann, *Zwangsarbeit für den Verbündeten: Die Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen der italienischen Militärinternierten in Deutschland 1943–1945* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2002), p. 471; Rolf Keller, "Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen im Reichsgebiet und im Wehrkreis III: Organisationsstruktur, Lagersystem und Arbeitseinsatz," in *Stalag III B Fürstenberg (Oder): Kriegsgefangene im Osten Brandenburgs 1939–1945*, ed. Axel Drieschner and Barbara Schulz (Berlin: Metropol, 2006), pp. 23–44; Uwe Mai, *Kriegsgefangen in Brandenburg: Stalag III A in Luckenwalde 1939–1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 1999), p. 78; Hans J. Reichardt and Wolfgang Schäche, *Von Berlin nach Germania: Über die Zerstörung der "Reichshauptstadt" durch Albert Speers Neubauplanung* (Berlin: Transit, 1998), p. 180; Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990), p. 306; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden, Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1997), pp. 67, 92.

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NOTES

1. Vermerk der Reichsbahnbaudirektion Berlin vom 3.9.1940, LAB, A Rep. 080, No. 5968.

2. Mai, *Kriegsgefangen in Brandenburg*, p. 78.
3. Bräutigam, "Der Arbeitseinsatz," p. 115; Reichardt and Schäche, *Von Berlin nach Germania*, p. 180.
4. Keller, "Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen," p. 31.
5. Aufstellung vom 31.1.1941, BA-MA, RW 6: 784.
6. DRZW 5/1, S. 777.
7. Bräutigam, "Der Arbeitseinsatz," p. 117.
8. Ibid., p. 118.
9. Mai, *Kriegsgefangen in Brandenburg*, p. 100.
10. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 306.
11. Hammermann, *Zwangsarbeit*, p. 471.
12. Aba der AEG-KWO vom 23.5.1944, LAB A Rep. 227-05 AEG No. 137.
13. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, pp. 67, 92.
14. LAB, A Rep 250-03-02, No. 56/1; Bl. 53.
15. Merkblatt der Kommandantur Kgf-M-Stammlager III D, 8.10.1943, LAB, A Rep 231 (Osram), No. 674.
16. LAB, A Rep 250-03-06 Heinrich List KG, No. 85, Bl. 13.
17. LAB, A Rep 250-03-06 Heinrich List KG, No. 85, Bl. 4.
18. Meldung vom 30.1.1942, LAB, A Rep 250-03-02: Bergmann-Electricitätswerke, No. 56, Bl. 285.
19. Meldung des Arbeitskommando 861 an das Ernährungsamt Pankow für die Zuteilungsperiode vom 19.-27.12.1942, LAB, A Rep 250-03-02: Bergmann-Electricitätswerke, No. 56, Bl. 217.
20. LAB, A Rep 250-03-02: Bergmann-Electricitätswerke, No. 56, Bl. 260.
21. Belegschaftsberichte der Gemeinschaftslager, LAB, A Rep

250-03-02: Bergmann-Electricitätswerke, No. 56/1, Bl. 229–252.

22. Letter WL II an W Ltg II vom 22.7.1944, LAB, A Rep 250-03-02: Bergmann-Electricitätswerke, No. 56/1, Bl. 53.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) III E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag III E (map 4b) on February 1, 1941, in Kirchhain, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III. On June 4, 1942, the camp was reorganized as a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag III B.[1] The camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District III (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* III).

Stalag III E held American, British, and Commonwealth prisoners of war (POWs), including noncommissioned officers of the Royal Air Force. It was a small camp; the population never exceeded 200 prisoners.[2] The Germans treated the prisoners decently and the conditions in the camp were in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929); however, at least one prisoner was shot while trying to escape from the camp.

According to YMCA representatives who visited the camp in March 1942, the camp buildings were well built and in good shape. The men had minimal opportunities for recreational and educational activities due to the small size of the camp; only a few musical instruments were available to the prisoners. Spiritual guidance and religious services were conducted by a theology student, Sergeant N. D. Hennesy, and a small choir was set up.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag III E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 53-3/22: Kriegsgefangenenlager/ Mannschaftsstammlager III A-E); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag III E); TNA (TS 26/469: Stalag III E general; WO 309/1999: Shooting of escaped prisoner of war, Stalag III E, Priestwich near Dresden, Germany, 19 May 1942; AIR 40/1911: Camp history: Stalag III/E (Dobriluck-Kirchhain)—Air Force N.C.O.'s July 1941–May 1942); USHMMA; and BArch B 162/17759–17760 (Überprüfung des Stalag III E).

Additional information about Stalag III E can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), p. 13; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 196; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Pal-grave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 196; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 117.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV A (map 4e) on August 26, 1939, in Hoyerswerda, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. Starting on September 10, 1939, it was in Elsterhorst, and as of February 1, 1941, it was in Hohnstein.[1] Soviet troops liberated the camp on April 20, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

The camp held Polish, French, Belgian, British, Serbian Yugoslav, Soviet, Dutch, Italian (as of fall 1943), American (as of October 1944), Slovak (as of October 1944), Czech, and Bulgarian prisoners of war (POWs). Stalag IV A was a large camp, with a maximum population of 41,685 in December 1944.[2] Like most of the larger camps for enlisted men, Stalag IV A consisted of a small main camp and many smaller work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) dispersed throughout the nearby region. When the camp relocated to Hohnstein in 1941, it took over an old castle on a hill. As a result, the main campgrounds were more confined than newer purpose-built camps. There were never outdoor recreation facilities sufficient for the prisoners, though for a while the internal barrack situation was sufficient.

Up through 1944 and into early 1945, conditions remained generally adequate for the majority of the prisoners. In April 1944, the International Committee of the Red Cross review assessed clothing, food, and living quarters to be satisfactory. Rooms were regarded as "light and spacious" for Western POWs.[3] Some cultural, recreational, and educational activities were available in the camp, despite the fact that most of the prisoners were outside the camp in the labor details. For example, when a representative from the German YMCA visited the camp in June 1942, there were 14 educational courses underway among the French and Belgian prisoners. However, opportunities for religious and

spiritual enrichment were limited in the camp (and almost nonexistent in the labor details) due to the lack of clergymen and liturgical materials.[4] In late 1944 and early 1945, their situation sharply deteriorated.

On the other hand, from the moment of their arrival, the Soviet POWs received treatment that was much worse than Western prisoners received, and in fact it violated all standards of international law. They were given minimal amounts of poor-quality food and little to no medical care, and they lived in dirty barracks that allowed diseases to spread easily. These conditions resulted in a high mortality rate.

Stalag IV A at Elsterhorst. Group of British POWs, date unknown.
USHMM, COURTESY OF ABRAHAM LEVI, WS #37233.

As of October 1944, the majority of the POWs worked on details tasked with duties such as timber work, railway repair and construction, building construction, factory production, and surface mining.[5] These details were organized into 11 districts and then subdivided into particular work units, which ranged in size from fewer than 10 to over 100 POWs each. Conditions in the work units varied considerably, though in January 1945 overall conditions were still found to be satisfactory to good by international observers.[6]

The situation changed considerably for the worse for the 4,210 British and 2,207 American POWs in the camp just a month later.

Visiting the camp at the end of February 1945, the International Red Cross concluded that "the Commandant is prejudiced against the Americans and British." The report went on, "all the Americans who, only a few months ago, were young men full of strength, have today become physical wrecks."[7]

The apparent cause of this dramatic decline in health and conditions appears to have been the ongoing Allied air war against Germany, which culminated in the destruction of nearby Dresden during the middle of February 1945. Hundreds of POWs themselves had been in Dresden on work details during the bombing. In response to the unprecedented destruction of the city, the German leadership and guards at the camp sharply reduced rations for American and British POWs and refused to distribute Red Cross parcels to these prisoners.

The POWs began to fall ill at alarming rates, unable to fend off both the cold and the hunger. In one work district, 400 of the 900 Americans were unable to even walk the several miles to their work sites each day. In the span of just a week, three more had died from pneumonia. Prisoners complained of being beaten and kicked by guards when they collapsed from exhaustion. In response to international pressure, the hours worked per day were reduced from 7–10 to just 4.[8]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450-453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IV A); NARA (RG 389); TNA (WO 224/11; WO 361/1809; WO 208/3273; FO 916/21); BArch B 162/16358, Tötung von zwei polnischen Offizieren und vier polnischen Soldaten jüdischer Herkunft u.a. im Stalag IV A [Hohenstein] und Oflag II D [Gross-Born-Westfalenhof] im Herbst 1939); USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and IWM.

Additional information about Stalag IV A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 13; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag IV A," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers*

de Guerre (Paris, 1945), pp. 85–90; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Report by the International Red Cross (April 16, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2148A.

4. USHMMA, RG 30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 123–124.

5. Report by the International Red Cross (October 25, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2148A.

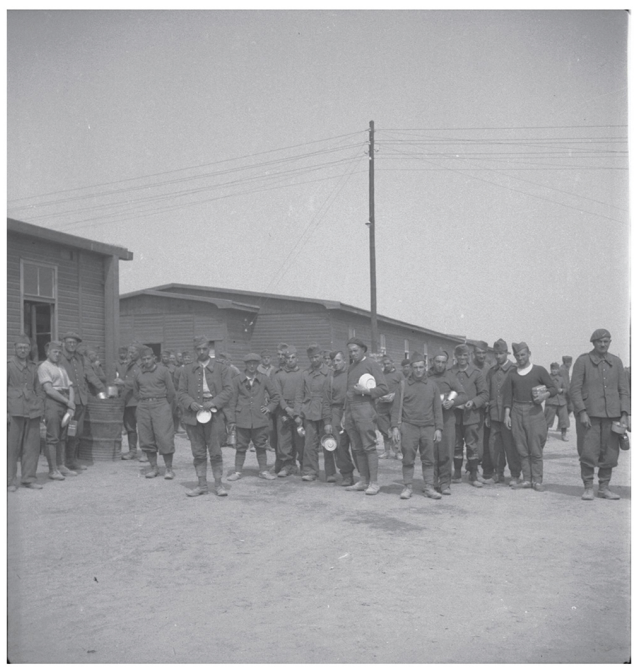
6. Report by the International Red Cross (January 22, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2148A.

7. Report by the International Red Cross (February 22, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2148A.

8. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV B (map 4e) on September 29, 1939, in Mühlberg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] From September 1942 to February 1, 1943, Stalag IV B had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Zeithain, designated Stalag IV B/Z. The camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV). The camp commandant in 1941 was Oberstleutnant Sperl, and the chief camp physician was Oberstabsarzt Dr. Krusche.



Stalag IV B at Mühlberg. Group of French POWs waiting for soup, June 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag IV B initially held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). When the first Polish prisoners arrived in October 1939, there were no buildings in the camp. The prisoners built the first stone barracks, followed by a kitchen and a storeroom; construction of camp facilities by Polish prisoners continued until the spring of 1940. While the camp buildings were constructed, the prisoners lived in the so-called tent camp, composed of tents that were 35 meters long, 12 meters wide, and as high as 3.3 meters tall (115 by 39 by 11 feet). Both the tents and the newly constructed barracks were infested with fleas and other parasites.[2]

From October to December 1939, more than 17,000 Polish prisoners were registered in Stalag IV B. However, the number of prisoners who passed through the camp is much higher, because some prisoners already registered in other camps were brought through Stalag IV B without being reregistered. Thus, by the spring of 1940, as many as 30,000 Polish prisoners may have passed through the camp.

In the spring of 1940, most of the Polish prisoners were transferred to different camps and were replaced by French and Belgian prisoners. By June 16, 1940, the camp already held 26,000 French prisoners and about 1,000 Belgian prisoners. In 1940, in total, about 60,000 French and Belgian prisoners were registered in the camp, and most of them were transferred to different camps. In April 1941, the first Serbian prisoners were brought to the camp. By May 1, 1941, more than 6,100 Serbians had been registered, although most of them were subsequently transferred to different camps.[3]

On May 14, 1941, Stalag IV B held 5,885 prisoners: 4,714 French, 962 Serbs, 39 Belgians, 97 Poles, 52 Ukrainians, and 21 Belarusians.[4] In July 1941, the first British and Soviet POWs were brought to the camp. In mid-1943, Dutch POWs were brought to the camp, followed by Italian military internees in September 1943, American POWs in August 1944, and prisoners from the Warsaw Uprising and Slovak National Uprising in the fall of 1944.

Upon arrival in the camp, all new prisoners were subjected to the same procedure, referred to as “intake” (*Annahme*). All of their personal possessions were taken and inspected while the prisoners themselves underwent a medical examination and were

checked for parasites. They then received inoculations against smallpox, typhus, and typhoid fever, after which their heads were shaved to prevent the spread of lice. They were given an opportunity to shower while their clothing was disinfected.[5] Despite these efforts, the poor hygienic conditions in the camp led to frequent infestations of lice, pubic lice, and fleas, which rendered the barracks "unlivable" at times.[6]

Food was scarce in the camp, and what food was available was often of poor quality. The rations provided were so inadequate that prisoners often resorted to scrounging in garbage bins, hunting for discarded bits of food.[7] The prisoners who worked in the camp kitchen brazenly stole food and sold it on what became a flourishing black market. While goods such as potatoes were relatively cheap (25 cooked potatoes fetched about 1.7 Reichsmark), items like bread (5–6 Reichsmark for a 1.4 kilogram [3-pound] loaf) and chocolate (10 Reichsmark for 250 grams [almost 9 ounces]) were quite steep. Goods such as soap, which were always in high demand, were also at a premium (3.5 Reichsmark for a small piece).[8]

Despite the problems with vermin and food, the conditions experienced by the Western Allied POWs in Stalag IV B were generally tolerable.[9] The prisoners had reasonable opportunities for recreation and cultural activities. For example, the prisoners were allowed to build a pool where they could swim by permission of the camp commandant.[10] Prisoners also published handwritten newspapers and magazines. For example, the British prisoners published the handwritten magazine *Cymro*.[11]

As of March 1943, there were a total of 14 French-speaking clergymen in the camp (13 French and 1 Belgian) who held mass every Sunday. There was no Polish priest in the camp at that time, so the Poles attended the French services. The Yugoslav prisoners had a priest of their own, who held services in the reserve hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) outside the camp. The library facilities were somewhat limited, with only 4,000 books available in the French language, less than one for every two Francophone prisoners. The library held 315 Polish books, more than enough for the camp's small Polish population at that time, but only 20 books in Serbo-Croatian. Because few of the prisoners were in labor detachments

(*Arbeitskommandos*), many courses were taught in the camp, especially by the French prisoners, who counted many teachers among their ranks. The French prisoners also led a camp orchestra, choir, and theater group. The prisoners had ample access to sports facilities; they played football and volleyball and held boxing matches, in addition to swimming in the aforementioned pool.[12]

The International Committee of the Red Cross considered the treatment of Western prisoners adequate as late as August 1944, with a good infirmary, regular supply of clothing, and sufficient rations. Although discipline in the camp was considered harsher than others, Western Allied prisoners continued to have significant privileges and facilities not provided to Soviet prisoners.[13]

As events on the western front continued to develop, conditions changed for newly captured troops. The Stalag also began to serve as a transit camp in all but name, for Allied troops only. Between August and November 1944, an estimated 10,000 British and American troops passed through the camp.[14] In January 1945 alone, 8,000 American prisoners were processed through Stalag IV B.[15] Thousands of other captured troops were sent there prior to being reassigned to other camps. Most of the remaining British and American prisoners were noncommissioned officers who did not work.[16] As a result, Stalag IV B was highly centralized and did not have significant numbers of work detachments and subcamps in the surrounding area, unlike many other camps with Western prisoners.

This shift in the nature of the camp had profound consequences for the prisoners' living conditions. Between July 1944 and February 1945, overcrowding went from episodic to endemic. Prisoners slept two to a bed, with many others on floors and any open space. Barracks quickly fell into disarray, with broken windows, unstable bunks, and poor hygiene. Overcrowding led to a rise in disease and infection in the camp, with many of the men falling ill with diphtheria. Clothing and food supplies were quickly exhausted by new arrivals.

American prisoners were particularly affected by the declining circumstances in the camp, as they often arrived in weakened states. Men recounted forced marches of up to 20 miles per day with only a single loaf of bread for the entire journey from the

front lines to the camp. Others arrived after several days in crowded, unsanitary boxcars. In many cases, no medical treatment was offered between capture and arrival at the camp. Given their weakened condition, they were particularly susceptible to problems stemming from overcrowding, with several dying from pneumonia and diphtheria shortly after arrival.[17]

As in other camps, the conditions for Soviet POWs were terrible from the start. Their section of the camp was overcrowded, and they were provided little food and medical care, which, combined with deliberate mistreatment, led to a high death rate. Of the 3,026 prisoners known to have died in the camp, 2,368 (78%) were from the Soviet Union.

Stalag IV B was liberated by the Red Army on April 23, 1945. About 30,000 prisoners remained in the camp at that time.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453 and RH 53-4/20); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IV B); NARA (RG 389); USHMMA; and TNA (WO 224/12; FO 916/21; WO 311/1147; FO 916/1151; WO 311/951; WO 311/1109; WO 311/947; TS 26/331; WO 311/1086; WO 208/3274; WO 311/1108; WO 309/2064; WO 311/1130; WO 309/2078; WO 311/1129; WO 311/1107; WO 311/987; WO 309/1958).

Additional information about Stalag IV B can be found in the following publications: "The magazine *Cymro*, 1943–44" (The National Library of Wales, UK); Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag IV B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), 91–95; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 13; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; Tom Swallow and Arthur H. Pill, *Flywheel, Memories of the Open Road* (Exeter: Webb

and Bower, 1987); Jim Longson and Christine Taylor, *An Arnhem Odyssey* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991); James Arthur Davies, *A Leap in the Dark. A Welsh Airman's Adventures in Occupied Europe* (London: Leo Cooper, 1994); A. N. Bystritskii et al., *Rossiiskie (sovetskie voinskie memorialy i zakhoroneniia na territorii Germanii* (Moscow: Assotsiatsiia "Voennye memorialy," 2000); Achim Kilian, *Mühlberg 1939–1948: Ein Gefangenenlager mitten in Deutschland* (Köln: Böhlau, 2001); Audrey James, *Flightpath to Stalag IVB: The Story of W. O. Arthur Briggs, RAF* (York: Ebor, 2004); Tony Vercoe, *Survival at Stalag IVB: Soldiers and Airmen Remember Germany's Largest POW camp of World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006); Sydney Prichard, *Life in the Welsh Guards 1939–46* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2007); *Grabstätten sowjetischer Bürger auf dem Gebiet des Freistaates Sachsen. Gedenkbuch* (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft, Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V., 2008); A. G. Verhulst, *Dagboek 1943–1945—krijgsgevangen in Stalag IV-B* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu, 2010); Iu. V. Vladimirov, *V nemetskom plenu: Zapiski vyzhivshego 1942–1945* (Moscow, 2010); David A. Foy, *For You the War Is Over: American Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (New York: Stein and Day, 1984). See also prisoner of war camp magazines, 1943–1945, at www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=3776; collection of personal stories of British inmates of Stalag IV B at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag4b.html; Stalag IV B: Photo Gallery at www.pegasusarchive.org/pow/pSt_4B.htm; and Lager Mühlberg 1939–1948 at http://lager-muehlberg.org.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263.

2. Kilian, *Mühlberg 1939–1948*, pp. 57–58.

3. Kilian, *Mühlberg 1939–1948*, pp. 57, 67, 81.
4. Vercoe, *Survival at Stalag IVB*, p. 35.
5. Kilian, *Mühlberg 1939–1948*, p. 65.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Ibid., p. 69.
8. Ibid., pp. 85–86.
9. Foy, *For You the War Is Over*, p. 93.
10. "The magazine 'Cymro,' 1943–44" (The National Library of Wales, UK).
11. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 153–154.
12. Report of the International Red Cross (August 2, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
13. Report of the International Red Cross (November 23, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
14. Report of the International Red Cross (February 5, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
15. Report of the International Red Cross (November 6, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
16. Report of the International Red Cross (February 5, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
17. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV B/Z

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV B/Z on September 1, 1942, in Zeithain, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV (map 4e). The camp was located on the former site of Stalag 304 (IV H), which was transferred to Leuven, in Belgium, at the beginning of September 1942. Stalag IV B/Z was not an independent camp but rather a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag IV B in Mühlberg (also referred to as Stalag IV B/H, for *Hauptlager*, or main camp).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

Like its predecessor, Stalag IV B/Z held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), with a maximum population of about 6,600 prisoners.[2] After the redesignation of the camp as Stalag IV B/Z, the camp in Zeithain also became the site of the main POW hospital in Defense District IV, which was known as Kriegsgefangenen-Reservelazarett IV. Most of the prisoners in the camp at this time were sick prisoners who were sent to the hospital for treatment; healthy prisoners who arrived at Zeithain were either sent to the work details or transferred to Stalag IV B/H, and the prisoners from Stalag 304 who were capable of working had been transferred to Belgium with the camp staff, where they primarily worked in that region's coal mines.[3] Only a small percentage of the prisoners who remained in Stalag IV B/Z were healthy enough to be sent out to work; for example, in the population report from January 1, 1943, only 552 of the 3,765 prisoners in the camp (less than 15%) were assigned to work details, a much smaller proportion than in most other camps at that time.[4]

The hospital was divided into two sections: a tuberculosis ward with a capacity of 3,000 prisoners and a "therapeutic section" with a surgical ward, an ophthalmological clinic, and a dental clinic. The hospital eventually reached a capacity of almost 8,000 beds.

The hospital was overseen by Wehrmacht doctors, but most of the day-to-day care for the patients was performed by Russian doctors and nurses. Prisoners who were in the camp during its transition from a regular POW camp to a POW hospital recalled that the conditions improved somewhat during this time, relative to the horrible conditions that had characterized life in Stalag 304; survivors particularly noticed an increase in food rations. However, the hospital often found itself short of medication and the doctors and nurses often provided prisoners with little more than moral support.[5] It is not known how many prisoners died in Stalag IV B/Z while it operated under this designation; witnesses reported that about two to three people died each day (though this number rose as high as 35 on some days), primarily due to diseases, with smaller numbers of deaths due to hunger and exposure to cold weather.[6] Stalag IV B/Z was dissolved on February 1, 1943, but the POW hospital continued to function until April 23, 1945, when it was liberated by the Red Army.[7]

SOURCES Additional information about Stalag IV B/Z can be found in the following publications: Norbert Haase, ed., *Zeithain: Gedenkbuch sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener/Tsaitkhain: kniga pamiati sovetskikh voennoplennykh* (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft, 2005); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 13; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), p. 36; Jörg Osterloh, *Ein ganz normales Lager: Das Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager Stalag 304 (IV H) Zeithain bei Riesa 1941 bis 1945* (Leipzig: G. Kiepenhauer, 1997), pp. 87–91; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; and Maria Vittoria Zeme, *"–und entzünde einen Funken Hoffnung": Aus dem Tagebuch einer italienischen Rotkreuzschwester im*

Kriegsgefangenenlazarett Zeithain 1943–1944, ed. Jörg Osterloh (Dresden: Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten zur Erinnerung an die Opfer politischer Gewaltherrschaft, 1996). See also Gedenkstätte Ehrenhain Zeithain at https://en.stsg.de/cms/node/932.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 36.
3. Osterloh, *Ein ganz normales Lager*, p. 88.
4. "Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im OKW-Bereich, 1.1.43," ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0106.
5. Osterloh, *Ein ganz normales Lager*, pp. 88–89.
6. Ibid., pp. 90–91.
7. "Prisoner of War Reserve Hospital Zeithain 1943– 1945," *Gedenkstätte Ehrenhain Zeithain* at https://en.stsg.de/cms/node/932.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV C (map 4e) on August 1, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV and deployed it to Wistritz bei Teplitz (today Bystřice, district of Dubí, Czech Republic). The reserve hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) at Bilin (today Bílina, Czech Republic) was subordinate to the camp.[1] Stalag IV C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

The camp held French, Belgian, British, Serbian, Soviet (from March 1942), Dutch (from July 1943), Slovak (from November 1944), and Romanian (from October 1944) prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners (from September 1943). It was a large camp, with a maximum population of 47,488 in July 1944.[2] However, the actual population of the main camp was much smaller than the number of prisoners registered there, because most of the prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*).

The Western Allied and non-Soviet Eastern European prisoners were treated decently by the German guards and administrators, and the conditions in their section of the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, their situation deteriorated markedly in late 1944 and early 1945, as the circumstances of the war interfered with supply deliveries.

Prisoners in the main camp (*Hauptlager*) had access to some recreational and cultural activities, while limited access to such activities was also available to the prisoners in the work details. Two French priests held mass for the French and Belgian prisoners; the Serbian, British, and Commonwealth prisoners were without religious guidance. There was a library in the camp as

well, from which prisoners in both the main camp and the work details could check out books. The French and Belgian prisoners in the camp organized classes in German, French, and Spanish as well as philosophy and other subjects; they also established a small orchestra and theater group. Sporting activities available to the prisoners were limited.[3]

The treatment of the Soviet POWs was inhumane and in violation of international law regarding the treatment of POWs. They received little food or medical care and lived in squalid conditions with frequent outbreaks of disease, which led to a high mortality rate. The camp was liberated by Soviet troops on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-4/20: Kriegsgefangeneneinrichtungen), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IV C), NARA (RG 389), TNA (WO 224/13 and FO 916/21), USHMMA, and IWM.

Additional information about Stalag IV C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 14; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag IV C," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 96–99; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). See also Stalag IV C at http://stalag4c.blogspot.com/.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 14.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 164–165.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV D (map 4e) on August 5, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. The camp was deployed in Neuburxdorf until July 1, 1941, when it relocated to Torgau. On June 1, 1942, Oflag 54 (IV E) in Annaburg was converted into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag IV D, designated as Stalag IV D/Z. In the spring of 1944, Stalag IV D was converted into a returnee camp (*Heimkehrerlager*).[1] Stalag IV D was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV). The last commandant of the camp was Oberst Richter.

Stalag IV D held French, British, Belgian, Polish, Serbian, Soviet, American, Slovak, and Dutch prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a large camp, with a maximum population of 52,291 in February 1944.[2] Observers from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp in late November 1944, at which time it held a nominal prisoner population of 48,630 men. However, only a fraction of these lived in the camp itself; most were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the area around the camp. For example, of the 5,728 British POWs on the camp roll, only 21 were in the main camp, and of the 320 listed American prisoners, only 1 was in the main camp.[3]

Nonetheless, the observers found the main camp's quarters to be overcrowded, with excessive numbers of prisoners crammed into the large rooms of the barracks. The supply of coal for the stoves in the barracks was inadequate, meaning that the prisoners were frequently without heat. The prisoners' rations were also regarded as insufficient, both in the main camp and the work details; this situation was particularly hard on those in the work details, as they received fewer Red Cross food parcels than prisoners in the main

camp. The medical staff of the camp, led by Major Otto of the German Medical Corps, lacked necessary supplies, especially bandages. Furthermore, the prisoners in the main camp were without proper air-raid shelters. The treatment of the prisoners by the guards, however, was generally regarded as within the norms of the Geneva Conventions.[4]

Stalag IV D at Torgau. Group of Soviet prisoners of war, date unknown. COURTESY OF ICRC.

By March 1945, the situation had improved. Six hundred new American prisoners had recently arrived in the camp, of whom 106 remained in the camp, performing maintenance and construction work. These prisoners' efforts included the construction of new latrines, as the old facilities had become inadequate for the number of prisoners in the camp. The supply of coal to the prisoners in the camp had been increased, allowing for proper heating of the barracks. Food rations were in line with expectations. The prisoners prepared their own meals in the camp's kitchen. The prisoners' health was generally good, and the medical staff had been furnished with additional medical supplies, according to a member of the American Army Medical Corps.[5]

The prisoners in the main camp could engage in some recreational and cultural activities, but access to these activities was more limited for the prisoners in the work details. The Serbian and French prisoners had priests available to them in the camp,

and the Polish prisoners attended the French Catholic mass. British prisoners were without any clergy and were left to their own devices in spiritual matters. The prisoners had a library that held 1,200 Serbo-Croatian, 1,000 English, and 400 Polish books. Some musical instruments, provided by the YMCA, were available to the prisoners as well. The prisoners in the main camp were allowed to play football twice a week.[6]

The work details ranged in size from fewer than 10 men to several hundred. The type of work was varied, with a mix of agricultural and industrial labor. Those engaged in agriculture typically were in smaller units and assigned to specific farms. Prisoners working in industry were involved in activities including brick production, steelwork, railway construction, air-raid construction, automotive repair, and sugar refining.[7]

Conditions also differed between the work details. In unit L25 in Lauchhammer, 400 prisoners lived in well-heated and -ventilated wooden barracks and had positive relations with the Germans. By contrast, the smaller Camp 97 in Helmsdorf, which held only 81 prisoners, had hastily constructed buildings and unsanitary washrooms. Men at Helmsdorf also reported being struck by German supervisors for failing to understand instructions that were given only in German.[8] Such complaints were not uncommon; American private Edward P. Faulkner, who worked as an electrical wire-man at the headquarters of the 423rd Infantry Regiment, reported that a German corporal beat another American prisoner for failing to understand his instructions, even though the prisoner did not speak German.[9] Private First Class Richard M. Stanley, who worked at a sandpit near Heiligenthal, saw a German officer beat a fellow prisoner. Stanley stated that this officer, a disabled veteran of World War I, was regarded by the prisoners as "more or less a sadist."[10]

In most cases, the work was difficult and demanding. In November 1944, British and American prisoners were expected to work 12 hours per day. Increasing work demands did not entail increased rations, however, and the prisoners relied heavily on ICRC food parcels to stave off malnutrition.[11] The prisoners' diet consisted primarily of bread, soup, and potatoes, supplemented with vegetables such as carrots and cabbage, along with small portions of margarine, sausage, and cheese.[12]

Late in the war, prisoners in the work details, particularly those working as industrial laborers or in rail yards, were exposed to American and British aerial bombardments. American private first class Joseph DeFilippo, who worked at the Kuhn and Company lumber factory in Halle, reported that an American private, George Miller, was killed during an air raid on February 24, 1945.[13] The air-raid shelters offered to the men in the detachments were often inadequate, and they frequently resorted to taking cover in ditches and foxholes or simply scattered into the countryside rather than using the shelter provided by the Germans.[14] In many cases, the men faced this danger because they were working in military-related production or transporting military goods, in violation of the Geneva Conventions. For example, the American prisoners working in Kommando 119 in Halle complained to the Red Cross that they had been unloading rail cars transporting tank and submarine parts. The camp was liberated on April 26, 1945, by the 69th Infantry Division of the American First Army.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IV D); NARA (RG 153, RG 389); USHMMA; and TNA (FO 916/242; WO 311/1136; WO 311/1085; WO 311/1063; WO 311/1096; WO 311/1087).

Additional information about Stalag IV D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 14; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag IV D," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 100–104; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 14.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Report by the International Red Cross (November 28, 1944), File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

4. Ibid.

5. Report by the International Red Cross (March 10, 1945), File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

6. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 176.

7. Report by the International Red Cross (November 16, 1944), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.

8. Testimony of Edward P. Faulkner, File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

9. Testimony of Pfc. Richard M. Stanley, File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

10. Report by the International Red Cross (November 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.

11. Testimony of Pfc. Archie Davidson, File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

12. Testimony of Pfc. Joseph DeFilippo, File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

13. Report by the International Red Cross (November 29, 1944), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149; Memorandum to US Secretary of State (April 18, 1945), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.

14. Report by the International Red Cross (March 10, 1945), File 100-406, Stalag IV-D (Torgau, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 14.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV E (map 4e) on February 1, 1941, in Altenburg (Thüringen), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV). On June 1, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Stalag 384.[1]

Stalag IV E at Altenburg. Indian prisoners of war going to pray, June 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag IV E held mostly Polish, French, Belgian, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a large camp, with a population of more than 18,000 prisoners and approaching 20,000 prisoners in December 1941 and January 1942.[2] The guards treated the Western Allied POWs decently, and the conditions in their sections of the camp were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The prisoners had some access to recreational and cultural activities. The French prisoners held mass every Sunday with a French priest; the Polish prisoners had no priest of their own, so they attended the French mass. The Serbian prisoners, the majority of whom were Orthodox, had no religious services of their own. There was a camp orchestra for a brief time; however, it was disbanded when most of its musicians were sent to labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). A small library held about 250 Polish-language books.[3]

By contrast, the treatment of the Soviet prisoners was inhumane and in violation of the standards of international law concerning the treatment of POWs. They received very little food or medical care and lived in filthy conditions that enabled the spread of diseases, leading to a higher mortality rate than the other POWs experienced.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–452; RH 53-4/20) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IV E).

Additional information about Stalag IV E can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 14; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 263; Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-

MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 263; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 13.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 186.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV F

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV F (map 4e) on February 1, 1941, in Hartmannsdorf, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV). There was one subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Altenburg, which was still operating as of December 4, 1944.[1]

Stalag IV F was a large prisoner of war (POW) camp, particularly late in the war, with a maximum population of 48,115 in June 1944. It held predominantly French prisoners captured during the German invasion and, from the fall of 1941, a large number of Soviet prisoners as well.[2] An influx of over 4,000 British soldiers arrived from the Italian front in October 1943. By February 1945, the camp had over 25,000 prisoners, about half of whom were French. In addition to the French and British, the camp by 1945 had 3,200 Serbian, 2,400 American, and 1,400 Slovak prisoners. Smaller numbers of Belgians, Dutch, Poles, Commonwealth, Soviet, Serbian, Czechoslovak, and Romanian POWs, as well as Italian military internees, were also held at Stalag IV F.[3]

The main camp structures were large administrative buildings from an old mechanical laundry, which provided much of the prisoner housing. The majority of prisoners were deployed in numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) scattered throughout the region around the camp. By April 1944, there were 790 such work details, which ranged in size from 9 to 200 prisoners. Work and facilities at these details varied considerably, though most of the prisoners performed manual labor. Groups were assigned to railway construction, ditchdigging for air-raid shelters, machine work in a paper factory, and bricklaying.

Conditions in the main camp were generally adequate and

conformed to international standards for treatment of POWs. Bomb shelters were available, and one infirmary served the main camp with 15 additional infirmaries throughout the wider camp system. Camp leaders had their own offices, prisoners their own personal lockers, and despite the size of the camp, facilities were seen as sufficient and not overcrowded. The prisoners slept 18–20 men to a room in double or triple bunks. The main camp had a large sports field, and, while there was no theater as some other camps had, the Western Allied prisoners had access to a movie once a week.

Stalag IV F at Hartmannsdorf. Prisoners playing soccer, date unknown. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Conditions in the work details were often much worse than those in the main camp. Prisoner representatives for the varying nationalities had limited access to these sites, and in many cases there was little direct oversight or intervention from the German camp authorities. As a result, the conditions in the work details depended on the leadership of the individual units. In some cases, good leadership produced decent conditions, such as in Kommando 9 in Chemnitz, which the International Committee of the Red Cross described as "the best camp the delegate has ever seen."[4] However, conditions in most work details were significantly worse. Work hours at camps regularly exceeded 60 hours per week. Due to "exhaustion, pneumonia, and

undernourishment" in Kommando G 124, seven prisoners died in a three-week span in the winter of 1944–1945 and 68 percent of the unit was unable to continue working.[5] Prisoners were routinely beaten and struck by the director of the rubber factory where Kommando 57 worked. Dutch railway workers complained of "meanness" from overseers and Belgian coal miners described dire circumstances.[6] Particularly toward war's end, the overcrowding in the main camp coupled with less frequent oversight and fewer supplies led to deteriorating conditions in the work details.

Conditions also varied considerably based on nationality. Western Allied prisoners generally experienced better treatment than their Eastern European counterparts. British and American prisoners received regular Red Cross shipments, and generally the German staff proved more responsive to their complaints. After complaints about the facilities in several work details for American and British prisoners, either the work details in question were dissolved or the issues corrected. By contrast, Serbian prisoners went months without receiving Red Cross packages and complained that they were treated worse than prisoners of other nationalities.

In the wake of the Warsaw Uprising, several hundred Poles arrived at the camp. The German authorities regarded them as they did Russian prisoners "to whom the Geneva Convention does not apply."[7] The maltreatment was particularly pronounced for a group of 191 Polish women who had fought in Warsaw. They were beaten and "not treated like prisoners of war, but like convicts."

Toward the end of the war, overall camp conditions steadily deteriorated, as there were frequent movements of prisoners into and out of the camp and supply lines and Red Cross parcels became less dependable. American prisoner Sidney Cole stated that he lost about 50 pounds during his time in the camp in late 1944 and early 1945.[8] American forces liberated Stalag IV F on April 14, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag IV F is located in BA-MA; WASt Berlin; NARA (RG 389, Box 2149); USHMMA (RG-50.037.0008); and TNA (WO 208/3275).

Additional information about Stalag IV F can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 14; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Populations)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 43–45; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 14.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 43–45.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 14.
4. Translated report by the International Red Cross (November 1944), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.
5. Translated report by the International Red Cross (April 21, 1945), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.
6. Translated report by the International Red Cross (February 26, 1945), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.
7. Ibid.
8. USHMMA, RG-50.037.0008, Oral History interview with Sidney Cole.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IV G

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IV G (map 4e) on February 1, 1941, in Oschatz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

Stalag IV G initially held primarily French prisoners of war (POWs) whom the Germans captured in the spring of 1940, along with a few Poles and Belgians. Yugoslavs began arriving in the spring, and Soviets in the summer, of 1941; eventually the Soviets constituted the second-largest group, after the French. British, Dutch, and Italians arrived in 1943, and Americans arrived in the autumn of 1944. On January 1, 1945, Stalag IV G and its subcamps held 15,462 French; 1,476 Poles; 1,308 Yugoslavs; 10,982 Soviets; 4,168 British and Commonwealth prisoners; 3 Belgians; 984 Dutch; 138 Italians; 41 Americans; and 80 Czechs. Stalag IV G counted among the large camps, with a maximum prisoner population of 39,607 in June 1944; however, the actual population in the main camp was very small.[2] The majority of the prisoners (34,946 in June 1944) were deployed in work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the area surrounding the camp. The details ranged in size from 10 to several hundred prisoners.

Because of the highly decentralized nature of the camp, it is difficult to make general remarks about the conditions. The work details were deployed in settings as varied as stone quarries, paper factories, construction sites, and coal mines. Prisoners worked from 8 to 13 hours per day, 6 days a week. The larger units tended to have better access to recreation facilities and doctors, though they were also subject to reduced rations and insufficient supplies at times.

Location also affected the conditions in the work details. Some were assigned to small towns and rural areas, which generally

provided safety from Allied bombing operations. Others, however, were located near military installations or other potential targets. On February 27, 1944, an entire 24-man detail of British prisoners was killed by a direct hit during an air raid on Leipzig.

The four hospitals in which Stalag IV G's prisoners were treated also varied in quality. Lazarett Wahren in Leipzig had the best facilities with beds for up to 80 prisoners; it became the designated hospital for any prisoners needing extensive treatment or surgery. By contrast, the Gneisenstrasse hospital in Leipzig had only 25 beds and limited medical supplies and was located half a kilometer (one-third of a mile) from the central train station, which was a primary target for Allied bombers. The other hospitals were located closer to Oschatz in Bad Lausick and Wurzen.

Circumstances changed considerably in the camp with the addition of 700 American prisoners during the early months of 1945. Forced to march long distances from the western front, the prisoners arrived at the camp in horrible condition. They suffered from severe malnourishment and required increased rations and acute medical attention. As an International Committee of the Red Cross official reported after a visit to the camp, "The Delegate met prisoners of war with legs like those of children of 10 years, who were nothing but skin and bones and absolutely unfit for work."[3] Despite their condition, the Americans were assigned to 12 work details. At Kommando 204 only 18 of the 45 American prisoners were able to work. American forces liberated Stalag IV G on April 26, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IV G can be found in NARA (RG 389).

Additional information about Stalag IV G can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 15; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Populations)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 45–47; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im*

Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.
2. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 47.
3. Translated report by the International Red Cross (April 18, 1945), NARA, RG 389, Box 2149.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) V A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag V A (map 4f) from Dulag H on October 16, 1939, in Ludwigsburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. Until the beginning of 1944, the camp had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Münsingen. French troops liberated the camp on April 21, 1945.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Stalag V A initially held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). In 1940, the Polish POWs were transferred to other camps; French and Belgian POWs replaced them. In 1941, Serbian and Soviet prisoners arrived in the camp. In May 1943, Dutch prisoners arrived, and in September 1943, Italian military internees were brought to the camp.

Stalag V A was one of the largest POW camps in Germany, with an average population of over 30,000 prisoners (the majority of them French), and a peak population of 39,460 in September 1944.[2] The majority of the prisoners worked in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), deployed throughout the region in locations such as Rosswalden, Salach, Göppingen, and Steinkirch.[3] Factories that employed prisoners from Stalag V A included Daimler-Benz A.G. Stuttgart-Untertürkheim[4] and Deutsche Gelatine Fabrik A.G.[5]

The German guards treated the Western Allied prisoners decently and the conditions in their sections of the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). They had some access to recreational and cultural activities in the camp. The Catholic prisoners had the opportunity to attend daily mass and two services on Sunday, provided by a French Catholic priest. Similarly, Protestant prisoners could attend daily evening

prayers and a Sunday service led by an Evangelical minister. The camp had a large library with several thousand volumes. Football games were organized twice a week in both the main camp and the labor detachments.[6]

By contrast, the Soviet prisoners were treated very poorly and faced terrible living conditions. Overcrowding, malnutrition, and disease led to a high mortality rate. In September and October 1941, a Gestapo squad screened the Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as political commissars and Jews, who were sent to a concentration camp for execution.[7]

Beginning in November 1944, the camp authorities converted two large horse stables within the main camp into barracks for a Dulag for newly captured Western Allied prisoners. The first prisoners to arrive were Americans captured in late October of that year. The first 200 arrived on November 9 and an additional 150 arrived the following day. Initially, conditions within this Dulag were harsh. The men were kept inside the unlit, vermin-infested stables for days at a time in deplorable hygienic conditions.[8] However, the conditions soon improved. By February, the stables had been cleaned considerably and overall hygiene and sanitation facilities were satisfactory. Since many of the prisoners in the Dulag had come straight from the front, a doctor from the neighboring POW hospital visited them daily. Prisoners stayed at the Dulag an average of two to six weeks. The facilities were considered adequate for up to 500 men but could quickly become overcrowded, as happened in late January 1945 when over 1,700 were held there.[9]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag V A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-5/18: Kriegsgefangenenlager/Mannschaftsstammlager V A-D); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag V A); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (WO 224/17: Stalag VA Ludwigsberg [*sic*]); and BArch B 162/29396 (Anzeige des F. Roth gegen drei Justizangehörige wg. der Ermordung von Kriegsgefangenen verschiedener Nationalitäten in einem Ludwigsburger Lager [mutmasslich Stalag V A] im Jahr 1943) and 15560–15562 (Aussonderung und Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag V A/Ludwigsburg).

Additional information about Stalag V A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), p. 15; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag V A," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 117–121; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 310; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. List of units of foreigners stationed in Kreis Göppingen, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0044/0213.

4. Suchverfahren über Ausländer, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0036/0267.

5. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 201.

6. Abschrift Deutsche Gelatine Fabrik A.G., ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0044/0071.

7. Aussonderung und Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag V A/Ludwigsburg, BArch B 162/15560–15562.

8. Report by the International Red Cross (November 11, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.

9. Report by the International Red Cross (February 19, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) V B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag V B on March 28, 1940, on the outskirts of Villingen, Germany, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V (map 4f).[1] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Stalag V B held Polish, French, British, Serbian, Soviet (from September 1941), Belgian (from March 1943), and American (from April 1943) prisoners of war (POWs), and (from October 1943) Italian military internees.[2] Stalag V B was a relatively large camp, with a population that averaged well over 20,000 prisoners and reached a peak of 29,350 prisoners in May 1944.

The camp was divided into separate sections, according to prisoner nationality. Rows of barbed wire separated the sections. The prisoners lived in wooden barracks, or, in the case of the American prisoners, in large wooden huts. These huts were divided into five to seven rooms, each of which housed 20 prisoners. The prisoners slept in double bunk beds, on burlap mattresses filled with wood shavings or straw. The barracks and huts had electric lighting and were generally well ventilated; however, the heating, provided by coal or wood-fired stoves, was poor.[3] Some fleas and bedbugs were present. By 1944, the housing in the camp had become slightly overcrowded due to the influx of prisoners, including Americans and Italian internees.

The food, which was prepared by French kitchen personnel, was generally of poor quality; prisoners' complaints particularly focused on the potatoes they received, which were often rotten. American first lieutenant John C. Crown stated that in December 1944, the prisoners were fed one-sixth of a loaf of bread and one pint of soup per day. These rations were insufficient to sustain the men, and they suffered from malnutrition and experienced significant weight loss.[4]

The prisoners in the main camp had access to many forms of recreational activities, both physical and intellectual. A French Catholic priest held daily mass in a small chapel and a larger mass on Sunday, which was also attended by Belgian and Polish Catholics. There was also a small contingent of French Protestants. The Serbian prisoners had an Orthodox priest who lived in the Lazarett and came to the camp to lead services on Sunday.[5] There was a small library in the American section of the camp, which held about 200 books, and a larger library in the Serbian camp. The prisoners also organized a prison orchestra and a theater troupe. The camp had a small athletic field on which the prisoners could play sports like soccer, volleyball, and handball; however, prisoners of different nationalities were generally not allowed to play together.[6]

The sanitary facilities at the camp were generally adequate. New arrivals were taken for showers and delousing in order to prevent the transmission of typhus. There were washrooms with running cold water next to each barrack; the prisoners were given the opportunity to take a hot shower once every two weeks.[7] The camp infirmary was located in two wooden huts; new huts were built specifically for this purpose in 1944. The new infirmary facilities had a capacity of between 100 and 250 patients, with 10 to 15 patient beds in each room.[8]

Prisoners with more serious illnesses or injuries were taken to the nearby prisoner hospital (*Reservelazarett Rottenmünster*), which was housed in a former hotel. The hospital had a capacity of 550 beds. Part of the hospital was utilized by the Wehrmacht, while the other portion was for POWs. The two sides remained strictly divided.[9] Because the facility had been in use as a hospital for decades, facilities were on the whole better than the more hastily assembled camp hospitals that serviced most of the other Stalags. Prisoners stayed in smaller wards that held between 4 and 10 patients. They had regular access to hot water and showers. Food was well prepared, and, although it was sometimes low in quality, the German authorities increased the quantity over time. Those who were able had opportunities to walk in designated areas of the grounds. As a result, morale among the prisoners remained high in the hospital.[10] Because of its large size and comparatively modern facilities, by 1944, the hospital also held men from Oflag

VIII F, Oflag 64, Stalag II B, Stalag VII A and Stalag Luft I.[11]

While the conditions and treatment of the Western and Polish POWs was generally in accordance with the Geneva Conventions, treatment of Soviet prisoners was inhumane and contrary to all norms of international law concerning the treatment of POWs; this led to high mortality rates. Gestapo detachments regularly conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of "undesirables" (Jews, political commissars, and members of the Communist Party, as well as any other soldiers deemed to have been "thoroughly Bolshevized") among the Soviet prisoners, who were sent to concentration camps and shot.

Large numbers of prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*). The prisoners worked in a number of locations in the area around the camp, performing various types of work, including agricultural and industrial labor, as well as construction. Some prisoners, however, were skeptical of the nature of the work they were asked to perform, believing that it was possibly of a military nature, which would have violated the Geneva Convention. For example, American private Kenneth E. Harsley was part of a work detail that built an electrical facility, which he later told American war crimes investigators he believed was used to build V-1 flying bombs and V-2 rockets.[12]

Late in the war, the prisoners in the main camp faced an additional hazard from American and British aerial attacks. The camp was located in close proximity to a training facility for German ski troops as well as to a factory that constructed aircraft engines. American sergeant William O. Frederick reported that in January 1945, American aircraft bombed and strafed the factory. He did not know whether any prisoners had been wounded or killed as a result, but they had been exposed to the attack.[13] Similar experiences befell prisoners in the work details who were assigned to industrial labor. Private John J. Urden testified that the men in his work detail were exposed to bombing and strafing on multiple occasions between late May and early July 1944.[14]

Stalag V B was liberated by American forces on April 20, 1945. Most of the German camp personnel fled before the Americans arrived.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag V B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-5/18: Mannschaftsstammlager V A-D); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag V B); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (WO 224/18: Stalag VB Villingen Schwarzwald; FO 916/21: Stalag IVA, IVB, IVC, VB, VIA, VIC; and WO 311/1079: Ill-treatment of British prisoners of war at Stalag V B, Heuberg, Germany, December 1940 to January 1941); BArch B 162/17639, 17641, 17643 (Überprüfung des Stalag V B); and IWM.

Additional information about Stalag V B can be found in the following publications: G. and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 15; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag V B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 122–127; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 310; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), BestandanKriegsgefangenenim Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. Report of the International Red Cross (May 20, 1944), Stalag V-B; NARA II, RG 59, Box 127.

4. Testimony of 1st Lt. John C. Crown, File 100-450, Stalag V-B (Villengen [*sic*], Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 43.

5. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 209–210.

6. Report of the International Red Cross (May 20, 1944), Stalag V-B, NARA II, RG 59, Box 127.

7. Report of the International Red Cross (February 15, 1945), File 100-450, Stalag V-B (Villengen [*sic*], Germany), NARA II, RG 152, Box 43.

8. Report of the International Red Cross (May 20, 1944), Stalag V-B, NARA II, RG 59, Box 127.

9. Report of the International Red Cross (July 4, 1944), NARA II, RG 289, Box 2143.

10. Ibid.

11. Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis V, Brief (April 21, 1944), BA-MA, RH 49/91.

12. Testimony of Pvt. Kenneth E. Harsley, File 100-450, Stalag V-B (Villengen [*sic*], Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 43.

13. Testimony of Sgt. William O. Frederick, File 100-450, Stalag V-B (Villengen [*sic*], Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 43.

14. Testimony of Pvt. John J. Urden, File 100-450, Stalag V-B (Villengen [*sic*], Germany), NARA II, RG 153, Box 43.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) V C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag V C (map 4f) on March 28, 1940, in Malschbach, near Baden-Baden, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. In February 1942, it relocated to Offenburg. Stalag V C had several subcamps (*Zweiglager*), including locations in Malschbach (after the relocation to Offenburg) and Strasbourg (disbanded in early 1944), and probably others in Wildbad and Wildberg.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V). Beginning on April 14, 1940, Stalag V C had field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 31 886.

Stalag V C held Polish, French, Belgian, British, Serbian, Soviet, and American prisoners of war (POWs); from the fall of 1943, it also held Italian military internees. The maximum prisoner population in the camp was 30,000.[2] The camp held significant numbers of Allied colonial troops, including Indians and South Africans, along with a large population of French colonial prisoners.[3] Many of these prisoners were captured in the North African campaign and arrived at Stalag V C via Italian transit camps.[4] Most of the prisoners were assigned to labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[5]

The camp at Offenburg consisted of between 20 and 30 wooden barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. Some prisoners worked in the camp workshop building wooden toys.[6] The men in the labor detachments worked in factories, on railroads, fortifications, and trenches, and in the nearby forests cutting wood.[7]

The Western Allied prisoners were treated decently by the guards for most of the camp's existence. Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929),

but from late 1944 through early 1945 conditions deteriorated seriously, in parallel to Germany's military and supply situation. The prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities in the camp. There was a Catholic mass every morning and a prayer service every evening, with a larger mass on Sundays. There were also Protestant services on Sundays. The camp library held around 5,000 French books and 115 Polish books. The camp had a 22-man orchestra and a 24-man theater troupe.[8]

By contrast, the conditions experienced by the Soviet POWs were harsh. Their section of the camp was overcrowded and malnutrition and disease were rampant, leading to a high mortality rate. Gestapo detachments regularly conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of "undesirables," such as political commissars and Jews, among the Soviet prisoners, who were then sent to concentration camps for execution.

A serious Allied bombing raid on November 27, 1944, led to the evacuation of many prisoners to Stalag V B in Villingen. The raid destroyed many of the camp structures and supply stores. The subsequent evacuation led to a decline in the conditions at Villingen, as overcrowding exacerbated the already increasingly difficult conditions in that camp toward the end of the war.[9] Other prisoners were evacuated to Stalag V A in Ludwigsburg. Those who were in the labor detachments stayed in their respective locations.[10] American troops liberated Stalag V C on April 20, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag V C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-5/18: Mannschaftsstammlager V A-D); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag V C); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); BArch B 162/17644, 17646–17647 (Überprüfung des Stalag V C); USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and IWM.

Additional information about Stalag V C can be found in the following publications: Oliver Clutton-Brock and Raymond Crompton, *The Long Road: Trials and Tribulations of Airmen Prisoners from Stalag Luft VII to Berlin* (London: Grub Street, 2014), p. 190; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–*

1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 15–16; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag V C," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 128–134; Raffael Scheck, *French Colonial Soldiers in German Captivity during World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 244; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 310; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 15.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16

3. Scheck, *French Colonial Soldiers*, p. 244.

4. Clutton-Brock and Crompton, *Long Road*, p. 190.

5. See the supplement for a list of the main working commandos.

6. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 218.

7. Camp d'Offenburg, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0036/0165.

8. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 218–219.

9. Scheck, *French Colonial Soldiers*, p. 248.

10. Prisonniers de Guerre, Notes Generales, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0024.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) V D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag V D (map 4f) from Frontstalag 210 on November 29, 1940, in Strasbourg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. On March 19, 1942, the camp absorbed Stalag V E in Mühlhausen (today Mulhouse, France).[1] On May 30, 1942, the camp was redesignated Stalag 385.[2] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V).

Stalag V D held French, Polish, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war. The maximum number of prisoners was 7,300.[3] The Germans treated the Western Allied prisoners decently and the conditions in their sections of the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, the treatment of Soviet prisoners was inhumane and their living conditions were harsh, leading to a high mortality rate.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about the Stalag V D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag V D); and BArch B 162/17648–17650 (Überprüfung des Stalag V D).

Stalag V D at Strasbourg. Camp hospital, February 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Additional information about Stalag V D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 15, 56; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 310 and *Die Landstreitkräfte 371-500* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1975), p. 40.

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NOTES

1. List of prisoners of war camps (Stalag and Oflag) in the Wehrkreisen 1–XXI 1939 until 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20;

BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.

2. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 40.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.

4. Überprüfung des Stalag V D, BArch B 162/17648– 17650.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) V E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag V E (map 4f) from Frontstalag 213 on December 1, 1940, in Mühlhausen (today Mulhouse, France), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V. On March 19, 1942, Stalag V E ceased to be an independent camp and was redesignated as a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag V D in Strasbourg.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District V (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* V). Despite being a permanent camp in Germany, Stalag V E had field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 463, issued between July 12, 1941, and January 26, 1942, and struck on March 1, 1945.

Stalag V E held French, Polish, and British prisoners of war. The maximum number of prisoners was 4,300.[2] The Germans treated the prisoners decently and the conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source material about the Stalag V E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag V E).

Additional information about Stalag V E can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 16; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 310.

NOTES

1. A list of prisoner of war camps (Stalag and Oflag) in the Wehrkreisen 1–XXI, 1939 until 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 310.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI A (map 4a) on October 10, 1939, in Hemer, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). The camp commandant was Major Naendrup and his deputy was Major Welker.[2]

Stalag VI A was one of the largest prisoner of war (POW) camps in Germany, with a maximum population of 106,811 in July 1944; the camp population remained above 100,000 from December 1943 to at least January 1945. The first Polish prisoners arrived in the camp in October 1939. French and Belgian POWs were brought to the camp after the German campaign in Western Europe in the spring of 1940, along with a small number of British prisoners. French prisoners comprised the largest national group in the camp until the end of 1942. The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the camp in June 1941. Soviet prisoners began to arrive from the eastern front in September 1941, and, from January 1943 on, they were the largest prisoner group. Italian military prisoners were also sent to the camp beginning in December 1943 and thereafter made up the second-largest national group. Although the population of Stalag VI A was very large, only a fraction of the prisoners actually resided in the main camp; the vast majority were assigned to labor details (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp.[3] Prisoners in these labor details worked 9–10 hours a day, except those in industry, who worked 12–14 hours; they were allowed two Sundays off work per month.[4] There was also a hospital (*Lazarett*) within the camp, which had a capacity of 1,000 prisoners.[5]

Stalag VI A was located in barracks that had originally been built for the city garrison of Hemer in 1934, although the buildings were still unfinished when the first prisoners arrived. The Polish

prisoners briefly lived in tents in the fore-camp (*Vorlager*) before they were allowed into the main camp. At this time, the Jewish prisoners were separated from the other Poles. For the first few months, the Polish prisoners had to sleep on the floor until the wooden plank beds were built. Most Polish prisoners worked outside the camp in the labor details, with the exception of noncommissioned officers and craftsmen. Jews were sent to the hardest work, such as repairing streets in Hemer. Conditions in the camp during this time were poor, as they were in other camps for Polish POWs. Roman Curtis, a Polish prisoner who had concealed the fact that he was a Jew, recalled that the food was very bad until the first Western European prisoners arrived, when conditions improved dramatically. In 1940, the Germans transferred the Jewish prisoners to Stalag VIII A in Görlitz. The other Polish prisoners were also gradually transferred to other camps.[6]

The Germans generally treated the Western Allied prisoners decently and observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The prisoners' food rations, which were prepared in a large kitchen, were adequate according to a Red Cross observer who visited the camp on July 24, 1944. The observer reported that the sanitary facilities were decent and that the prisoners had the opportunity to take a hot shower once a week. He concluded that the conditions in the camp were "not bad, on the whole."[7]

However, by the last months of the war, conditions had deteriorated. US Army Air Force Flight Officer Robert Thomas, who arrived in Stalag VI A on April 9, 1945, a few days before the camp's liberation, testified that he had not received adequate food or medical care during his time there. He recalled that the prisoners' quarters were very crowded and that vermin were present. The sanitary facilities were inadequate for the number of prisoners, and they were only fed two bowls of watery soup and an eighth of a loaf of black bread each day. Water was also limited. He received only a fourth of a Red Cross parcel and noted that the German guards helped themselves to the food and cigarettes in the parcels.[8]

Western Allied prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities within the camp, as a YMCA observer documented during a visit on March 22, 1944. There was a French

Catholic priest as well as a Serbian Orthodox priest. The Polish and Belgian prisoners did not have their own religious leaders and instead attended the French mass. Some labor details had their own chaplains, while others received visits from priests who rotated among details during the week. There was a library with about 8,000 volumes, with about 6,500 volumes distributed among the prisoners in the labor details. There was a theater troupe consisting of between 16 and 20 men, with an eight-man orchestra; these groups performed in a theater hall that seated about 300. The prisoners played sports such as football and table tennis with equipment that the YMCA provided. These activities contributed to improved prisoner morale, despite the fact that some prisoners had been in the camp for several years by the time the YMCA observer visited.[9]

As in other camps, conditions for the Soviet prisoners in Stalag VI A were terrible; their treatment violated the established norms of international law regarding POWs. Their barracks were overcrowded, and they received insufficient food and medical care, which led to a high death rate due to malnutrition and disease. The hard labor the prisoners were expected to perform in the coal mines and industrial concerns of the Ruhr region further taxed their already weakened bodies. In January 1945, a coal mining company in Essen reported that at least 32 Soviet prisoners had fled from a labor detail subordinate to Stalag VI in the preceding month alone, primarily to escape from Allied bombing attacks.[10] According to the Stalag VI A Memorial, about 23,900 prisoners are believed to have died in the camp, the vast majority of whom were Soviet. Robert Thomas estimated that about 60 Soviet prisoners died each day during his stay in the camp in mid-April 1945.[11]

The American Seventh Armored Division liberated Stalag VI A on April 14, 1945. Some of the prisoners had been evacuated to Stalag VI B in Neu Versen earlier that month (including wounded prisoners who were force-marched along with healthy men), but about 20,000 prisoners remained in the camp until it was liberated.[12]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag VI A is located BA-MA; WASt (Stammtafel Stalag VI A); NARA (RG 59,

Box 127, File Stalag VI A-D, and RG 153, Box 86, File 100-919); and USHMMA (RG-15.499; RG-15.079M, Reel 24; and RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 229–237).

Additional information about Stalag VI A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 16; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 57–60; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 34.

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1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.
2. "Übersichtsliste der Kr.-Gef.-Lager," ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.7.14/0002/0046.
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 57–59.
4. Report of the ICRC, July 24, 1944, NARA, RG 53, Box 127, File Stalag VI A-D.
5. "Abschrift," ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.10116/0182.
6. Testimony of Roman Curtis, USHMMA, RG-50.583.0140.
7. Report of the ICRC, July 24, 1944, NARA, RG 53, Box 127, File Stalag VI A-D.
8. Testimony of Robert Stanley Thomas, F/O, NARA, RG 153, Box 86, File 100-919.
9. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 229–230.

10. “Lagebericht über Kriegsgefangene im Ruhrbergbau,” ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0004/0123.

11. Testimony of Robert Stanley Thomas, F/O, NARA, RG 153, Box 86, File 100-919.

12. Testimony of Major Earl William Fletcher, NARA, RG 153, Box 96, File 100-919.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI B (map 4a) on September 28, 1939, in Neu Versen, near Meppen, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. It had three subcamps (*Zweiglager*), located in Oberlangen, Fullen, and Wesuwe. On June 10, 1942, Stalag VI B ceased to be an independent camp and became a subcamp of Stalag VI C.[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

Stalag VI B initially held Polish prisoners of war (POWs), who arrived in late September and early October 1939. In 1940, French and Belgian POWs were placed in the camp, and, in 1941, Serbian and Soviet prisoners were added. The camp population reached a maximum of 21,632 in September 1941 but had declined to between 12,000 and 13,000 by the following spring.[2]

The Germans treated the Western Allied and Serbian prisoners decently and the conditions they experienced were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, the treatment of Soviet POWs and their living conditions were inhumane, and they experienced a high mortality rate, mainly from malnutrition and disease. From December 1, 1941, to April 1, 1942, the number of Soviet prisoners in the camp decreased by 1,869. Because the camp was in quarantine during this period due to a typhus epidemic and no prisoners were transferred in or out, it can be inferred that this decrease in population was entirely due to prisoner deaths.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VI B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 53-6/19) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI B).

Additional information about Stalag VI B can be found in the following publications: Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Dritten Reich, Beispiel Emsland: Dokumentation und Analyse zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1983); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 16; Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland 1933– 1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: BIS, 1985), pp. 28– 29; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 34.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 16.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI C on September 25, 1939, in Bathorn (today part of the municipality of Hoogstede), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. The camp headquarters was relocated to Münster in October 1944. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). The camp in Bathorn originated as one of the penal camps in the network of camps known as the Emslandlager; within that system, it was designated as Lager XIV. Bathorn, along with eight other Emsland camps, was handed over to the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) in September 1939.[1] The Wehrmacht initially anticipated that these camps would hold about 16,000 prisoners.[2] Stalag VI C had several subcamps—collectively designated Stalag VI C/Z—all of which had also been part of the Emslandlager system. The original Stalag VI C/Z camps were located at Alexisdorf (Lager XV), Dalum (Lager XII), Gross Hesepe (Lager XI), and Wietmarschen (Lager XIII). On May 13, 1942, Stalag VI C absorbed Stalag VI B in Neu Versen (formerly Lager IX), along with its subcamps at Fullen (Lager X), Oberlangen (Lager VI), and Wesuwe (Lager VIII).[3]

Stalag VI C was a large camp. It maintained a population of more than 20,000 prisoners for most of the war and reached its maximum population of 28,791 in October 1943. However, more than half of the prisoners registered in the camp were deployed outside the camp in labor details (*Arbeitskommandos*) and the total population figure reflects the population of the entire Stalag VI C complex, rather than that of the Bathorn camp by itself.[4] There were around 300 work details in the Emsland region, which were initially divided between Stalags VI B and VI C; when Stalag VI B was folded into Stalag VI C in May 1942, its work details were also transferred to Stalag VI C.[5] The prisoners in the camp

were initially employed in the conversion of the moors of the Emsland region into arable land, as were the prisoners in the northern Emsland camps, which remained under the control of the Reich Justice Ministry (*Reichsjustizministerium*). However, in 1941, there was a reorientation of the labor of the prisoners in the Emsland region in general. In the northern camps, about 80 percent of the prisoners were shifted to work in the defense industry in the Papenburg area and the remaining 20 percent were sent to work on the already-existing agricultural land in the region. However, in the camps in the Stalag VI C complex, this proportion was reversed: more than 80 percent of the prisoners were sent to agricultural labor and the remaining 20 percent to war-related industries or construction projects.[6]

The first prisoners in Stalag VI C were Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who arrived in the camp in October 1939. At the end of 1939, there were 4,886 Polish prisoners in the camp. After the German campaigns in Western Europe in 1940, French, Belgian, and (briefly) British POWs were brought to Stalag VI C. By September 1940, French prisoners were by far the largest group in the camp; there were 13,060 French prisoners, compared to only 2,206 Poles, 943 Belgians, and 343 British. In May 1941, Serbian prisoners captured during the German operations in the Balkans arrived at the camp. The first Soviet prisoners arrived in August 1941; thereafter, they were generally the second-largest population group in the camp after the French, before becoming the predominant prisoner group in the fall of 1944.[7] Most of the Soviet prisoners were kept in the subcamps (specifically, Alexisdorf, Dalum, Fullen, Oberlangen, Wesuwe, and Wietmarschen) rather than at the main camp in Bathorn.[8] On September 12, 1943, the first of more than 11,000 Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp, although some were subsequently transferred to other camps.[9] Finally, on October 2, 1944, about 3,000 women of the Polish Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*, AK), who had been captured during the Warsaw Uprising, were brought to Oberlangen, making that subcamp the only camp in Nazi Germany that exclusively held female POWs.[10]

As in other camps, the Polish prisoners whom the Germans captured early in the war lived in poor conditions. Most of the Polish prisoners were sent to work cultivating the moorlands.

These included officers, whom the Germans forced to work, despite the stipulation in the Geneva Convention of 1929 that only enlisted men can be required to work. The Polish prisoners held at Stalag VI C were not subsequently reclassified as civilians and converted into forced laborers as Polish POWs in other camps were.[11]

The French, Belgian, and British prisoners in the camp fared somewhat better. The Germans generally observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention in their treatment of Western Allied prisoners. The French prisoners created a lively cultural environment in the camp, including an orchestra and a theater troupe.[12] The French and Belgian prisoners were also quickly sent to work as agricultural laborers. Little information is available about the Serbian prisoners who were held at Stalag VI C; Serbian prisoners were generally treated better than Polish and Soviet POWs but usually not as well as Western Allied prisoners.

The Polish, Western Allied, and Serbian POWs had access to recreational, cultural, and religious activities within the camp and in some of the work details. There was a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister in the camp, both of whom conducted services in French; the Polish Catholic prisoners attended the French-language services. By October 1942, there was also a Serbian Orthodox priest in the camp.[13] There was a camp library with approximately 5,500 books as of May 1942, the majority of which were in French. By April 1943, the number of books had increased to more than 14,000, including more than 800 in Polish and almost 900 in Serbian.[14] Teachers and professionals among the prisoners taught courses on various subjects, including languages, geography, history, mathematics, and technical subjects. There was a 25-man orchestra as well as a 17-man theater troupe that provided entertainment for the other prisoners. These activities were generally performed in French, but Polish prisoners nonetheless attended the shows. There was also a French-language camp newspaper, called *Le Canard en barbelé* (*The barbed duck*). The prisoners also had opportunities to play sports; as of mid-May 1942, there were 12 soccer teams, 14 volleyball teams, and 13 basketball teams in the camp. Other physical activities included boxing and discus throwing. Sports equipment was provided primarily by the YMCA.[15]

As in other camps, Soviet POWs received the worst treatment, in violation of the norms established by the Geneva Conventions. In the Stalag VI C system, Alexisdorf, Dalum, Gross Hesepe, and Wietmarschen functioned as "Russian camps" (*Russenlager*, a term used for camps reserved solely for Soviet prisoners), where prisoners were kept under horrible conditions.[16] Because of the length of the trip from the Soviet Union to Stalag VI C in Western Germany, many of the Soviet prisoners were already in very poor shape when they arrived at the camp and died shortly thereafter. Those who reached the camp alive faced extremely harsh conditions, including insufficient food rations (mostly consisting of watery soup and ersatz bread), minimal medical care, and overcrowded housing, which facilitated the spread of diseases such as typhus and dysentery. By September 1941, there were 22,461 Soviet prisoners in the two Emsland Stalags. Thousands of Soviet prisoners died in Stalag VI C between the fall of 1941 and the spring of 1942, mainly due to malnutrition and disease. There is no information indicating that the "weeding out" operations (in which Jews and political commissars were identified and executed or sent to concentration camps and killed) that were performed at other camps for Soviet POWs were carried out at Stalag VI C.[17]

After the spring of 1942, conditions improved somewhat as Soviet prisoners began to be used as forced laborers, although the prisoners continued to die at a high rate due to exhaustion and malnutrition. Unlike the Polish and Western Allied prisoners, the Soviet prisoners were primarily sent to work on infrastructure construction and maintenance projects in the nearby area. Between 14,250 and 26,250 Soviet POWs died in Stalag VI B and VI C (existing statistics do not indicate the death tolls for Soviet prisoners in each camp individually).[18] Dead Soviet prisoners from the Emsland Stalags were buried in mass graves near Alexisdorf, Dalum, Fullen, Oberlangen, Wesuwe, and Wietmarschen.[19]

The first Italian military prisoners were brought to Stalag VI C in September 1943. As of October 1, 1943, there were more than 11,000 of them in the camp. There were 5,000 Italian officers confined in the Oberlangen camp alone as of March 1944. The Germans generally treated Italian prisoners quite poorly, giving them smaller food rations than Western Allied prisoners and keeping them in overcrowded conditions. In January 1944, the

Germans offered increased food rations to Italian prisoners who were willing to work. There were 872 Italian prisoners who died in Stalag VI C, at least 404 of them in Fullen in 1944 alone. These prisoners were buried in the Gross Fullen cemetery.[20]

The final group of prisoners brought to the camp were Polish women who had fought with the Home Army during the Warsaw Uprising between August and October 1944. The first prisoners arrived at Stalag VI C on December 18 of that year. There were about 3,000 Polish women who were taken prisoner during the uprising, of whom over half were sent to Stalag VI C. The Polish women, confined to the camp in Oberlangen, created a very organized camp structure, led by Lieutenant Irena Mileska (aka Jaga). They set up a system of religious and intellectual activities in the camp to maintain morale and solidarity against the Germans. One barrack within the camp was converted into a chapel, and, in another, lessons were taught on a variety of academic subjects. The cultural activities in the Polish women's camp at Oberlangen were some of the most organized within the entire Emsland POW camp system.[21]

In January 1944, Stalag VI C was dissolved and folded into Stalag VI F in Münster.[22] The Oberlangen camp was liberated by the Polish 1st Armored Division on April 12, 1945. The 1,728 female Polish prisoners in the camp were transferred to the abandoned camp at Neusustrum, northwest of Oberlangen, where they could be kept in better conditions.[23]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag VI C is located in BA-MA and USHMMA (2010.459.1, 2015.155.1, and RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 243–253).

Additional information about Stalag VI C can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Wanda Gutowska-Lesisz, *Oberlangen: Stalag VI C: 1944–45* (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1989); Habbo Knoch, "Die Emslandlager 1933– 1945," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 2, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005),

pp. 556–563; Karl Liedke, "Völkerrecht und Massensterben: Die Kriegsgefangenenlager im Emsland und in der Grafschaft Bentheim 1939–1945," in *Hölle im Moor: Die Emslandlager 1933–1945*, ed. Bernd Faulenbach and Andrea Kaltofen (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017), pp. 195–215; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 61–64; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 17; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 133–134; Werner Rohr, *Lager unterm Hakenkreuz—Reichsarbeitsdienst, Kriegsgefangene und Flüchtlinge in der Grafschaft Bentheim* (Bad Bentheim: Hellendoom, 1990); Gisela Schwarze, *Gefangen in Münster: Kriegsgefangene, Zwangsarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiterinnen 1939 bis 1945* (Essen: Klartext, 1999); Elke Suhr and Werner Boldt, *Lager im Emsland 1933–1945: Geschichte und Gedenken* (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystem der Universität Oldenburg, 1985). See also Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum (DIZ) Emslandlager, Papenburg at www.diz-emslandlager.de.

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NOTES

1. Liedke, "Völkerrecht und Massensterben," p. 195.
2. Suhr and Boldt, *Lager im Emsland*, p. 28.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 17. NB: Mattiello and Vogt erroneously omit the Dalum subcamp, which was transferred to the Luftwaffe in 1942.
4. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 62–63.

5. Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” p. 195.
6. Knoch, “Die Emslandlager 1933–1945,” p. 557.
7. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 61–62.
8. Knoch, “Die Emslandlager 1933–1945,” p. 558.
9. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 62–63.
10. Knoch, “Die Emslandlager 1933–1945,” p. 561.
11. Ibid., p. 557.
12. Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” p. 202.
13. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 249.
14. Ibid., p. 246.
15. Ibid., pp. 251–253.
16. Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” p. 204.
17. Ibid., p. 205.
18. Knoch, “Die Emslandlager 1933–1945,” p. 559.
19. Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” p. 208.
20. Ibid., p. 211.
21. Knoch, “Die Emslandlager 1933–1945,” p. 561; Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” pp. 211–213.
22. Schwarze, *Gefangen in Münster*, p. 64.
23. Liedke, “Völkerrecht und Massensterben,” p. 213.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI D (map 4a) on September 30, 1939, in Dortmund, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

The five camp commandants of Stalag VI D were officers from World War I. Their average age was 53. They were Oberstleutnant Kurt Vilmar (b. 1882), from September 29, 1939, to April 14, 1940; Oberst Wilhelm Eck (b. 1870), from April 15, 1940, to June 21, 1942; Oberstleutnant Otto Rotenberg (b. 1883), from June 22, 1942, to March 31, 1943; Oberst Erich Steiniger (b. 1889), from April 1, 1943, to September 24, 1944; and Oberst Ernst Schmidt-Vogelsang (b. 1894) from November 15, 1944, to the end of March 1945.[2] The prisoners were guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 468. It was composed of older men and men who were only partially fit for military service, and it was subordinate to the 406th Division z.b.V. from the summer of 1940.[3] In January 1940, 350 members of the battalion were quartered in the Catholic Church School and 250 more were quartered in the Vereinshaus Hospice in the city center of Dortmund.

The first prisoners in Stalag VI D were Polish prisoners of war (POWs) whom the Germans captured in the campaign in Poland in September 1939. In 1940, French, Belgian, and British prisoners arrived at the camp. In April 1941, Serbs joined the population. In August 1941, the first Soviet prisoners arrived. Finally, in the fall of 1943, Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp. On October 1, 1944, there were 62,125 POWs in the camp, including 24,162 French, 664 Belgians, 473 Poles, 1,427 Serbs, 30,926 Soviets, and 4,473 Italians.[4] The maximum prisoner population in the camp was 77,700.[5]

From September 1939 to August 1941, Stalag VI D was located in the largest multipurpose hall in the Ruhr area, the Westfalenhalle. The interior room covered an area of almost 10,000 square meters (108,000 square feet). In the first two years of the war, the number of prisoners quartered in the hall varied from about 3,000 to 5,000. In June 1940, the army began to expand Stalag VI D into the neighboring property of the former Volkspark. Gradually, wooden barracks were constructed there, in which a core workforce of about 10,000 prisoners lived. Eventually, the barracks covered an area of about 17 hectares (42 acres).

For most of the prisoners, Stalag VI D was essentially a transit camp. The State Labor Office of Westfalen (*Landesarbeitsamt Westfalen*), located in Dortmund, was responsible for their distribution to various employers. In Dortmund alone, there were approximately 300 labor details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that Stalag VI D supervised. Almost every industrial concern, colliery, private business, farm, and craftsman, as well as the city and regional governments, employed POW forced laborers from Stalag VI D. The largest employers of prisoners from Stalag VI D built their own camps near their plants, in which their laborers lived. These included the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks AG, Hoesch AG, and Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenverein in Dortmund. Other employers of POWs included the Zollern Colliery, Minister Achenbach, Hansa/Westhausen, Minister Stein, and Fürst Hardenberg. The city of Dortmund used POW labor to clean up bombing debris after Allied air raids from September 1944 to March 1945.[6] The prisoners who were not immediately sent to a labor detail made up the permanent camp population. They were mainly enlisted men, with only a few officers among them. They worked on maintaining the infrastructure of the camp; as doctors, nurses, or barbers; in the German soldiers' canteen; or in the prisoners' kitchen.

The treatment of the Western prisoners by the German administrators and guards was proper, and conditions for these prisoners were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, the treatment of the Soviet prisoners was inhumane and violated the standards established by the Geneva Convention. They faced overcrowding, malnutrition,

and disease, which led to a high mortality rate. The Germans conducted selections of the newly arrived Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables" (such as Jews and political commissars) who were sent to the nearest concentration camp for execution.[7] Exact figures for the number of deaths in Stalag VI D are not available. It is assumed that more than 6,000 prisoners died as a result of abuse, hunger, sickness, exhaustion, and Allied bombings. Reports of POW killings are scarce. However, some isolated incidents of shootings of Soviet prisoners (in uncertain circumstances) are known.[8]

The French prisoners carried out daily gymnastic exercises to maintain physical fitness and regularly played football. For cultural activities, the prisoners had a library, an orchestra, and a theater group.[9] There were no labor details as such in the camp itself. The prisoners were strictly forbidden from having social contacts with German civilians, although they were allowed relative freedom of movement within the camp.[10] Illegal contacts occurred, though, such as under-the-table exchanges of goods between prisoners and civilians.[11]

Beginning in the winter of 1943, there were illegal resistance groups among the prisoners. The resistance groups united prisoners of various nationalities, namely French, Serbian, Belgian, Soviet, and Italian; even some Germans were persuaded to support the resistance. Their activities included, among others, the distribution of leaflets. The purposes of these leaflets included providing information about the war on the eastern front, counteracting German propaganda, calling for acts of sabotage in industrial concerns, and establishing ground rules for conducting illegal activities. The infirmary of Stalag VI D functioned as the center from which the resistance groups in the various labor details could be organized and controlled.[12] A testimony to the organized labor resistance is the paper "Friends on the Ruhr and Rhine," which was published by the Soviet prisoners and distributed by German resistance groups.[13] This example also demonstrates that there were solidarity actions between the prisoners and civilians.

In view of the extremely difficult living conditions experienced by the Soviet prisoners, in particular, as well as the Italian military prisoners, it is unsurprising that many prisoners attempted to flee from Stalag VI D. However, very few of these attempts were

successful; most of the escapees were thwarted or killed.[14] One hundred and six prisoners attempted to flee from the main camp at Stalag VI D in February 1942; in March 1942, this number climbed to 383.[15] Since the number of prisoners in the main camp at this time was only 1,632, the number of prisoners who attempted to escape increased from 6.5 percent to 23.5 percent; that is, almost every fourth prisoner attempted to escape.[16]

Many of the flights from the labor details occurred with the support of civilian forced laborers and also with the help of German laborers. At times, civilian laborers provided the POWs with tickets (sometimes traded for chocolate or cigarettes) or allowed them to use their passports, or even provided them with money. In addition, Germans traded primarily with French prisoners for chocolate, cigarettes, and preserves from the prisoners' food parcels, which were provided by the International Red Cross. Through "this black market of goods in short supply," the prisoners supported their escapes, along with the cooperation of shopkeepers who ignored the prohibition for POWs to possess German money.[17] One should note that Soviet POWs generally did not have these options, however.

Among the French prisoners in Stalag VI D was the well-known French writer Robert Merle, who went on to win the highest French literary honor, the Prix Goncourt, in 1949. After the German invasion of France in May 1940, he was brought to Dortmund and forced to work in a factory. With the support of laborers who opposed the Nazi regime, he was able to learn German. However, his escape attempt failed, and he spent three years in German captivity.[18]

On the night of May 22–23, 1944, the Westfalenhalle— which, since January 1943, was once again used as an event hall—was bombed, and the neighboring barracks were severely damaged. Another bombing on February 20–21, 1945, completely destroyed the camp. Some of the prisoners remained, totally in shock as a result of the bombardment, while others used the chaotic situation as an opportunity to escape; an unknown number of prisoners were killed. On April 3, 1945, the prisoners from Stalag VI D were transferred to Stalag VI A in Hemer, where tents had been erected for them after the destruction of the main camp; however, the camp command personnel remained at Dortmund.[19] The prisoners

were liberated shortly after their arrival at Stalag VI A, on April 14, 1945.

The first criminal proceedings connected with Stalag VI D, regarding the *Aussonderung* ("weeding out") of Soviet POWs of Jewish ancestry and other so-called undesirables by the Gestapo office in Münster, were undertaken by the Central Office of the State Justice Administration for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg in 1965 and 1966. The witnesses in this case stated that there had been no *Aussonderungen* in Stalag VI D.[20] In January 1992, two former Wehrmacht soldiers were prosecuted for the murder of prisoners in March 1945. Since there was no information about the accused available in Ludwigsburg, the matter was passed on to the Central Office of the State of Nordrhein-Westfalen for the Processing of Criminal Proceedings for National Socialist Mass Crimes at the Public Prosecutor's Office in Dortmund. It opened an investigation of a captain and a sergeant in the camp for murder or aiding and abetting murder, because they had built neither air-raid shelters nor ditches for the prisoners. In addition, they had forbidden the prisoners to leave the barracks during the air raids, causing the deaths of about 245 men. The investigation was closed in November 1992 because the perpetrators could not be found.[21]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VI D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453 and RH 53-6/19: Stammlager VI B, C, D, F, H); the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI D); NARA (RG 389); TNA (FO 916/22; FO 916/242); BArch B 162/6568 ("Aussonderung" von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2).

Additional information about Stalag VI D can be found in the following publications: Anatolij Aslanow, *Von der Wolga an die Ruhr: Begegnungen mit Deutschen in Krieg und Frieden* (Cologne: Röderberg, 1987); Kurt Klotzbach, *Gegen den Nationalsozialismus: Widerstand und Verfolgung in Dortmund 1930–1945* (Hannover: Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1969); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und*

Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 17; Regina Mentner, "Medizinische Versorgung in Stammlagern: Zwangsarbeitende und Kriegsgefangene im Stalag VI D Dortmund. Der 'Ausländereinsatz' im Gesundheitswesen (1939–1945)," in *Historische und ethnische Probleme der NS-Medizin*, ed. Andreas Frewer, Bernhard Bremberger, and Günther Siedbürger (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009), pp. 67–96; and "Stalag VI D," in *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre*, Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau (Paris, 1945), pp. 156–162.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 17.

2. Personalkarte Wilhelm Eck, RW 59/2130, BA-MA; NSDAP-Zentralkartei, Otto Rotenberg, Mitgl. No. 72606, BA Berlin (ehem. BDC). Personalkarte Otto Rotenberg, RW 59/2130, BA-MA; NW 1116-3302 (Entnazifizierungsakte Kurt Vilmar), Landesarchiv NRW (LAV NRW), Abt. Rheinland. NSDAP-Zentralkartei, Kurt Vilmar, Mitgl. No. 3753720, BA Berlin (ehem. BDC). Personalkarte Kurt Vilmar, RW 59/2130, BA-MA; Personalkarte Erich Steiniger, RW 59/2130; Personalakte Erich Steiniger, Pers 6/11687, OKH, Heeres-Personalamt, BA-MA; Personalkarte Ernst Schmidt-Vogelsang, RW 59/2130; Personalakte Ernst, Anton, Heinrich, Adolf Schmidt-Vogelsang, Pers 6/7710, OKH, Heeres-Personalamt, BA-MA.

3. Bestand 45 Tiefbauamt, Kreis Beckum, Kreisarchiv Warendorf. Eintrag Kriegschronik, 6.10.1939, 424-1, StadtA Do.

4. BA-MA, RW 6: 276, Bl. 2.

5. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 17.

6. 120-Zg. 42/1965-51, StadtA Do.

7. "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI," BArch B 162/6568.

8. Giuseppe Barbero, "Kreuz hinter Drahtverhau (Erlebnisse aus der Gefangenschaft)," in *So wie es eigentlich gewesen. Erinnerungen Hagener Zeitzeugen*, pt. 2, ed. Hagener Geschichtsverein e.V., *Hagener Geschichtshefte* 5 (Hagen, 2002): 17–92.

9. Additional information about recreational and cultural activities in the camp can be found in the USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, 1940–1945, Reel 2.

10. M.-Stammlager VI D, Gruppe Abwehr, Tgb.No. III Fm. 2423 an die Geheime Staatspolizei, Dortmund-Hörde, Benninghoferstr. 16, 17.11.1944, Sondergericht Dortmund, No. 1049, LAV NRW, Abt. Westfalen.

11. Aslanow, *Von der Wolga an die Ruhr*, p. 85.

12. Ibid., p. 56.

13. Reproduced in Hans Junge, Margret Pawlik, and Hans Grüning, *Ein deutscher Antifaschist kämpft und stirbt gemeinsam mit sowjetischen Patrioten* (Dortmund, self-published, 1973).

14. Giacomo Cimarelli, *Il Diario*, copy in possession of the author [Mentner]. Original in Istituto storica della resistenza in Toscana, Busta 04, Fasc. 30; Statistisches Landesamt NRW, Blatt zum Sterbefall des sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen Fjodor Gorjatschjew mit dem Vermerk "auf der Flucht erschossen," Totenschein Fjodor Gorjatschjew, Standesamt Dortmund-Dorstfeld, February 1961, StadtA Do.

15. Stellvertretender Kommandant Hartwig, Stalag VI, Tgb. No.

III/1806/42, Gruppe Abwehr an die 1. Komp. Ldsch. Batl. 474, Warendorf, 9.4.1942, C 9, Bd. 1, Stadtarchiv Harsewinkel.

16. Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen in den Mannschaftsstammlagern im Reich, RW 6: 450–453, BA-MA.

17. Stellvertretender Kommandant Hartwig, Stalag VI, Tgb. No. III/1806/42, Gruppe Abwehr an die 1. Komp. Ldsch. Batl. 474, Warendorf, 9.4.1942, C 9, Bd. 1, Stadtarchiv Harsewinkel.

18. Kurt Lhotzky and Andrea Traxler, "Mit Feder und Degen. Robert Merle, Grandseigneur des historischen Romans," *Wiener Zeitung* (May 4, 2001).

19. "Prisoners of War: General Notes," ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0028.

20. 302 AR-Z 30/65, Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen, Ludwigsburg. Staatsanwaltschaft Münster, No. 494 (P 30 Js 145/68) und Staatsanwaltschaft Hagen, No. 885 (11 Js 533/70), LAV NRW, Abt. Westfalen.

21. Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Verfahren/Strafsache 45 Js 9/92, wegen Mord bzw. Beihilfe zum Mord, Zentralstelle des Landes NRW für die Bearbeitung von nationalsozialistischen Massenverbrechen bei der Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund. Die Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen, Ludwigsburg, No. 109 AR-Z 316/91.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI E (map 4a) on November 15, 1939, in Soest, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI.[1] The camp was redesignated as Offizierslager VI A on June 5, 1940. Stalag VI E was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI).

Stalag VI E initially held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). In 1940, French, Belgian, and British POWs were sent to the camp. The Germans treated the prisoners decently and the conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source material about the Stalag VI E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); in WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI E); and TNA (WO 309/1982).

Additional information about Stalag VI E can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 17.

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NOTE

1. List of prisoner of war camps (Stalag and Oflag) in the Wehrkreisen I–XXI, 1939 until 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche*

Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen, p. 17.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI F

The Wehrmacht issued the order to establish Stalag VI F from Dulag F in Köln-Deutz on October 3, 1939. On November 5, it was ordered to move to a location near Bocholt, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, as soon as facilities there were ready. The actual move and designation change took place sometime after December 1. In September 1944, the camp was transferred to Münster (map 4a). Stalag VI F had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Dorsten, which was designated Stalag VI F/Z. In October 1944, the camp also took over Stalag VI C and its subcamps in Alexisdorf, Wietmarschen, Gross Hesepe, Neu Versen, and Fullen.[1] American forces liberated the camp on April 2, 1945.

The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). From May 1942 until September 1944, the camp commandant was Oberst Hans Jauch (1883–1965). The last camp commander was Obersleutnant Simon.[2]

Stalag VI F at Bocholt. Camp entrance, September 1942.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The first prisoners in Stalag VI F were Polish prisoners of war (POWs) who arrived in the fall of 1939. They were followed by French, Belgians, and British in 1940, Serbs and Greeks in April 1941, Soviets in October 1941, Italian military internees in the fall of 1943, and Americans and Romanians in 1944. The maximum camp population was 36,200.[3] At the time of its liberation, the camp held a variety of prisoners including: 1,738 Soviets, 499 Italians, 176 Serbs, 143 Greeks, 106 Romanians, 29 Belgians, and 10 Poles.[4]

The majority of prisoners were assigned to work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[5] Among the main tasks the prisoners performed were clearing land and digging trenches approximately 5–6 kilometers (3.1–3.7 miles) from the camp.[6] Some Soviet POWs were sent to a work detachment in Düsseldorf-Reisholz. As in many other such detachments for Soviet prisoners, the men were kept in horrible conditions. German records indicate that numerous prisoners in this work detail died from malnutrition-related conditions[7] as well as diseases such as tuberculosis.[8]

The camp at Bocholt comprised five blocks of four barracks each, separated by barbed wire; it was enclosed by two rows of barbed wire approximately 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high with four guard towers.[9] The facilities at Bocholt were generally adequate. This was not the case after the camp moved to Münster. There, food preparation facilities were inadequate and the water supply was nonfunctional. Sanitary facilities were virtually nonexistent. Living space was badly overcrowded due to an inadequate number of barracks; while the buildings themselves were in decent shape, the conditions within them were filthy. There was no electricity in the camp for several months prior to liberation, nor were there any supplies in the camp canteen.[10]

Western Allied prisoners were treated decently by the German guards and administrators. Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The prisoners in the camp at Bocholt had access to recreational and cultural activities. The

camp had a Catholic chapel, which was described by observers as being very well built and ornate. Daily morning mass and larger Sunday services were held; around 100 men could attend each service. The masses were conducted in French, although Dutch-speaking Belgian and Polish prisoners also participated. The camp library had over 9,000 volumes in French and more than 1,500 in Serbo-Croatian. There was a "very good" orchestra and a theater group performed plays and other shows weekly.[11] The prisoners had the opportunity to participate in sports, the most popular of which was football.

By contrast, the Soviet POWs were treated very poorly and lived in squalid conditions even before the move to Münster. There were at least 1,736 deaths among the Soviet prisoners; the names of 403 of these prisoners are unknown.[12] Regular selections (*Aussonderungen*) of "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, were conducted; those selected were taken to nearby concentration camps for execution.[13]

In the months prior to the camp's liberation, particularly after its relocation to Münster, conditions for all prisoners deteriorated badly. Prisoners' food supplies were inadequate, consisting mostly of soup and turnips; the men received on average around 1,200 calories a day, well below the daily caloric needs of an adult. When the Americans arrived, they found around 1,500 sick prisoners, nearly half the camp population; the majority of the illnesses were cases of tuberculosis, of which 50 were in the contagious stage. There had been 226 deaths among the prisoners (mostly Soviets) in the three months prior to the arrival of American forces. The prisoners had not received parcels from the Red Cross, which were a vital lifeline for prisoners late in the war, since June 1944.[14]

The liberated prisoners accused the camp doctor, Georg Hollstein, of allowing Soviet inmates to die of malnutrition and treatable medical conditions. The German camp personnel fled the camp about an hour before the arrival of the Americans, evacuating about 1,500 prisoners with them, at least 26 of whom were Americans.[15] Orders from the Allied forces to the newly liberated prisoners to stay put in the camp were not heeded; as many as 1,000 Russian POWs left the camp.[16]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VI F is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI F); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 10: Stalag 6F Bocholt [Dulag] Prussia 52-06); USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and BArch B 162/6568 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI).

Additional information about Stalag VI F can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 17; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag VI F," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 163–169; Gisela Scheder-Wedekind and Wolfgang Scheder, "Hilfe bei der Schicksalsklärung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener," *Informationen aus dem Osten für den Westen* 1 (2007): 95; Gisela Schwarze, *Gefangen in Münster: Kriegsgefangene, Zwangsarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiterinnen 1939 bis 1945* (Münster, 2008); and Marcus Weidner, *Nur Gräber als Spuren: Das Leben und Sterben von Kriegsgefangenen und "Fremdarbeitern" in Münster während der Kriegszeit 1939–1945* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1984). See also POW Camp Stalag VI F at http://www.stalag-vi-f.de.vu/.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 17.

2. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/256.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 17.

4. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/256.

5. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag VI F," pp. 167–169. See the supplement for a list of the main *Arbeitskommandos*.

6. Rapport Définitif No. 74 Bocholt, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0025/0062.

7. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen), Semen Kajuschka, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.2/0002/0064.

8. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen), Andrej Bolotow, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.2/0001/0082.

9. Rapport Définitif No. 74 Bocholt, ITS Digital Archive, 2.3.5.1/0025/0030.

10. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/256-7.

11. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 275–276.

12. Scheder-Wedekind and Scheder, "Hilfe bei der Schicksalsklärung," 95.

13. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI, BArch B 162/6568.

14. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/256.

15. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/257.

16. TNA, WO 229/12/255.1-1/258.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI G

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI G (map 4a) in September 1939 in Bergisch-Gladbach, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. On September 15, 1941, it relocated to Bonn-Duisdorf. The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). The camp commandant was Leopold Crede.[1] Stalag VI G was liberated by American forces on April 10, 1945.

The first prisoners in Stalag VI G were Polish prisoners of war (POWs). In 1940, French, Belgian, and British POWs arrived, followed by Serbians in April 1941, Soviets in August 1941, and Italian military internees in the fall of 1943. On October 1, 1944, the camp held 14,934 French, 10 British, 29 Belgian, 2,179 Polish, 1,112 Serbian, 12,672 Soviet, and 362 Italian prisoners, for a total of 31,298.[2]

Stalag VI G had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Arnoldsweiler, near Düren (relocated to Bergneustadt on December 1, 1944).[3] At its largest, the subcamp in Arnoldsweiler had several compounds. The largest, for Russian POWs, consisted of 16 large barracks and two washrooms. A smaller compound held French POWs in 5 barracks. The French prisoners had their own camp hospital as well as access to various workstations for mending clothing or repairing shoes.[4]

The camp had two additional subcamps in Hardthöhe and Waldbröl. Hardthöhe, the larger of the two, served as the principal headquarters for the Stalag VI G administrative staff. This area of the camp held barracks for administration and guards as well as a small economic sector. The remainder of the camp consisted of the POW camp hospital and, by late 1944, an expanded set of barracks for POWs. This camp also served as a transit camp (*Auffanglager*) for POWs from the western front.

The second camp, in Waldbröl, provided operational support for the principal Stalag VI G camp. This subcamp consisted primarily of a large stone four-story building. The building contained offices for camp leadership as well as a small prison.[5]

The nearby military hospital at Lingen-Thuin tended to medical cases from Stalag VI G. This hospital comprised three sections: a surgical ward, isolation unit, and general infirmary. While many camp hospitals were hastily constructed and frequently unsanitary units, the Lingen-Thuin complex was modern and more than sufficient for tending to the sick and wounded. International observers regarded the facilities as "perfect." Prisoners had regular access to baths, sheets and clothing were changed frequently, and dressings were cleaned and sterilized as needed. In July 1944, the camp still had excellent reserves of medicine and treatments and remained in many respects a model camp hospital.[6]

Even with the overall high quality of the hospital itself, prisoners still suffered from having insufficient clothing and food. Particularly since ill POWs were expected to receive a higher food ration than others, the lack of food within the camp made them ever more reliant on supplemental nutrition from Red Cross parcels. As for clothing, though undergarments were routinely cleaned, prisoners received only a single hospital gown upon entering the facility and no clothing reserves existed within the hospital.[7]

The majority of prisoners worked outside the camp in labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[8] Many of the prisoners in the camp's labor detachments were employed in agriculture; however, some Polish, French, and Soviet prisoners were employed by various industrial firms in the area, including Massey Harris and Gebrüder Faber in the Ensen district of Köln.[9]

British and American POWs began arriving in Stalag VI G in mid-1943. The camp, however, was never primarily intended for American and British POWs. Instead, they were treated at the camp hospital before being relocated to nearby POW camps.[10] Their treatment was considered correct and better than many comparable hospitals.[11] Not until late 1944 did overcrowding present a problem in the camp hospitals.[12]

Western Allied prisoners were treated decently by the guards.

Conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). Western prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities in the camp. There were two churches located on the campgrounds: one in the main camp and one in the infirmary (*Lazarett*). While the French prisoners had a large library available to them, only a small number of Polish and Serbo-Croatian books were available. There was a 25-man orchestra and a theater group, although the latter was no longer active by the spring of 1944. Prisoners participated in a wide range of physical activities; among the most popular were football, boxing, and table tennis.[13]

The Soviet prisoners, by contrast, were treated poorly and lived in terrible conditions. The death rate among the Soviets in the camp was high, mainly due to malnutrition and disease. A former German civilian worker at Stalag VI G reported that the camp was quarantined due to a typhus epidemic between early November and mid-December 1941; this epidemic claimed the lives of a large number of Soviet prisoners.[14]

SOURCES Primary source material on Stalag VI G is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453, RH49/125 and RH49/142); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI G); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 11: Stalag 6G Bonn Rheinland, Prussia 50-07).

Additional information about Stalag VI G can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 18; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 170–176; *Souvenons-nous—Jean Bernier, prisonnier, Stalag VI-G, Kdo 624 Cologne: "temoin du Christ," condamne par les nazis pour activite scoute, mort de…: Köln, Buchenwald, Dachau* (Comite Fidelite Jean Bernier, 1990); and Vasilis

Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). See also Stalag VI G Bonn-Duisdorf at www.sgvavia.ru/forum/113-548-1.

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NOTES

1. Personnel card of Col. Leopold Crede, Commander of Stalag VI G, August 9, 1944, NARA T 1021, 40-VI G, Vol. IV, Personalkarte.
2. BA-MA, RW 6: 276, S. 2 f.
3. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 18.
4. Lageplan, BA-MA, RH 49/72.
5. Erläuterung, Stalag VI/G (November 28, 1944), BAMA, RH 49/125.
6. Report by the International Red Cross (February 8, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
7. Ibid.
8. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag VI G," pp. 174–176. See the supplement for a list of the main *Arbeitskommandos*.
9. Suche nach Ausländer, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0084/0058.
10. Memorandum, US Office of Censorship (ca. late summer 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
11. Report by the International Red Cross (September 16, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2149.
12. Report by the International Red Cross (July 27, 1944), NARA

II, RG 389, Box 2149.

13. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 292.

14. Ensen, Hohenstr. 70, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0092/0320.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI H

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI H (map 4a) on March 28, 1940, in Arnoldsweiler, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. On October 16, 1941, the camp was redeployed to Borisov, in occupied Belorussia. On April 29, 1942, it was redesignated as Stalag 382.[1] Stalag VI H received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 08 116 between April 28 and September 14, 1940. That number was struck between September 15, 1940, and January 31, 1941. The camp received a new number, 46 256, between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. That number was struck between March 1 and September 7, 1942.

While it was deployed in Germany, the camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI), and, while it was deployed in occupied Belorussia, it was subordinate to the Prisoner of War District Commanders K and P (*Kriegsgefangenen-Bezirkskommandanten* K and P). The camp commandant was Major Wolff Graf von Metternich.

While it was located in Arnoldsweiler, Stalag VI H held Polish, French, British, Belgian, and Serbian prisoners of war (POWs). On September 1, 1941, there were 7,876 prisoners in the camp: 6,326 French, 972 Polish, and 578 Serbian.[2] While it was deployed in occupied Belorussia, the camp held Soviet POWs.

Stalag VI H was located west of Arnoldsweiler, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the rail station. The camp was divided between the Polish and Serbian camp to the north and the French and Belgian camp and camp hospital to the south.[3] The northern section of the camp was the largest. It was a large open area with eight barracks and a single wash unit on either side. To the east were several air raid ditches.

Across the camp road to the south was the French and Belgian

camp. The French prisoners lived in five wooden barracks, larger and older than those in the northern section, and had access to a large wash unit. There were originally only four barracks in the French and Belgian camp, with the remaining prisoners quartered in two large tents until the construction of the fifth barrack was completed in late 1940. Between 12 and 24 men slept in each room, on wooden double bunk beds. The unfortunate prisoners who lived in the tents in 1940 had to sleep on the ground, with only straw provided for bedding. The southern section of the camp had a small vegetable garden, as well as a facility used for breeding rabbits early in the war. Several open areas were used as recreation yards. In addition, there was a small library with 34 French and around 200 Polish books. Three Catholic priests read mass in both French and Polish.[4]

The southwest corner of the camp held several hospital units. New prisoners arriving at the camp were taken to the delousing station. The hospital itself was led by a German doctor named Heisler. There were originally four German doctors and two French doctors, along with four medical assistants. More seriously ill prisoners were sent to the reserve hospital in the city.[5]

Most of the prisoners in the camp during its deployment in Germany were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*). For example, in October 1940, nearly 10,000 prisoners, the large majority of them French, were in work details, while only 582 French and 181 Polish prisoners occupied the camp itself.[6]

The treatment of the Western prisoners by the German administrators and guards was decent and the conditions were in compliance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, the treatment of the Soviet prisoners in the camp in Borisov was inhumane, leading to a high mortality rate, primarily due to malnutrition and disease.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VI H is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 53-6/19; RH 22, 23); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI H); NARA (RG 59, Box 91); and TNA (FO 916/22).

Additional information about Stalag VI H can be found in the following publications: V. I. Adamuschko et al., eds., Soviet

Prisoners of War Camp in *Belarus, 1941–1944* (Minsk: NARB, 2004), 70–71; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 18; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 34.

NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 18.
2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
3. Lageplan (1943), BA-MA, RH 49/72.
4. Report of the YMCA (October 24, 1940), Stalag VI H, NARA, RG 59, Box 91.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VI J

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VI J (map 4a) in August 1940, in Krefeld-Fichtenhain, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI. In September 1944, the main camp was transferred to Dorsten, which had formerly been a subcamp (*Zweiglager*).[1] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VI). Even though it was a permanent camp on German soil, Stalag VI J did have a field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) for a brief time, 09 222, issued between April 28 and September 14, 1940, and struck between September 15, 1940, and January 31, 1941.

Stalag VI J held French, Belgian, British, Serbian, Soviet, and American prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military internees. The largest number of prisoners held at one time was 72,000.[2] Most prisoners were assigned to the more than 2,000 labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).[3] The Germans treated the Western Allied prisoners decently and the conditions were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The camp occupied a roughly triangular patch of land east of Dorsten, bounded to the north by the Lippe River and to the south by a canal.[4] The camp storage, administrative units, a German infirmary, and a small jail cell were located at the western end of the camp. To the south, off the main road to Dorsten, was the main entrance to the camp. While the entire camp was surrounded with barbed wire, a second row of fencing and wire further divided and secured the prisoners' living quarters, at the eastern end of the complex. Guard towers stood beyond the fencing. Within the prisoner complex, prisoners were divided into subunits by nationality. Prisoners lived in large barracks. By the end of November 1944, the main camp had 18 prisoner barracks. A large recreation area was located in the center of the prisoner compound.

Several rows of ditches for air-raid protection were located along the southern edge of this field.

During the last years of the war, conditions deteriorated sharply. By the time the first American prisoners arrived in the camp in 1944, the living conditions were quite poor. The American prisoners' barracks were of poor construction and allowed cold air to blow in from the outside. The heating stoves functioned properly, but the prisoners were not given sufficient fuel to keep them lit. They slept in wooden bunks with burlap mattresses filled with straw. The barracks were filled with lice, fleas, bedbugs, and other vermin, which multiple attempts by the Germans to fumigate the barracks failed to eradicate.[5]

The prisoners' food rations were also poor. They received a cup or two of ersatz coffee in the morning, a bowl of soup at noon, and one-seventh of a loaf of bread in the evenings. Occasionally, they received some margarine or molasses. The Germans sold the potatoes that were sent to the camp rather than distributing them to the prisoners. To get the potatoes, prisoners had to resort to selling clothing and jewelry to the Germans; Russian prisoners acted as intermediaries for these sales, in order to procure some potatoes for themselves.[6] American prisoners received half of a Red Cross food parcel every two weeks.

The camp hospital was one of the largest in the German POW camp system. Established in large stone barracks, the hospital had a 1,200-bed capacity. The hospital was divided between two barracks, one for prisoners with minor injuries and illnesses and another for more severe cases. Overcrowding, however, led to a patient load of as many as 1,600 by May 1944.[7] The majority of beds were two-tiered wooden bunks, while severely ill cases had single metal beds. Individual sections were allocated for treatment of dermatology and otolaryngology cases. The hospital also included an X-ray room and laboratory for analysis.

While facilities were generally above average in the early years of war, the hospital was characteristically undersupplied with medicine.[8] Moreover, as in the main camp, conditions deteriorated significantly later in the war. Food became a problem in the hospital by late July 1944 because it remained dependent on the main Stalag for rations. The food rations were similar to those in

the main camp: ersatz coffee in the morning, soup at noon, and bread in the evening. The water at the camp hospital was sufficient in quantity but had to be boiled prior to consumption. The prisoners' beds were infested with lice and bedbugs.[9]

The doctors at the camp were mainly French and Russian. The Germans gave them virtually no supplies; almost everything they had came from the French Red Cross. The German sergeant in charge of the hospital was described as an enormous man whom the prisoners called "The Pig" due to both his size and his cruel treatment of the prisoners.[10] After the liberation of the camp, he was shot by American soldiers.

Soviet POWs, by contrast, were treated horribly throughout the entire war. They received only minimal food rations and lived in extremely unsanitary conditions. Thousands of Soviet prisoners died from malnutrition,[11] from diseases such as tuberculosis and meningitis,[12] and at the hands of the camp guards.[13] American prisoners in the camp reported that the Soviet prisoners frequently died of starvation and that bodies were carried out of the Soviet section of the camp to be buried on a daily basis late in the war.[14] Soviet prisoners in the work details in the Düsseldorf area also occasionally fell victim to Allied bombing raids on or near their work sites, such as the attack on Stockum on January 11, 1943; by the last months of the war, even Western prisoners were not immune to the same fate.[15] Regular selections (*Aussonderungen*) were made from among Soviet POWs of "undesirables" (Jews and Communists), who were put to death in a nearby concentration camp.[16]

On February 20, 1945, a number of the wounded prisoners in the camp were evacuated to Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel; these men were driven nearly 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to Düsseldorf in an open truck in the rain, despite the fact that many of them had open wounds or had had limbs amputated.[17] Allied forces liberated Stalag VI J on March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VI J is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VI J); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 12: Stalag 6J

Krefeld Rheinland, Prussia 51-07); and BArch B 162/6568 (Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI).

Additional information about Stalag VI J can be found in the following publications: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag VI J," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 177–183; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 18–19.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I-XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 18–19.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 18–19.

3. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag VI J," pp. 181–183. See the supplement for a list of the main working commandos.

4. Lageplan (November 28, 1944), BA-MA, RH 49/155.

5. Testimony of S/Sgt. Charles J. Burns, File 100-814, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany), RG 153, Box 82.

6. Testimony of Pfc. John W. Clark, File 100-814, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany), RG 153, Box 82.

7. Report by the International Red Cross (May 26, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2145.

8. Report by the International Red Cross (July 27, 1944), NARA

II, RG 389, Box 2149.

9. Testimony of S/Sgt. Charles J. Burns, File 100-814, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany), RG 153 Box 82.

10. Testimony of S/Sgt. Charles J. Burns, File 100-921, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany); RG 153 Box 86.

11. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen): Afanasy Batalow/2.2.5.2/0001/0054.

12. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen): Iwan Baranow/2.2.5.2/0001/0046.

13. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen): Jewdokim Anadiew/2.2.5.2/0001/0020.

14. Testimony of S/Sgt. Charles J. Burns, File 100-814, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany), RG 153 Box 82.

15. Nachweis über Sterbefall eines Wehrmachtsangehörigen (Kriegsgefangenen): Peter Anschnajenow/2.2.5.2/0001/0023.

16. Aussonderung von Kriegsgefangenen durch Angehörige der Stapoleitstelle Münster und des Wehrkreises VI, BArch B 162/6568.

17. Testimony of S/Sgt. Charles J. Burns, File 100-921, Stalag VI-J (Krefeld-Fichtenhain, Germany), RG 153 Box 86.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VII A (map 4f) on September 22, 1939, in Landeshut, Germany, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII, and deployed it to Moosburg an der Isar. It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII).[1]

The first commandant of the camp was Oberst Hans Nepf. He was succeeded by Oberst Franz Winniwarter on January 5, 1943. The third and final commandant was Oberst Otto Bürger, who took over on October 21, 1943. The camp was guarded by men from the 435th, 436th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 445th, 506th, 512th, 529th, 530th, and 531st Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) as well as personnel from Reserve Battalions VI, XII, and XIX/VII.[2]

Stalag VII A was originally established to hold Polish prisoners of war (POWs) captured during the invasion of Poland in 1939; until December 1939, it also held a few hundred Polish civilians. British and French POWs began to arrive in 1940, followed by Yugoslav prisoners in the spring of 1941. Soviet prisoners entered the camp in the summer of 1941, Americans in 1942; more American and British prisoners passed through the camp in the fall of 1943, as it became a transit camp for prisoners being transferred from POW camps in Italy to camps in the Reich. Italian, Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Slovakian prisoners also joined the camp population, in addition to small numbers of Brazilians, British Indians, and Hungarians.

Stalag VII A was one of the largest POW camps in Germany; the maximum population was approximately 78,900 prisoners, the majority of whom were French.[3] However, the actual number of prisoners in the camp at a given time was much lower than the listed population, as most of the prisoners were sent out to the

hundreds of work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) subordinate to the camp.

The first commandant, Oberst Nepf, was 63 years old when he took charge of the camp. He was a veteran of World War I and not a member of the Nazi Party.[4] During his tenure, from 1939 to 1943, he generally treated the prisoners well and tried to prevent mistreatment by his subordinates and other German authorities, including the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) and Gestapo. Nepf expressed an unfavorable opinion of the final commander of the camp Oberst Bürger. He blamed Bürger for the poor reputation the camp acquired later in the war, although he acknowledged that some of the circumstances Bürger faced (particularly the extreme overcrowding of the camp late in the war) were beyond his control.

Stalag VII A at Moosburg. Prisoners walking to the camp kitchen, November 1939. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The conditions faced by Polish POWs in 1939 and 1940 were difficult. In the first months of the camp's existence, the prisoners lived in tents while they built the camp facilities. Prisoners from the Western Allied nations, as well as Yugoslavia, were generally treated in a manner that followed the protocols laid out by the Geneva Conventions of 1929. They were housed in decent conditions and given sufficient food, and the behavior of the

guards toward them was mostly civil. However, late in the war, as the camp became more and more crowded, conditions began to deteriorate. In the final months of the war, when evacuees from the camps in the east and prisoners from the battles on the western front arrived, there was a sharp decline in conditions in the camp, which badly affected the welfare of the prisoners.

The prisoners lived in wooden barracks of various sizes, segregated by nationality into compounds that were separated with barbed wire. The barracks were initially sufficient for the camp's population, but after the invasion of the Soviet Union, and particularly after the Italian campaign, the camp became overcrowded. The men slept in wooden bunks with straw mattresses; later, as overcrowding in the camp worsened, some prisoners were forced to sleep on piles of straw on the floor, while others were forced to live in tents.[5] Heat was provided by wood or coal-fired stoves. Despite German attempts to fumigate the barracks, the prisoners' quarters were usually filled with lice, fleas, and other vermin. Water was supplied by pumps located throughout the camp and was generally adequate in quantity until the last part of the war.

The rations the Western prisoners received were generally sufficient in quality and quantity early in the war. Even in 1943, when American prisoners arrived in the camp, rations were still at an acceptable level. However, by January 1945, the decline in quantity and quality of food threatened the prisoners' health. American private Herbert Abraham noted that the food he received was insufficient in quantity, consisting of 250 grams (almost 9 ounces) of bread and a cup of soup a day, supplemented with a little bit of cheese or margarine and a little bit of meat once a week.[6] Malnutrition and intestinal problems related to the poor quality of the food (including moldy bread and sausage) took its toll on the prisoners. American second lieutenant Robin E. Hill testified that he lost about 35 pounds in a span of just over 10 weeks.[7]

The sanitary facilities, like the housing and food situations, were initially adequate for the prisoners in the camp. Enough water was available for them to wash outside their barracks, though lice remained a problem. However, American prisoners arriving at the camp in 1944 and 1945 noted that the water supply at the camp

had become so strained that they barely had enough water to drink, much less wash themselves or their clothes.[8] The prisoners were deloused upon arrival, but the effect was minimal.

The camp had a hospital, staffed mostly by prisoner doctors with a German commanding officer. By 1945, the hospital was badly lacking in medical supplies; its pharmacy had fared slightly better and decent stocks of basic medications were maintained, though the doctors were almost entirely dependent on the Red Cross for medications. The hospital barracks were poorly heated, due to a shortage of coal, and the food there was reported by international observers to be even worse than that provided in the main camp. The hospital was badly overcrowded, with 1,150 prisoners present as of January 27, 1945, several times its intended capacity. Nonetheless, the general state of health of the prisoners was reported to be satisfactory, though the pressures of overcrowding, inadequate sanitary conditions, and poor diet were felt; among the most seriously ill were 15 Yugoslav prisoners suffering from tuberculosis.[9] Separate hospital facilities existed for the men in the work details. These were located at Landshut, Mühldorf, and Munich; more serious cases were taken to the Reserve Hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) for POWs in Freising.

Although Allied prisoners were generally treated decently by the Germans, numerous Allied soldiers reported mistreatment by camp personnel at Stalag VII A. Several former prisoners testified that the guards had used police dogs to rouse sleeping prisoners from their beds or to punish them for unruly behavior.[10] Another frequent subject of complaint was the German Sonderführer Krüger, who was in charge of the American camp; he was notorious for allowing his subordinates to beat American prisoners and for taking part in the beatings himself. Other incidents of a more serious nature were also reported. Private William J. Harrington stated that he met an English soldier who had been shot in the back by a German guard after he had protested the beating of a Soviet prisoner.[11]

Western Allied prisoners belonging to racial or religious minorities were subject to harsher treatment than their compatriots. Jewish prisoners in the camp were placed in separate barracks; the Germans claimed that their separation from the other prisoners was in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Conventions

that prisoners of different races and nationalities be housed in separate areas. This practice was ended, at least in the American sector of the camp, after a complaint by the American man of confidence to the Red Cross. One hundred and fifty French Jews were not as fortunate, as they were sent to Stalag 383 in Hohenfels in late 1944 or early 1945.[12] In March 1945, American 1st lieutenant Stephen H. Wurtz saw a German guard randomly shoot an African American private. The man had been mending the wire in a fence under the supervision of a German guard when another shot him in the back of the head with a rifle at close range.[13]

The prisoners at Stalag VII A were put to work on a variety of tasks by the German authorities. The work to which these men were assigned was frequently very hard, including agricultural labor and unloading supplies from railcars. The men were often beaten and prodded with rifle butts by the German guards if they did not work quickly enough or follow instructions given only in German. Officers who exercised their right, under the Geneva Conventions, not to work were sometimes beaten for this "offense" as well.[14] Furthermore, men in the work details faced hazards not experienced by those prisoners living in the main camp, such as exposure to air raids.

As in other camps, Soviet POWs were treated cruelly, with no regard for the Geneva Conventions. They were subjected to deliberate starvation, given virtually no medical care, and often beaten or shot by German camp personnel for no reason. Many starved, froze to death, or died of diseases such as typhus during the winter of 1941–1942. Even after this most lethal phase of the war for Soviet prisoners, the Soviets in Stalag VII A still faced awful conditions. They lived in unheated, severely overcrowded barracks (300 men in a barrack intended for 65) and were practically starved to death.[15] The inhumane treatment they received resulted in a high mortality rate relative to other prisoners; of the approximately 1,000 prisoners who died at Stalag VII A during the war, 800 of them were Soviets.

The Munich Gestapo was responsible for selecting "undesirable" Soviet prisoners, including Jews, political commissars, and members of the Communist Party. As of November 26, 1941, 3,578 Soviet POWs had been inspected and 455 had been taken out of the camp. Of these, 267 were sent to

Dachau and 188 were sent to Buchenwald, where they were executed immediately upon arrival.[16] In late November 1941, Oberst Nepf attempted to have the selections stopped, but the effect was short lived. He testified after the war that the Gestapo may have taken as many as 1,500 Soviet prisoners to Dachau and Buchenwald by the end of the war.[17]

Late in the war, Stalag VII A became a "dumping ground" for prisoners of various nationalities whom the Germans had evacuated from other camps farther east. Then, on April 20, 1945, as American forces approached from the west, the Germans began evacuating the prisoners from Stalag VII A. They marched in the direction of Munich in columns of 500 to 600 men; their likely destination was Dachau, along with a number of prisoners who were being marched in that direction from Buchenwald and Flossenbürg.[18] An untold number died along the way. The American 14th Armored Division liberated Stalag VII A on April 29, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VII A can be found in NARA (RG 153, File 100-427, Boxes 36-40), BAMA, and WASt Berlin.

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(1939–1945). Histoire, art et mémoire. Pour une approche européenne, ed. Jean-Claude Catherine (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 163–166; Jeff Donaldson, *Men of Honor: American GIs in the Jewish Holocaust* (Center Point, OR: Hellgate, 2005); Robert H. Miller, *Finding My Father's War: Recollections from the Red Cross Diary of an American POW in Nazi Germany* (New Hope, PA: Patton, 2010); Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg: Berichte und Dokumente, 1941–1945* (Heidelberg: C. F. Müller Juristischer, 1982), pp. 41–44. See also Moosburg Online at www.moosburg.org/info/stalag/indeng.html, and the Wartime Memories Project at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag7a.html.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19.
2. Preliminary Interrogation Report, Headquarters 3rd Army Intelligence Center: Oberst Hans Nepf, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 37.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945*, p. 19.
4. Preliminary Interrogation Report, Headquarters 3rd Army Intelligence Center: Oberst Hans Nepf, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 37.
5. Testimony of 1st Sgt. Raymond S. Mintle, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 37.
6. Testimony of Pvt. Herbert Abraham, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.
7. Testimony of 2nd Lt. Robin E. Hill, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.
8. Testimony of Pfc. Edmund W. Lambiase, File 100-427, Stalag

VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.

9. Report of the International Red Cross (January 27, 1945), File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.

10. Testimony of SSgt. Cleiborn U. Booker, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 37.

11. Testimony of Pvt. William J. Harrington, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 2, Box 36.

12. Report of the International Red Cross (January 27, 1945), File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.

13. Testimony of 1st Lt. Stephen H. Wurtz, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 3, Box 37.

14. Testimony of Pvt. Myron D. Morgan, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 36.

15. Testimony of Pfc. Allison C. Hill, File 100-427, Stalag VII-A, NARA II, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 37.

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MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VII B (map 4f) on July 25, 1940, in Memmingen, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VII.[1] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VII). The camp commandant was Oberst Franz Winniwarter. His deputy was Oberstleutnant Erich Wöhler.[2]

Stalag VII B initially held French prisoners of war (POWs). Serbian prisoners arrived in April 1941, followed by Soviet POWs in 1942, American prisoners in 1943, and Italian military internees in October 1943. On October 1, 1943, the camp held 9,295 French, 2,628 Serbian, 4,834 Soviet, 527 Italian, and 918 American prisoners, a total of 18,202 men.[3] On January 29, 1945, French prisoners were replaced by Hungarians.[4] The majority of prisoners (as many as 90 percent) were assigned to numerous labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).

Observers from the International Committee of the Red Cross inspected the camp in August 1944. They reported that the prisoners' living situation was very bad, with up to a quarter of the prisoners (particularly the Americans and Italians who had arrived more recently) living in tents, in an area of approximately 91 by 18 meters (300 by 60 feet). These prisoners slept on the floor, with only bug-ridden straw for bedding. They had no bathing facilities.[5] The construction of new barracks by the Germans was progressing slowly. The electric lights and plumbing were defective in many of the existing barracks.[6]

Stalag VII B at Memmingen. Camp buildings with prisoners in foreground, date unknown. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The kitchen in which the prisoners prepared their food, by contrast, was clean and well equipped. However, the quality of the food was inconsistent, as the potatoes were sometimes rotten and the bread was often moldy during the summer; however, the men ate it anyway, as it was necessary for their survival. The prisoners received ersatz tea or coffee for breakfast, 8 ounces (0.5 pints) of soup (containing vegetables, potatoes, and sometimes corned beef) for lunch, and three slices of bread and 5 ounces (0.3 pints) of the same soup for dinner. American private Robert W. Lockling believed that food was available and the Germans were allowing them to starve on purpose; he noted that potatoes were rotting in nearby fields in July 1944 while the prisoners received such minimal rations.[7]

The sanitary conditions in the camp were generally good, aside from the tent camp in which the American prisoners lived. The camp infirmary and hospital were very well equipped, with 104 beds available for patients; the hospital impressed international visitors as "up to the requirements of a modern hospital."[8] Such comments are particularly notable as they came in mid-1944 at a time when many camp hospitals struggled to maintain adequate supplies and medicines. Doctors from the prison population attended to the sick. There was a separate ward with 84 additional

beds for patients with contagious diseases. The most common illnesses (for Western prisoners) were gastritis and rheumatism. Infectious diseases were relatively rare.[9]

The Western prisoners had the opportunity to participate in cultural and recreational activities within the camp. Religious services in the French camp and work details were led by 12 Catholic priests. The French prisoners also had access to a library with more than 5,000 books, an orchestra, and a theater troupe, which gave weekly performances. Sporting goods were supplied by the Red Cross, allowing the prisoners to play football and volleyball in their spare time.[10]

The treatment of Soviet prisoners was inhumane. They were fed insufficient rations, which led to malnutrition and starvation. They received no medical care and were often subjected to deliberate abuse by the German guards. They were all emaciated and weak, and many of them died from infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis.[11] American corporal James E. Witherington witnessed one remarkable incident that is illustrative of the cruelty inflicted on the Soviet POWs by the Germans. In February 1945, more than 100 Soviet prisoners who had been captured near Vienna were brought to the camp. Almost all of them had frostbitten hands and feet. They were herded into a shower room by a German Obergefreiter who ran behind the column of men and kicked them, leaving trails of blood across the floor. Eight of the prisoners died in the shower, either from the Obergefreiter's abuse or from the shock of being thrust into a hot shower after days of suffering from exposure in the freezing cold. Witherington stated that one of the German officers most notorious for abusing Soviet prisoners, Hauptmann Reid, was shot by the Americans after the camp was liberated.[12]

Most of the prisoners who passed through Stalag VII B, regardless of nationality, were sent to one of the numerous work details scattered throughout the area around the camp. They performed a variety of agricultural and industrial tasks for the Germans. However, in some cases, they were assigned to military tasks, in violation of the Geneva Conventions. One such case was reported by American sergeant Alvie J. Cobb, who was sent with about 100 other Americans to camouflage a German military airfield by painting over the runway. They were also forced to dig

placements for antiaircraft guns. Cobb knew that it was a military airfield because he had seen bomber aircraft landing there.[13] The American Seventh Army liberated the camp on April 26, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VII B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VII B); IWM; USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2); and NARA (RG 153; RG 389).

Additional information about Stalag VII B can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 19; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag VII B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 199–204; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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3. BA-MA, RW 6: 276, S. 2 f.

4. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag VII B," p. 200.

5. Testimony of Pvt. Robert W. Lockling, File 100-439, Stalag VII-B (Memmingen, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Box 42.

6. Report of the International Red Cross (August 22, 1944), Stalag VII-B, NARA, RG 59, Box 128.

7. Testimony of Pvt. Robert W. Lockling, File 100-439, Stalag VII-B (Memmingen, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Box 42.

8. Report by the International Red Cross (April 18, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2146.

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11. Testimony of Cpl. James E. Witherington, File 100-439, Stalag VII-B (Memmingen, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Box 42.

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13. Testimony of Sgt. Alvie J. Cobb, File 100-439, Stalag VII-B (Memmingen, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Box 42.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VIII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VIII A on September 23, 1939, from Dulag VIII A. The camp was located in Görlitz-Ost (today Zgorzelec, Poland) (map 4e), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] Stalag VIII A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

The original command of Stalag VIII A was located in the Coubiere barracks in Görlitz, and the original Polish prisoner population was quartered in a tent camp (*Zeltlager*) on this site while they built the structures that would become the permanent camp on the military exercise ground in the district of Moys (today the Ujezd district of Zgorzelec, south of the city center). The commandant's office was later relocated to the police barracks in Moys.[2] The first commandant of Stalag VIII A was Oberst Georg von Kranold, who remained at the camp until July 16, 1940. He was replaced by Oberst Alois Bielas, who held the position until July 2, 1943, when he was replaced by the final commandant, Oberst Rudolf Teichmann. The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone* 554 and 590.[3]

By the time it was completed in late 1940, the main camp of Stalag VIII A consisted of barracks—40 for prisoner housing (20 on each side of the camp street or *Lagerstrasse*), 12 for guard housing, 2 for administrative use, and 2 for kitchens— that were 56,500 square meters (5,380 square feet) in size. Some of the buildings were repurposed for other uses, for example, as canteens, a chapel (one-third of which was used for the camp library), and a theater. Two rows of barbed wire surrounded the camp, with 10 watchtowers spaced along the perimeter. The 20 barracks that eventually became the Soviet prisoners' section of the camp were separated from the other prisoners' barracks with two additional

rows of barbed wire. The prisoners' quarters had triple bunk beds along with long wooden benches and tables, and stoves for heating. Each barrack had a 9.3 square meter (100 square foot) washroom in the middle, which had running water and flush toilets (additional latrines were located outside).[4]

Stalag VIII A held American, Belgian, British, French, Polish, Serbian, Soviet, and Slovak prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a relatively large camp, with a population that remained above 22,000 throughout most of the war and a maximum population of 47,328 in September 1944. However, most of the prisoners registered in the main camp were not actually housed there but instead distributed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were scattered in the area around the camp.[5] In the early years of the war, there were often as few as 1,000 prisoners in the main camp.[6] The labor performed in the work details varied considerably and conditions often depended on the character of the German overseer, often a factory manager. In most instances, prisoners registered few complaints about their treatment, but others found themselves forced to work seven days per week. Others worked less but faced difficult conditions. In general, rations were not adjusted to match the nature of the work that the prisoners had to perform.[7]

The first prisoners to arrive in Stalag VIII A were Polish POWs captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 13, 1939, there were 10,119 Polish prisoners in the camp. Most of these prisoners were transferred to other camps or had their status converted into civilian laborers prior to the arrival of the first French and Belgian troops in the camp in June 1940. As of September 10, 1940, there were 11,603 Belgian, 9,232 French, and 1,402 Polish prisoners in the camp. After the Flemish-speaking Belgian prisoners were repatriated to Belgium, the French prisoners became the largest national group in the camp, and would remain so until 1943; however, Stalag VIII A continued to have a very large population of French-speaking Belgian (Walloon) prisoners relative to other Stalags in Germany. The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the camp on May 5, 1941, after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in April of that year. The first Soviet prisoners (a small group, 149 men) arrived in the camp on January 5, 1942; however, they did not remain in the camp, and

a permanent population of Soviet prisoners was not present until August 1942. Their numbers continued to increase—partially due to the arrival of prisoners transferred from Stalag 308 (VIII E) in Neuhammer-West (today Świętoszów, Poland) after it relocated to the eastern front—and by September 1943, they had become the largest prisoner group in the camp. The first British prisoners arrived in the camp in the fall of 1943. The Italian military prisoners also arrived during this time. Slovak prisoners were brought to the camp after the Slovak National Uprising in the late summer and early fall of 1944.[8] The final prisoners to arrive in Stalag VIII A were Americans captured during the Battle of the Bulge, who were sent to the camp in December 1944.

Stalag VIII A at Görlitz. General view of the camp barracks and road with prisoners, February 1942. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Treatment for Western Allied prisoners was generally decent and usually conformed to the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. However, early in the war, the influx of large numbers of French prisoners led to overcrowding in the barracks and shortages of food, with the prisoners depending heavily on Red Cross packages for subsistence.[9] These prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities in the camp. Religious services were provided by Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant clergy within the camp, and priests traveled to minister to the

prisoners in some of the work details as well. There was a camp library, which eventually totaled around 10,000 books, and a field where the prisoners could play soccer, volleyball, and other sports. The prisoners organized educational courses and even cultivated a small garden.[10] A camp theater was established in the summer of 1940 at the insistence of the French and Belgian prisoners. It performed both classical and modern pieces (mostly in French). The first performance was on November 24, 1940, with the camp commandant and several officers in attendance. By 1943, the theater held six to eight performances a month, although the number of shows was curtailed in the winter months to save on heating and electricity costs, and the theater was closed altogether in the fall of 1944.[11] One of the most famous cultural events in the camp was the composition and premiere of French composer Olivier Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time* (*Quatuor pour la fin du temps*).[12]

Medical care in Stalag VIII A was provided by three French and Belgian doctors, supervised by a German chief doctor. The camp infirmary was located in the administrative section of the camp, set apart from the prisoners' quarters. Initially, the quality of medical care provided was poor due to a lack of supplies, but shipments of medications and equipment from France and the International Committee of the Red Cross ameliorated this situation. By the end of 1941, with assistance from the French government, a separate camp hospital was established, with a larger operating room, an isolation ward for infectious diseases, and a psychiatric counseling station.[13]

As in other camps, Soviet POWs in Stalag VIII A received the worst treatment, and the conditions in which they lived violated the requirements of the Geneva Convention. They lived in overcrowded and unsanitary quarters that were infested with disease-carrying lice, and they received minimal food rations and medical care. The death rate among Soviet prisoners was very high, due to a combination of malnutrition and the rapid spread of diseases, such as typhus and dysentery, through their section of the camp. The Soviet prisoners were completely isolated from the other prisoners, and they had no opportunity to participate in the recreational activities enjoyed by the other prisoners. After early 1942, many of them were sent to work in heavy industry and

mining work details in Silesia.[14] The Gestapo conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of Soviet prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were then sent to concentration camps (mainly Gross-Rosen) and executed.[15]

Late in the war, the conditions in Stalag VIII A deteriorated for all prisoner groups, including the previously relatively privileged British. Of the 2,918 British prisoners at Stalag VIII A at the end of May 1944, 1,047 were in the main camp.[16] There, prisoners lived in adequate shelters and ate proper rations. The camp infirmary, which treated minor cases, was well equipped and had beds for several hundred patients. The larger camp hospital had full operation facilities and lacked only medication, as was typical throughout the POW camp system. Prisoners had access to a theater, library, and sports ground, with a full selection of games, activities, and musical instruments. Although there were issues regarding heating and infestations, the camp overall was regarded as up to international standards. The primary complaint in the main camp concerned a special barrack (*Sonderbaracke*) that held men who were either on trial or already convicted and awaiting transfer. This barrack had vermin infestations, was overcrowded, and lacked lighting and proper sanitation.[17]

By January 1945, the conditions in Stalag VIII A had become more severe. American Sergeant Harold P. White, who was imprisoned in the camp at that time, recalled that the American prisoners' barracks were very crowded and poorly heated and that the prisoners received very poor food rations—a quarter of a ration cup of vegetable soup, two or three potatoes, and between a fifth and a sixth of a loaf of bread.[18] Sergeant Frank A. Reeder, who was also in the camp at that time, stated that several wounded prisoners did not receive adequate medical care; although there were still medical personnel in the camp, they were not provided with medications or even such basic supplies as bandages. Sergeant Reeder also noted that the prisoners slept two men to a bunk because they had to share blankets, as the Germans did not provide enough bedding for each prisoner.[19] Sergeant Alvin W. Eaton testified that sanitary conditions in the American section of the camp were poor and that lice were rampant in the American prisoners' barracks.[20] Master Sergeant Paul McMillan recalled that

there was no hot water in the camp and the prisoners were only able to shower twice a month. However, Master Sergeant McMillan also stated that he thought the leading German officer in the American section of the camp "did everything in his power to improve conditions for the Americans."[21]

As the Red Army advanced westward through Poland in late 1944, the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) began planning the evacuation of the Stalags in Defense District VIII. By January 1945, the prisoners in Stalag VIII A were aware the evacuation was imminent. The evacuation marches began on February 16, 1945, when there were 43,958 prisoners remaining in the camp. The first column of prisoners, about 30,000 men in total, marched for about two weeks until it reached the town of Meissen, where it was divided into two groups. The first, larger group was sent westward to Bad Sulza, and eventually arrived at Stalag XI A in Altengrabow on March 25. The second, smaller group was marched through the Sudetenland to Bavaria, a total distance of more than 360 kilometers (224 miles). The conditions experienced by the prisoners on the forced marches westward were terrible, and many prisoners suffered from dysentery, hunger edema, and frostbite. They also became severely malnourished as they were fed little more than thin soup, raw potatoes, and crusts of bread.[22] Both of the prisoner columns were eventually liberated by American and British forces.[23] The Red Army liberated the abandoned camp site of Stalag VIII A on May 8, 1945.[24]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag VIII A is located in BA-MA; NARA (RG 59, Box 128, Stalag VIII A; RG 153, Box 52, File 100-492, Stalag VIII-A [Gorlitz (*sic*), Germany]; RG 153, Box 62, File 100-791, Stalag VIII-A; and RG 389, Box 2150); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 367–388).

Additional information about Stalag VIII A can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); René Ibert, *Les popotiers de Silésie: Témoignage, 1940–1945* (Nîmes: C.

Lacour, 1997); Hannelore Lauerwald, *In fremdem Land (1939 bis 1945): Kriegsgefangene in Deutschland am Beispiel des Stalag VIII A Görlitz* (Görlitz: Sächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1997); Joanna Lusek and Albrecht Goetze, "Stalag VIII A Görlitz. Historia—teraźniejszość – przyszłość," *Łambin-owicki Rocznik Muzealny* 34 (2011): 2–30; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 19; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 81–84; John McMullen, *The Miracle of Stalag 8A: Beauty Beyond the Horror: Olivier Messiaen and the "Quartet for the end of time"* (Evansville: Bird Brain, 2010); Robert H. Miller, *Hidden Hell: Discovering My Father's POW Diary* (New Hope, PA: Patton, 2011); Rebecca Rischin, *For the End of Time: The Story of the Messiaen Quartet* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Cyril Rofe, *Against the Wind* (Morley: Elmfield, 1974); David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's Captives 1939–1945* (Kent: Coronet Books, 1988); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); and Roman Zgłobicki, "Liczebnosc i struktura narodowsciowa jencow wojennych Stalagu VIII A w Zgorzelecu," *Rocznik jeleniogorski* 17 (1979): 79–100.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19. During the period from 1939–1945, the city of Görlitz spanned both sides of the River Oder, which now forms the border between Germany and Poland. The city is presently divided into two separate municipalities: Görlitz, Germany (formerly Görlitz-West) and Zgorzelec, Poland (formerly Görlitz-Ost). Stalag VIII A was

located on what is now the Polish side of the border.

2. Lauerwald, *In fremdem Land*, p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ibid., pp. 8–11.
5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 83–84.
6. Rischin, *For the End of Time*, p. 23.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (May 27, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.
8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 81–82.
9. Rischin, *For the End of Time*, p. 24.
10. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 368–369.
11. Lauerwald, *In fremdem Land*, pp. 48–50.
12. Rischin, *For the End of Time*, pp. 24–25.
13. Lauerwald, *In fremdem Land*, p. 45.
14. Ibid., p. 26.
15. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 267.
16. Report by the International Red Cross (May 27, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.
17. Ibid.
18. Testimony of Sgt. Harold P. White, NARA, RG 153, Box 52, File 100-492, Stalag VIII-A (Gorlitz [*sic*], Germany).
19. Testimony of Tec. 4 Frank A. Reeder, NARA, RG 153, Box 52, File 100-492, Stalag VIII-A (Gorlitz [*sic*], Germany).
20. Testimony of T/4 Alvin W. Eaton, NARA, RG 153, Box 52, File 100-492, Stalag VIII-A (Gorlitz [*sic*], Germany).

21. Testimony of MSgt. Paul McMillan, NARA, RG 153, Box 52, File 100-492, Stalag VIII-A (Gorlitz [*sic*], Germany).

22. Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich*, pp. 155–156.

23. Lauerwald, *In fremdem Land*, p. 76.

24. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VIII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VIII B (map 4e) from Dulag VIII B on October 4, 1939, in Lamsdorf, Oberschlesien, Germany (today Łambinowice, Poland). On September 17, 1942, a subcamp (*Zweiglager*), designated Stalag VIII B/Z, was created in Teschen (today Český Těšín, Czech Republic); this camp was dissolved on November 18, 1943. On December 2, 1943, the headquarters of Stalag VIII B were transferred to the camp at Teschen and the camp at Lamsdorf was redesignated as Stalag 344. Reserve Hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) Cosel was also subordinate to Stalag VIII B.[1]

Stalag VIII B was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). The first commandant of the camp was Oberstleutnant Castell-Castell; he was succeeded shortly thereafter by Oberstleutnant Nickisch von Rosenegk. Nickisch von Rosenegk was only the commandant for a short time and was replaced on September 9, 1940, by Oberst Dr. Bornemann. Bornemann left the position on January 25, 1941; it is unclear who was in command immediately after his departure, but, by March 1941, Major Trenka had been installed as the new commandant. After May 8, 1941, he was replaced by Oberstleutnant Hedicke, who remained until August 1, 1941. He was then succeeded by Oberstleutnant Minzinger, who was succeeded by Oberst Ritter von Poschinger on October 25, 1941. Ritter von Poschinger remained the commandant until September 11, 1942, when the camp's longest-serving commandant, Kapitän zur See Gylek, took over. The final commandant of Stalag VIII B was Oberst Thielebein, who succeeded Gylek on December 5, 1944. The camp was guarded by personnel from the 337th, 398th, 427th, 438th, 439th, 515th, 559th, 561st, 565th, 586th, 590th, and 749th Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).[2]

Stalag VIII B held prisoners of war (POWs) from Poland, Belgium, France, Britain, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Romania as well as Italian military internees. The maximum camp population was 97,646, and as of mid-1943, it was the largest POW camp in Germany.[3] However, the official camp population figures are generally much higher than the number of prisoners who were detained in the camp at any given time, since most prisoners were sent to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the surrounding area.

On August 26, 1939, the Wehrmacht created a transit camp (Dulag) on the site for the expected influx of Polish POWs. The first prisoners arrived on September 5. On October 4, 1939, the Germans redesignated the camp as a Stalag. By this time, 43,000 prisoners had already passed through the camp, and a total of 270 work details had been created, employing 6,669 prisoners, primarily in agriculture.[4] Conditions in these work details were generally poor. Regulations on working hours were often ignored and prisoners regularly died of exhaustion. The poor sanitary conditions in the work details led to additional deaths from diseases such as typhus and typhoid fever. The men's rations were barely sufficient to keep them alive and working, generally consisting of ersatz coffee or tea and between 100 and 250 grams (3.5–8.8 ounces) of bread in the morning, a liter (1 quart) of watery soup for lunch, and two or three small potatoes for dinner.[5]

In March 1940, the Wehrmacht began transferring Polish prisoners to camps in other parts of Germany to make room for expected prisoners from the western front. The first British and French prisoners arrived the next month and were soon sent out on work details. The largest group in the camp were British prisoners, many of whom were British Palestinians or Cypriots, who arrived from transit camps in Southeastern Europe or other Stalags further to the south, including Stalag XVIII D in Marburg (today Maribor, Slovenia) and Stalag XVII A in Kaisersteinbruch. For example, on June 30, 1941, a transport of 692 British prisoners departed Dulag 183 in Salonika (today Thessaloniki, Greece) for Stalag VIII B.[6]

When the camp was first established, the prisoners slept in tents or in the headquarters building of the old firing range, as no barracks were constructed prior to the invasion of Poland.[7] Between the fall of 1939 and fall of 1940, the prisoners built the

camp facilities. While the prisoners were living in the tent camp, the German camp personnel conducted selections to remove Jewish prisoners as well as those who were sick or otherwise unable to work.

Once the prisoners' quarters and other camp facilities were constructed, British and other Western Allied prisoners generally experienced adequate conditions in Stalag VIII B, at least through 1942. Prisoners lived in large whitewashed brick barracks, which were solidly constructed, each with stoves and basic latrines and bathing facilities.[8] However, there were reports of mistreatment of Western Allied prisoners, including beatings, solitary confinement, and shootings.

The hospital (*Lazarett*) facilities at Stalag VIII B Lamsdorf were among the best and most modern in the German POW camp system. The hospital comprised 11 buildings with a capacity of over 600 prisoners. It also had its own X-ray and laboratory facilities, a separate morgue, and quarters for medical staff. However, the conditions in the hospital deteriorated as the camp became increasingly overcrowded during the middle years of the war.

Between September 1942 and October 1943, the British camp nearly quadrupled in size from 8,000 to over 30,000 prisoners. This rapid expansion placed further strain on the camp's already limited resources. By late 1942, the prisoners faced overcrowding and chronic water shortages. The lack of reliable water meant that latrines were rarely emptied and showers were infrequent. Rations were reduced to around 1,500 calories per day.[9]

The British and other Western Allied prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities within the camp at Lamsdorf. The Anglican chapel held two Sunday services; the morning service attendance was usually around 700, while that of the evening service was usually around 400. A small theological study group consisting of eight men was formed, three of whom were preparing for ordination on their return to England. There was also a Methodist minister in the British camp. Twenty-four hundred men participated in a total of 83 courses in subjects such as English, German, French, history, geography, and mathematics. The camp orchestra had 28 regular members, while the choir had

50. Concerts and theater productions were performed weekly, and sometimes more frequently. The prisoners also participated in sports, including football and volleyball; the YMCA delegate who visited the camp on March 17, 1943, noted that the American and Canadian soldiers wanted equipment to play softball and basketball as well.[10]

Stalag VIII B at Lamsdorf. Prisoners at a class outside the barracks, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

By October 1943, the rapid expansion of the camp population coupled with the failure to expand the camp itself or address its infrastructural problems made conditions in Stalag VIII B very poor. These conditions were further exacerbated by the influx of Italian military internees during the last months of 1943. Third beds were added to all the bunks, but this measure failed to provide sufficient quarters for the growing population, so the Germans converted all available recreational areas (including the school, theater, and other social spaces) to makeshift barracks.[11] These new barracks lacked beds and, by November, nearly 1,500 prisoners were sleeping and eating on the floor.[12] Obtaining water required constant effort on the part of the prisoners, who had to fill buckets from a source about 180 meters (200 yards) from the camp and carry them back. They could only shower once per month and faced severe hygiene problems stemming from their inability to clean the latrines. Similar overcrowding and water shortages

affected the camp infirmary and hospital, both of which lacked beds for all the patients. Fears of epidemics spread throughout the camp.[13]

There were between 600 and 700 work details subordinate to Stalag VIII B. They were spread throughout much of Upper Silesia and other parts of present-day southwestern Poland. Among them was the infamous Kommando E715, whose 1,200 (mostly British) prisoners were deployed to the IG Farben synthetic rubber factory (Buna Werke) at Auschwitz III-Monowitz. Many of them remained under the control of Stalag VIII B after it was transferred to Teschen at the end of 1943.

While they were not subject to the same level of mistreatment as the Polish POWs and civilian laborers had been early in the war, the Western Allied prisoners in the work details nonetheless faced difficult conditions. This was especially true of those prisoners who were sent to work in the numerous coal mines of Upper Silesia; this fate was particularly common for Jewish prisoners. One British Palestinian prisoner, Mosche (Ernest) Brauner, was sent to work in a coal mine after he was brought to Stalag VIII B in late April 1941. He reported that the Jewish and Gentile prisoners were separated, though British prisoners of both groups worked in the same mine near Bismarckhütte (today Chorzów Batory, Poland) in a detail of about 400 men. They worked in two 12-hour shifts in the mine along with Polish civilian workers. They were guarded by a German officer who was armed with a pistol. In early 1943, two of his fellow prisoners (both Jewish) were shot by the German officer in unclear circumstances; it was alleged by the German authorities that they had attempted to escape, but Brauner had no way to confirm their story.[14]

In January 1945, as the Red Army closed in on Teschen, the Germans began to evacuate the prisoners at Stalag VIII B to Stalag XIII D in Nürnberg-Langwasser. Two of the largest groups were marched out of the camp in early March. The first, which left on March 7, was taken in the direction of Karlsbad, in the Sudetenland (today Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic); it remained there for five days before resuming its march toward Germany. The second, which departed two days later, was sent toward Marienbad (today Mariánské Lázně, Czech Republic); it remained there for a few days before continuing onward.[15] The camp at

Teschen was liberated on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VIII B can be found in USHMMA (RG-14.101M; RG-30.007M), BArch B 162, TNA, IWM, BA-MA, and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about Stalag VIII B can be found in the following publications: Edmund Borzemski and Stanisława Borzemska, *The Central Museum of Prisoners of War in Łambinowice Guide* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Sport i Turystyka," 1989); Anna Bojarska et al., "Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie w Łambinowicach w okresie II Wojny Światowej," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 28 (1978): 18–144; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 19; Edmund Nowak, ed., *Szkice z dziejów w Lamsdorf/ Łambinowicach: Historia i współczesność, Zeszyt*, vol. 2 (Opole: Drukarnia Wydawnictwa Św. Krzyża w Opolu, 2000); Czesław Pilichowski, "Kaźnia hitlerowska Lamsdorf (Łambinowice)," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 28 (1978): 9–17; Janusz Sawczuk, *Hitlerowskie obozy jenieckie w Łambinowicach w latach 1939–1945* (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1974); Damian Tomczyk, *Najmłodsi jeńcy w historii wojen: Powstańcy warszawscy w Stalagu 344 Lamsdorf* (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1993); Damian Tomczyk, *Nieletni żołnierze Powstania Warszawskiego w hitlerowskim obozie jenieckim w Łambinowicach* (Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 1986); Damian Tomczyk, "Młodzi Łodzianie— Powstańcy warszawscy w niewoli Wehrmachtu," *Rocznik Łódzki* 41 (1994): 207–226; and Jan Żuławiński, "Polacy w oflagach i stalagach na Dolnym Śląsku," *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Rolniczej we Wrocławiu Nauki Społeczne (Wissenschaftliche Hefte der Akademie für Landwirtschaft in Breslau, Sozialwissenschaften)* 6, no. 208 (1993): 123– 136. See also Stalag VIII B 344 Lamsdorf, www.lamsdorf.com; and *Centralne*

Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, www.cmjw.pl/.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19.
2. Testimony of Otto Rösler, ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.1.1/0012/0001/0124.
3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 19.
4. Borzemski and Borzemska, *Central Museum of Prisoners of War*, p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
6. A.H.Qu., den 27.4.1942, Tätigkeitsbericht der Oberquartiermeisterabteilung des Wehrmachtsbefehlshabers Südost (A.O.K. 12) für die Zeit vom 1.6. bis 31.12.1941, Qu. 2., BA-MA, RH-20-12-347, 22.
7. Borzemski and Borzemska, *Central Museum of Prisoners of War*, p. 45.
8. Report by the International Red Cross (September 9, 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.
9. Ibid.
10. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 406–407.
11. Report by the International Red Cross (October 30, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.
12. Report by the International Red Cross (November 16, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.
13. Report by the International Red Cross (October 30, 1943),

NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

14. USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2845.00001339-00001340.

15. Liste des Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre, ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.6/0010/0097.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VIII C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VIII C (map 4e) on October 4, 1939, in Sagan (today Żagań, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, from Dulag A. The camp had two subcamps (*Zweiglage*r), one in Neuhammer (today Swiętoszów, Poland), which until the end of June 1942 was an independent camp (Stalag VIII E), and one in Krünzburg, which during the autumn of 1944 was converted into an Ilag.[1] Between February 8 and February 12, 1945, with the approach of the Red Army, Stalag VIII C was evacuated to Stalag IX A in Ziegenhain and Stalag III A in Luckenwalde. The Red Army liberated the camp on April 16, 1945. The camp carried field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 11 936, which was both issued and struck between February 1 and July 11, 1941.

Stalag VIII C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII). The first commandant of the camp was Oberst Paterman.

The main camp occupied a large area surrounded by a pine forest outside of Sagan. Stalag Luft 3 was adjacent to the main camp and occasionally prisoners there were treated in the Stalag VIII C hospital.[2] Within the main camp, nationalities were strictly divided into separate compounds and as much as possible the Germans sought to prevent communication between groups.[3]

In 1939 and 1940, the camp held Polish prisoners of war (POWs), who built the camp facilities. At the end of 1940, there were 4,800 Poles in the camp. As in many other camps during this time, the conditions at Stalag VIII C were very difficult for the Polish POWs. They spent most of the winter of 1939–1940 in tents. Their food rations were also poor: approximately 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread along with thin, watery soup from frozen

potatoes and a cup of ersatz tea comprised the prisoners' entire daily nourishment, leading to widespread malnutrition. Furthermore, hygienic conditions in the camp were poor, allowing infectious diseases to spread. In 1940, some of the Polish prisoners were transferred to another camp while the rest were stripped of their POW status and sent to Germany as forced laborers.[4] French and Belgian prisoners arrived in 1940 and Serbians in 1941. In 1942, Soviet prisoners arrived, followed by British prisoners and Italian military internees in 1943. The first British troops arrived following the Allied armistice with Italy in September 1943. They arrived in a single group of 2,809 on September 20 following a route that took them from their initial camp in Italy and through Stalag VII A before reaching Stalag VIII C.[5] Additional British prisoners arrived after the Allied landings in Western Europe in 1944. In November 1944, about 100 Poles, captured during the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, and about 900 Slovaks, captured during the suppression of the Slovak National Uprising, arrived in the camp. The camp reached a maximum population of 48,308 prisoners in January 1945.[6]

As was the case in many Stalags, the Western Allied prisoners lived and spent their days primarily in work camps outside the main compound. Of the 2,809 British POWs in the camp in late October 1943, only 456 lived in the main camp. The remaining 2,353 were divided into 18 work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the surrounding area. The majority of the men worked in sugar factories, with smaller numbers engaged in agriculture and coal mining. Those in the main camp were chiefly noncommissioned officers who occupied three large one-story brick barracks. Overall, rations and conditions in the camp were satisfactory, at least for Western Allied prisoners.[7]

However, Block B, the disciplinary block at the camp in which prisoners of many nationalities were placed together late in the war, was an exception. On August 30, 1944, a large number of Belgian prisoners arrived at Stalag VIII C via Stalag 304 in Leuven and Stalag IX A in Ziegenhain. They were sent to Block B, where they joined prisoners from France and Britain as well as Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Hungarians.[8] Block B consisted of five barracks near the western edge of the camp, enclosed by barbed wire. In the fall of 1944, two of these barracks

were for Western prisoners (mainly French and Belgian) who had refused to work or violated the rules while at work, one was a transit barrack for those being transferred through the camp or being released from the camp, and two were for British prisoners. Each of these sections was separated from the others by an additional row of barbed wire.[9]

Stalag VIII C at Sagan. Dr. Marti of the ICRC visits French POWs, date unknown. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The prisoners in Block B were denied rights usually granted to other Western Allied POWs. They were not allowed to approach the gate of the main camp, nor were they allowed to enter the main camp to visit the canteen, library, or theater. They were also sometimes denied access to the Red Cross food packages that supplemented the prisoners' rations.[10]

The worst treatment, however, was reserved for Soviet POWs. According to the Belgian authorities, they were subject to "a very severe regime from the point of view of food and poor treatment."[11] In addition to receiving less and poorer quality food than other prisoners, the Soviet POWs were given harder labor to do in the work detachments as well as within the camp. The vast majority of the approximately 10,000 prisoners who died in Stalag VIII C were from the Soviet Union.[12]

The hospital facilities of Stalag VIII C were very good compared to those in other camps. They consisted of six large

well-built barracks. One was designated as a tuberculosis ward, two as general medical wards, two as surgical facilities, and one as the operating room. Facilities were considered more than adequate for at least 350 patients. A prison doctor ran the hospital with complete freedom.[13] Conditions in the hospital deteriorated quickly following the Allied landings in Western Europe in 1944. In late May, international observers regarded the hospital as excellent, with very good facilities, care, and medical supplies.[14] By November, the same observers described the facility as poorly heated due to broken windows. Patients lacked straw for beds and utensils for food. The medical supplies considered adequate only a few months prior had now been depleted.[15]

The evacuation of the camp took place in three separate columns, which were sent to Stalag III A in Luckenwalde and Stalag IX A in Ziegenhain via Stalag IX C in Bad Sulza. The first of these columns, which included the prisoners from Block B, left on February 8, 1945; the second and third columns left on February 11 and February 12, respectively. Those who were too sick to march were left in Sagan, where they were liberated by the Red Army.[16] The men who were sent toward Ziegenhain arrived there on March 7, after nearly a month of marching. Those who were sent out in the columns (about 23,000 men in total) were liberated by the American forces that liberated Ziegenhain in late March 1945 (or by the Western Allies soon afterward), or by the Red Army as their forces overran the evacuation routes of the later columns.[17]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VIII C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-8/18); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VIII C); NARA (RG 389); and TNA (FO 916/245; FO 916/23; WO 311/1012; WO 309/2188; WO 208/3277; WO 311/1095; WO 311/1027945; WO 311/1060).

Additional information about Stalag VIII C can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jencach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964), p. 370; Janusz Gumkowski and Michał Barciszewski, *Żagań, Stalag VIII C* (Warsaw, 1961); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*

*1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempe*l, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 20; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag VIII C," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 222–230; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 596; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy im Ossolinskich, 1972), pp. 21–22, 30, 33, 48–49, 70–72, 177–178; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 113; Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Halina Winnicka, *Żagań* (Warsaw, 1973).

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Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 20.

2. Telegram from International Red Cross to US Delegation (January 5, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

3. Report by the International Red Cross (October 27, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

4. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 596.

5. Report by the International Red Cross (October 27, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150; Report by the International Red

Cross (May 30, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

6. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 596.

7. Report by the International Red Cross (October 27, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

8. Rapport Définitif No. 768: Sagan, ITS Digital Archive 2.3.5.1/0035/0135.

9. Rapport Définitif No. 768: Sagan, ITS Digital Archive 2.3.5.1/0035/0134.

10. Rapport Définitif No. 768: Sagan, ITS Digital Archive 2.3.5.1/0035/0136.

11. Rapport Définitif No. 768: Sagan, ITS Digital Archive 2.3.5.1/0035/0132.

12. Gumkowski and Barciszewski, *Żagań, Stalag VIII C*; Senft and Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie*; Winnicka, *Żagań*.

13. Report by the International Red Cross (May 23, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

14. Ibid.

15. Report by the International Red Cross (January 5, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

16. Prisonniers de Guerre: Mouvement des Camps et Libération, ITS Digital Archive 1.1.0.6/0010/0018.

17. Rapport Définitif No. 768: Sagan, ITS Digital Archive 2.3.5.1/0035/0129.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) VIII D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag VIII D (map 4e) on May 5, 1941, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, and deployed it to Teschen (today Český Těšín, Czech Republic).[1] The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

Stalag VIII D held Polish, French, Belgian, British, and Serbian prisoners of war (POWs). Most of the prisoners worked outside the camp in work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) and the population inside the main camp was relatively small, reaching a peak of 7,020 in December 1941 and remaining between 5,500 and 7,000 in 1942.[2] The prisoners were treated decently by the guards and the conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

The prisoners had some access to cultural and recreational activities, though the French had far more opportunities to participate in such activities than prisoners of other nationalities. The French prisoners had a total of 50 clergymen among them, who traveled among the various work details; the Poles and Serbs, meanwhile, had no spiritual guidance. There was a prison library from which books could be circulated to the work details. While there were nearly 3,000 volumes in French, there were only 116 Polish books and a small number of instructional and religious books in Serbo-Croatian. The French had a program of educational courses, while no such program existed among the Poles and Serbs. All prisoners were offered the chance to watch German "cultural films" (i.e., propaganda) in the main camp and the work details. The sports field in the main camp was partially covered by a vegetable garden and was therefore too small for playing football; as a result, volleyball became the prisoners' sport of

choice.[3] On September 11, 1942, the Germans converted Stalag VIII D into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag VIII B.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag VIII D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–452; RH 53-8/18); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag VIII D); and TNA (FO 916/245; FO 916/23).

Additional information about Stalag VIII D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol.1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 20; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy im Ossolinskich, 1972); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 113.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 20.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG 30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, p. 446.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IX A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IX A on September 26, 1939, in Ziegenhain (today part of the municipality of Schwalmstadt), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX).

Stalag IX A was located southeast of the town of Ziegenhain. When the first prisoners arrived, there were no permanent structures at the campsite and the prisoners were forced to sleep in tents. Later, the tents were replaced by wooden barracks measuring 12 meters by 60 meters (39 by 197 feet). The first-known commandant was Oberst Carl Sturm, who held the position from January to June 1940. He was succeeded by Oberst Erich Hiltorp, who was in turn replaced by Oberst Wilhelm Lincke (formerly the commandant of Stalag IX C in Bad Sulza) in September 1940. Lincke was the longest-serving of the camp's commandants, remaining there until January 1943, when he was replaced by Oberst Willy Stenzel. The final commandant was Oberst Hermann Mangelsdorf, who succeeded Stenzel in July 1944.[2]

Stalag IX A at Ziegenhain. General view of the camp with prisoners in the foreground, October 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag IX A held Belgian, British, French, Soviet, and Serbian prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a large camp, with a population of more than 35,000 throughout most of the war and a maximum population of 53,408 prisoners in September 1944. However, most of the prisoners registered in the main camp did not live there but were instead deployed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the area surrounding the camp.[3] Many of the prisoners were employed in the arms industry in Kassel, in violation of the Geneva Convention's prohibition on the use of prisoner labor for war-related work.

The first prisoners to arrive in the camp were Polish POWs captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. As of December 13, 1939, there were 9,901 Polish POWs in the camp (including 56 officers). Most of the Polish prisoners were transferred out to other camps in the Reich by the spring of 1940, when the first French, Belgian, and British prisoners arrived from the western front. The French prisoners became the largest national group in the camp and remained so throughout the rest of the war. As of September 10, 1940, there were 35,784 French prisoners in the camp, compared to 3,935 Belgians, 220 Poles, and 2 British. One of the most notable French prisoners was François Mitterand, later the president of France, who was held in the camp from June 1940 until he managed to escape in December 1941. The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the camp in April 1941, after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia. The first Soviet prisoners were brought to the camp in the early fall of 1941. Finally, Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp in September 1943 after the Italian capitulation.[4]

The Germans generally treated the Western Allied and Serbian prisoners well, and their living conditions were mostly in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929. These prisoners had some access to recreational and cultural activities within the camp. There was a camp library and a large sports field where the prisoners played soccer and other games. A French Catholic priest held services for the Catholic prisoners of all

nationalities; however, as of March 1943, there was no Orthodox minister for the Serbian prisoners in the camp.[5]

As in other camps, the Germans treated Soviet POWs in Stalag IX A very poorly and in fact ignored the requirements of the Geneva Convention when it came to them. The Soviet prisoners lived in crowded quarters and received little food or medical care. These conditions led to widespread malnutrition and disease, resulting in a high death rate. Gestapo personnel also conducted selections of the Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars. Most of the Soviet prisoners who were selected in camps in Wehrkreis IX were taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where they were executed using the infamous *Genickschussanlage* (neck-shot installation).[6] Although there is little specific information available about the experiences of Italian military prisoners in Stalag IX A, it is likely that the Germans treated them poorly as well, as was generally the case in other camps where they were held.

During the final months of the war, conditions in Stalag IX A deteriorated for all prisoners, regardless of national group. American prisoner Sergeant James F. Harding, who arrived in the camp in late January 1945, described the barracks as "dirty, lice-infested and cold," noting that there were heating stoves but they were not supplied with any fuel. The prisoners' quarters were also overcrowded; Harding's 2,700-square-foot barrack held 270 men. Their rations consisted of three-quarters of a cup of vegetable soup and a sixth of a loaf of bread a day. With no Red Cross food parcels to supplement their diets, the prisoners rapidly lost weight; Harding stated that he had lost about 30 pounds in just over two months in Stalag IX A and that his weight loss was typical for the American prisoners in the camp at that time.[7] Another American prisoner, Sergeant Philip J. W. Glaessner, stated that the prisoners received almost no medical care because the American and French prisoner-doctors were given no medical supplies.[8] As a result, according to American corporal Donald Wesley Canfield, the majority of the American prisoners were sick with dysentery.[9]

On January 26, 1945, a group of 1,292 American noncommissioned officers arrived at Stalag IX A from Stalag IX B in Wegscheide, near Bad Orb. The following day, the camp commandant ordered all of the American Jewish prisoners to line

up in front of their barracks. Fearing that these prisoners were going to be executed, the highest-ranking American officer in the camp, Master Sergeant Roddie Edmonds, ordered all of the American prisoners, Jewish or non-Jewish to line up outside the barracks. When the commandant demanded that Edmonds give up the names of the Jewish prisoners, he informed the commandant that "we [the Americans] are all Jews here" and repeated this statement even after the commandant put his pistol to Edmonds's head and threatened to shoot him. In the end, none of the approximately 200 American Jewish prisoners was harmed in this incident. In 2015, 30 years after his death, Master Sergeant Edmonds was recognized by Yad Vashem as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. He is one of only five Americans to receive the honor and the only American soldier recognized as such; his citation is also the only one awarded for saving the lives of American Jews.[10] Stalag IX A was liberated by the American 6th Armored Division on March 30, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag IX A is located in BA-MA; NARA (RG 153, Box 44, File 100-468, Stalag IX-A [Ziegenhain, Germany]); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 450–453).

Additional information about Stalag IX A can be found in the following publications: Karin Brandes and Hans Gerstmann, *Gedenkstätte und Museum Trutzhain: Vom Stalag IX A Ziegenhain zur Gemeinde Trutzhain* (Schwalmstadt: Gedenkstätte Trutzhain, 2003); Martin Grzimek, *Trutzhain: Ein Dorf* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1986); Elisabeth Ludwig, *Eine wahre Geschichte: Stalag IX A Ziegenhain und was daraus geworden ist. Schwalmstadt, Gedenkstätte Trutzhain* (Schwalmstadt: Gedenkstätte Trutzhain, 2008); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 21; and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany*

1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population) (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 90–93. See also Trutzhain Memorial and Museum at www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/staettens/view/9/Trutzhain.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.
2. Brandes and Gerstmann, *Gedenkstätte und Museum Trutzhain*, pp. 10–12.
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 92–93.
4. Ibid., pp. 90–91.
5. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 450.
6. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 266.
7. Testimony of James F. Harding, T/4, NARA, RG 153, Box 44, File 100-468, Stalag IX-A (Ziegenhain, Germany).
8. Testimony of Philip J. W. Glaessner, T/5, NARA, RG 153, Box 44, File 100-468, Stalag IX-A (Ziegenhain, Germany).
9. Testimony of Donald Wesley Canfield, Cpl., NARA, RG 153, Box 44, File 100-468, Stalag IX-A (Ziegenhain, Germany).
10. "The Righteous Among the Nations: Edmonds, Rod-die (1919–1985)." *Yad Vashem*, at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=11025207.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IX B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IX B (map 4d) on December 1, 1939, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX and deployed it to Wegscheide, near Bad Orb.[1] The camp was liberated by American troops on March 30, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX). The camp commandant at the end of the war was Oberst Karl Sieber, and his deputy was Oberstleutnant Albert Wodarg.[2]

Stalag IX B held Polish, French, Belgian, Czech, British, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as of December 1941, and Italian military prisoners as of the fall of 1943. In late December 1944, 985 American prisoners captured during the German offensive in the Ardennes were placed in the camp. By the spring of 1945, there were 4,700 American prisoners in the camp. The maximum camp population was 25,000.[3]

The first prisoners to arrive at the camp were 14,000 Frenchmen. Most of them were immediately assigned to labor details (*Arbeitskommandos*), as were most prisoners of other nationalities. Many of the prisoners were employed in agricultural and forest labor (particularly Soviet prisoners), while others were employed at factories or by local government authorities (such as the City Construction Office, *Stadtbauamt*).[4]

Medical cases at Stalag IX B were treated at the camp hospital in Bad-Soden, which operated independently of the Stalag itself. This facility had a capacity of 300 beds and consisted of two separate buildings. The lower building was primarily for prisoners from Stalag IX B. The wards held up to 25 patients each. The upper building, by contrast, focused on eye care and the Bad-Soden hospital became the central hospital for optometry for POWs in Germany. The optometry building occupied a former

rheumatism clinic, and so the facility was well equipped and suited for medical use, unlike many of the more hastily constructed camp hospitals.

Overall conditions within the two camp hospital units were generally superior to those elsewhere in the German prison camp system. The facilities were well constructed and food quality and quantity was satisfactory, owing to a convent attached to the units, whose nuns provided all the meals. Patients were fed one of three menus based on their health. Prisoners had access to a library, and a camp theater was installed in one of the dining rooms.

Early on, the German administrators and guards from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon)* 621, under the command of Hauptmann Ludwig Merz treated the French and Belgian prisoners decently. Conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). In late 1944 and early 1945, however, conditions deteriorated significantly, because of the increasing disruption that Germany's military situation engendered.[5] Moreover, the conditions for Soviet prisoners in Stalag IX B were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs, and the inhumane treatment they received resulted in a high death rate; for example, in 1942, 1,430 Soviet prisoners died in the camp.[6] A cemetery containing the bodies of 1,433 dead Soviet prisoners was located in a forested area about a kilometer (0.6 miles) from the camp; these prisoners were buried in 12 mass graves, marked with an Orthodox cross.[7] A Gestapo team regularly screened the Soviet prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and Communists, who were then sent to a concentration camp (such as Buchenwald or Sachsenhausen), where they were executed on arrival.[8]

Stalag IX B at Wegscheide. Aerial photograph of the camp, 1944-1945. USHMM, COURTESY OF NARA, WS #88907.

For British and American prisoners, Stalag IX B was one of the worst camps in Germany. Conditions were appalling from the time the prisoners arrived and continued to deteriorate as the war progressed. The first transport of American prisoners arrived in late December 1944. By January 24, the camp had 4,075 Americans, held in 16 barracks. The compound had formerly accommodated Soviet prisoners, and almost no changes to the facilities had been made prior to the arrival of prisoners from the western front. According to the commandant, the camp personnel had received little to no notice that these prisoners would be arriving, so they had made no preparations.[9]

The facilities would have been inadequate for even half the number of American prisoners they were expected to accommodate. Nearly 1,500 men slept on the bare floor, many without blankets, in mostly unheated rooms. Of the 16 barracks, 3 lacked beds, and several others had fewer than half the beds needed. The few rooms that were heated had small stoves, and prisoners were given supplies of wood barely sufficient to heat the room for more than a few hours. As a result of the poor heating, ceilings and walls were frequently damp and at risk of collapsing. German authorities provided little more than cardboard for repairs. Prisoners had no cleaning supplies, primitive toilet facilities, and no way to wash their clothes. Though food rations were decent, the

majority of prisoners had to use their helmets as bowls.[10]

Conditions continued to deteriorate throughout the winter and into the spring. International observers described Stalags IX A, B, and C as "situation critical" following an inspection of the camps in March 1945.[11] Hygiene in the camp became "nonexistent" and food rations declined. Poor sanitation and inadequate shelter had contributed to widespread cases of dysentery and pneumonia. The camp became infested with vermin. Overcrowding worsened with the arrival of 2,000 British prisoners.[12] Observers warned of the "grave danger of epidemics" such as typhus breaking out in the camp.[13] In Stalag IX B, in particular, the German authorities exacerbated the problems by harassing international observers and failing to make any efforts to provide needed supplies and repairs for the collapsing camp infrastructure.[14]

The increase in the number of American prisoners toward the end of the war further burdened the already overcrowded camp. The scarcity of building materials made it nearly impossible for the camp leadership to address the problems within the camp. The water supply in the camp was heavily strained. The camp needed to provide water to an estimated 10,000 more prisoners than initially intended, overburdening the capacity of the existing water pumps. There were chronic shortages of medical supplies, clothing, and food.[15]

One series of events made even life at Stalag IX B seem relatively benign, because of the cruelty to which the Germans subjected one group of American POWs. In late January 1945, the camp administration received an order to supply 350 POWs for a labor detail. They went after the Jewish-American prisoners first. There was some resistance, and there were only 80 Jews among the Americans in any case, so eventually the Germans rounded out the group with men they labeled troublemakers, and some with Jewish-sounding names, or who looked Jewish, and some they simply chose at random. Once the prisoners had been selected and segregated, the Germans sent them to Kommando 625, near the town of Berga, where there was already a subcamp of Buchenwald.

The prisoners arrived at Berga on February 13 and moved into barracks near the camp perimeter. Their detachment was

responsible for digging tunnels for an underground ammunition factory; because this work was of a military nature, it constituted a violation of the Geneva Convention. The prisoners' treatment was little better than that of the Buchenwald inmates. Former prisoner Alan Reyner stated that "if we took one minute's rest, we were beaten with a shovel or spiked with a pick. All the foremen carried rubber hoses which they didn't mind using."[16] Prisoners frequently suffered from lung ailments due to the white dust churned up during their work. Medic William Shapiro recalled seeing bodies dangling from the gallows in Berga as he retrieved the prisoners' meals from the camp kitchen.[17] Unteroffizier Erwin Metz, the guard company commander, repeatedly sent severely ill prisoners to work, despite their condition, and also abused his charges at every opportunity, sometimes to the point of death.

Food supplies at Berga were grossly inadequate. On March 21, 1945, Red Cross parcels sent to Berga from Stalag IX C in Bad Sulza arrived, but Metz withheld them for days, at one point insisting that he would not hand them out until the prisoners had made themselves presentable—an impossibility in the environment of the camp.[18] Reyner recalled of himself and his fellow prisoners that "we had reached the stage of animals….[E]ven sick men had their food stolen from them before they could even get it."[19] On April 3, 1945, the day after the main camp of Stalag IX B was liberated, Metz marched the American prisoners at Berga southward toward Bavaria. Their route took them through the towns of Hof and Fuchsmühl before coming to an end at Rötz, where they were liberated by the US Army.

The total number of Americans who died at Berga and on the death march remains uncertain. The circumstances were chaotic, especially on the march, and some men's deaths were not recorded. Research at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum continues. At the time of printing, that research has yielded information on 201 of the original 350 POWs. Of those, 65 are confirmed to have died, and another three probably died. If that proportion holds for the entire group, then perhaps as many as 118 American servicemen sent to Berga died as a result of their treatment in German captivity.

Erwin Metz and Ludwig Merz were put on trial by the US Army at Dachau in September 1946. Both were found guilty and

sentenced to death by hanging. The sentences were reviewed, however, and despite vigorous protestations from survivors and victims' families, the sentences were commuted: Metz's to life imprisonment; Merz's to five years. In the end, Merz served three years, Metz nine.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag IX B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-9/17: Mannschaftsstammlager IX A-C); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag IX B); NARA (RG 389; T 1021, 40-IX B, Vol. 22); TNA (WO 224/30: Stalag IX B Bad Orb; FO 916/1150: Stalag VIII A, VIII B, VIII C, IX B); BArch B 162/15557–15558 (Aussonderung und Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag IX in Bad Orb zwischen Herbst 1941 und Frühjahr 1943); IWM; and USHMMA (Acc. 1996 A. 250).

Additional information about Stalag IX B can be found in the following publications: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armée, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag IX B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 243–247; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 150; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz, self-published, 1986), p. 21; Mitchell G. Bard, *Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps* (Boulder, CO: West-view, 1994); Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); "The Lost Soldiers of Stalag IX-B," *New York Times* (February 27, 2005); Flint Whitlock, *Given Up for Dead: American GIs in the Nazi Concentration Camp at Berga* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); Roger Cohen, *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis' Final Gamble* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); and Ernest W.

Michel, *Promises to Keep*, foreword by Leon Uris (New York: Barricade Books, 1993). See also Stalag IX-B Bad Orb at www.sgvavia.ru/forum/130-1137-1.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 150; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.

2. Personnel cards of Col. Karl Sieber, Commander of Stalag IX B, January 2, 1945, and Lt. Col. Albert Wodarg, Deputy Commander of Stalag IX B, November 16, 1943. November 16, 1943–January 2, 1945, NARA, T 1021, 40-IX B, vol. 1, Personalkarten.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.

4. Investigation File 161, ITS Digital Archive 2.2.0.1/0046/0462.

5. For details, see "Life in Stalag IX-B: Story of an American Held in a German POW Camp," by Pete House, 106th Infantry Division, 590th Field Artillery Battalion, Battery A at www.indianamilitary.org/German%20PW%20Camps/Prisoner%20of%20War/PW%20Camps/Stalag%20IX-B%20Bad%20Orb/Pete%20House/Life/House-Pete-Life.pdf; Bericht über den Gesundheitszustand der Kgf des Stalags IX B/Report of the Main Camp IX B physician, Dr. Jaitner, concerning the health of the prisoners of war and the general food conditions at Stalag IX B. March 29, 1945, NARA T 1021, 40-IX B, vol. 22.

6. "Orte der Ausgrenzung—Frankfurter Schulen 1933– 1945," *Lagergemeinschaft Auschwitz—Freundeskreis der Auschwitzer (Münzenberg)* 1: 27, Mitteilungsblatt (June 2007): 26.

7. Erklarung zur Planskizze des Russenfriedhofs des früheren Lagers Wegscheide and der Hindenburstr. bei Bad Orb, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0042/0185.

8. Aussonderung und Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag IX in Bad Orb zwischen Herbst 1941 und Frühjahr 1943, BArch B 162/15557.

9. Report by the International Red Cross (January 24, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

10. Ibid.

11. Telegram from International Red Cross to US Delegation (April 17, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

12. Memorandum, US Department of State (April 7, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

13. Telegram from International Red Cross to US Delegation (April 17, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

14. Ibid.

15. Report by the International Red Cross (March 23, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150.

16. USHMMA, Acc. 1996 A. 250, Alan J. Reyner Jr., typed memoir, p. 8.

17. Shapiro, "An Awakening: Personal Recollection and Appraisal of My Prisoner-of-War Experience," cited in Whit-lock, *Given Up for Dead*.

18. Diary of Anthony Acevedo, cited in Cohen, *Soldiers and Slaves*, pp. 173–174.

19. USHMMA, Acc. 1996 A. 250, Reyner memoir, p. 8.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) IX C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag IX C on February 3, 1940, in Bad Sulza, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IX. The reserve hospitals (*Reserve Lazarette*) in Egendorf and Obermassfeld (the latter also designated Reservelazarett IX C) were subordinate to the camp.[1] In 1944 and 1945, Stalag IX C also had a subcamp (*Nebenlager*) located in Meiningen, which served as a hospital for British prisoners. Stalag IX C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IX).

Stalag IX C was located along the River Ilm in the northern part of the town of Bad Sulza, near the border between the present-day states of Thuringia and Saxony-Anhalt. The first commandant of Stalag IX C was Oberst Wilhelm Lincke, who was in charge for the first three months of the camp's existence. He was replaced by Oberst Ludwig von Hoesslin, who served as commandant until September 19, 1941. His successor was Oberst Richard Weber, who remained until June 10, 1942, when he was replaced by Oberst August Horschelt. Horschelt was replaced by Oberst Ulrich Bernet on August 31, 1942. After Bernet's period as commandant ended on January 5, 1943, Lincke returned to the camp and once again served as commandant until July 31, 1943, when he was replaced by Oberst Wilhelm Schaal. Schaal was succeeded by the final commandant, Oberst Ernst Trefz, on December 10, 1944. The deputy commandants were Major Karl Hutter, Major Herbert Macholz, Major Richard Frankenberg, and Oberstleutnant Karl Findeisen. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Ernst Greiner.[2]

Stalag IX C held American, Belgian, British, French, Polish, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a large camp, with a population that remained above 30,000 throughout the war and a maximum

population of 55,669 in June 1944. However, the majority of the prisoners registered in the main camp were not actually housed there but were instead deployed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in the area surrounding the camp.[3] Conditions in the work details varied considerably. In some cases, prisoners were treated well, but, in others, the prisoners were forced to work beyond their capacity; as the French man of confidence in the camp noted, "The main principle was to exploit prisoners like machines … everything was subordinate to productivity."[4]

As of September 10, 1940, there were 23,328 French, 4,225 Polish, 2,016 British, and 219 Belgian prisoners in Stalag IX C. French prisoners made up the majority of the camp population throughout the war. The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the spring of 1941, after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia. As of May 1, 1941, there were 4,756 Serbian prisoners in the camp. Soviet prisoners arrived in the camp in the early fall of 1941; there were 1,605 Soviet prisoners in the camp as of November 1, 1941, and, by the next month, their number had grown to 4,195. The first American prisoners arrived in the summer of 1943, but their numbers remained relatively small until the following summer. Finally, in the fall of 1943, Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp. As of October 1, 1943, there were 2,285 Italian prisoners in the camp, but their numbers grew rapidly—by December 1, 1943, there were 9,225 Italians in the camp, and, by the following month, that figure had increased to 15,500.[5]

Stalag IX C at Bad Sulza. French POWs working outdoors, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The Germans generally treated the Western Allied prisoners in Stalag IX C well, and their living conditions were mostly in keeping with the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. The prisoners resided mainly in wooden barracks, although some prisoners slept in old, abandoned brick buildings that had previously been part of a factory. The conditions in these older buildings were somewhat worse: some prisoners slept directly on the floor due to the lack of beds and there were large numbers of rodents.[6] Red Cross inspectors also remarked in March 1944 that the conditions in the wooden barracks were better than in the brick barracks, although there were problems with heating and vermin in most of the buildings regardless of construction.[7] In both cases, the barracks were divided into two sections of prisoner quarters, separated by a washroom in the center of the building. The prisoners slept on triple bunk beds. Two Red Cross delegates who visited the camp on August 30, 1944, noted that the conditions in the British section of the camp were mostly satisfactory, with the prisoners' housing, food, medical care, and clothing meeting regulations; however, the delegates did note the lack of goods available in the camp canteen.[8]

These prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities within the camp. Religious services were conducted by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox clergy among the prisoners. There was a relatively large camp library with about 12,500 books. The prisoners were able to partake in a variety of sports, including table tennis, volleyball, and soccer. The prisoners also organized a theater troupe and the Belgian prisoners created a small orchestra.[9] By February 1943, the British prisoners had also created their own orchestra with the assistance of the YMCA. At that time, the commandant informed a visiting YMCA delegate that there were plans to hold monthly screenings of films through the Regional Film Bureau in Weimar, although it is unclear whether these plans ever came to fruition.[10]

The Soviet prisoners in Stalag IX C were treated terribly, in a manner that completely disregarded the requirements of the Geneva Convention. They lived in overcrowded quarters and

received little food or medical care. Malnutrition and disease were rampant among these prisoners, leading to a high death rate. The Soviet section of the camp (known as the *Russenlager*, or "Russian camp") was quarantined during the winter of 1941–1942 due to outbreaks of typhus and dysentery.[11] As in other camps for Soviet POWs, a special Gestapo detachment (in this case, from the Weimar office) conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) to separate out "undesirable" prisoners, such as Jews and political commissars, who were then turned over to the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) for execution. Most of the Soviet prisoners who were selected in camps in Wehrkreis IX were taken to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where they were executed using the infamous *Genickschussanlage* (neck-shot installation).[12] Although there is little specific information available about the experiences of Italian military prisoners in Stalag IX C, it is likely that the Germans treated them poorly too, as was generally the case in other camps where they were held.

Many of the prisoners in Stalag IX C were evacuated from the camp on March 29, 1945, as Allied forces approached from the west. The camp was liberated by the American Third Army on April 11, 1945.[13] The German staff fled the camp at around 3:30 p.m., and the Americans arrived about an hour and a half later to an enthusiastic reception from the remaining prisoners.[14]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag IX C is located in BA-MA (RH 49/141); BArch B 162/15565: "Ermittlungen wg. des Verdachts der Aussonderung sogenannter untragbarer russischer Kriegsgefangener im Stalag IX C in Bad Sulza zwischen Sommer 1941 and 1944" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2888.00000159–00000544); NARA (RG 59, Box 128, Stalag IX C); and USHMMA (2017.236.1 and RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 458–495).

Additional information about Stalag IX C can be found in the following publications: Bernard Bages, *Léo Académie ou de l'humour au stalag IX C* (Saint-Denis: Édilivre, 2015); Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, *Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps* (Oxford: Westview, 1994); Roger Cohen, *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the*

Nazis' Final Gamble (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2005); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Horst M. F. Heyland and Georg Judersleben, *Das Stalag IX C Bad Sulza* (Leutkirch in Allgäu: self-published, 2000); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 21; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 95–98; Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reich 1941/42: Behandlung und Arbeitseinsatz zwischen Vernichtungspolitik und kriegswirtschaftlichen Zwängen* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011); Rein-hard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); and Siegfried Schönborn, *Kriegsgefangene und Fremdarbeiter in unserer Heimat 1939–1945* (Freigericht: Naumann, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.
2. BArch B 162/15565, Bl. 314–316 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2888.00000493–00000495).
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 97–98.
4. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 80.
5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 95–96.
6. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 57.
7. Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (March 6, 1944), NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag IX-C.

8. Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (August 30, 1944), NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag IX-C.

9. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 485–486.

10. Report of the World Committee of the YMCAs (February 24–25, 1943), NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag IX-C.

11. Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reich*, pp. 264, 328.

12. BArch B 162/15565, Bl. 316 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2888.00000495); Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, p. 266.

13. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 21.

14. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 259–261.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) X A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag X A on September 30, 1939, in Schleswig, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X (map 4a). Until June 30, 1940, the deployment of prisoners of war (POWs) in Defense District X was carried out through Gruppe Ic of the deputy Generalkommando of the X Army Corps. In 1939, there were only a few POWs to administer. In a December 14, 1939 report, the Kiel Gestapo noted that 2,575 Polish POWs had been sent to Defense District X.

Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg belonged to Defense District X. Stalag X A in Schleswig was originally designated as Stalag X B, as the designation Stalag X A had already been given to the first POW camp in the district, in Sandbostel. The two camps later switched designations.

Stalag X A held French, British, Polish, Serbian, Soviet, Dutch, British, American, and Czechoslovak POWs as well as Italian military prisoners.[1] The camp consisted of a collection of different large camps and work details (*Arbeitskommandos*), which were widely scattered throughout the area, and the number of which frequently changed. The geographic designation Schleswig indicates the area in which the system was located. The commandant of the camp was responsible for the welfare of the prisoners, adherence to the Geneva Convention, contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the regulation of the labor service, the registration of prisoners, and the accounting of wages.

From May 1, 1940, the administrative center of the camp was located at the site of the former Youth Reform School in Hesterberg. The buildings were gradually freed up for camp use by the relocation of the residents. After Camp Hospital (*Reservelazarett*) III was also moved to the site, it was used only for military purposes. The area of Stalag X A was north of the

Elbe, including Greater Hamburg, up to the Danish border. Most of the work details for prisoners within Hamburg proper were subordinate to Stalag X B. In April 1943, they were returned and the subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Fuhlsbüttel was established.

This change explains the sharp decrease in the number of prisoners in 1941 (from about 55,000 in September to around 40,000 in December) and for the sudden increase from 8,500 to 45,923 in April 1943. A second explanation for the change lies in the often-forced conversion of Polish POWs to "civilian laborer" status. They then passed from the Wehrmacht's hands and could not be returned home; instead, they were subject to the discriminatory labor service for Poles. In Schleswig-Holstein, these measures were only begun in the fall of 1941, not in 1940 as they had been in the rest of the Reich. Large variations in the population in 1943 and 1944 were also caused by the arrival of Italian military prisoners, who were also later converted to "civilian laborers." The maximum prisoner population was 72,131 in March 1944, of whom 64,928 were performing labor. The addition of numerous prisoners from different nations resulted in a total of at least 102,592 prisoners who passed through the camp during the war.

The most concrete numbers for the prisoners in the labor service come from February 15, 1944. As of that date, 37,892 POWs in Schleswig-Holstein had been assigned to work through the Labor Office (*Arbeitsamt*). The majority of them (21,912) worked in agriculture. In the Hamburg Labor Office's area, there were 26,081 prisoners working. The construction industry and related trades employed 9,093 and 6,575 prisoners, respectively, and the machine, boiler, equipment, and vehicle manufacturing industries employed 2,946.

The Geneva Convention prohibited the use of POWs in war-related production, particularly in the manufacture and transport of weapons and munitions. Nevertheless, there were complaints about prisoners having to work on airfields, fortifications, and weapons production; for example, Kommando 1092 in Kiel worked in war production, Kommando 878 in Neumünster worked in an aircraft factory, and Kommando 329 in Pinneberg manufactured bombs.

The prisoners were guarded by Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillonen*). Initially, five such units were involved, which gives an idea of the camp's importance. At first, the number of work details varied regularly between 3,000 and 4,000.[2] Through the merger of smaller units over time, the number was reduced to between 1,000 and 2,000. In addition, certain groups of prisoners were eventually released from the work details (including Flemish Belgians, Poles, and Soviet prisoners from Galicia).

The allocation of prisoners was much sought after, and not every request could be met. For example, the local alderman (*Gemeindevorsteher*) in Büdelsdorf pressed the German Communities Council (*Gemeindetag*) with the Reich Labor Ministry for prisoner labor, without success. In order to obtain as many POWs as possible, communities began an intensive effort to find accommodations: guesthouses, schools, gatehouses, wooden barracks, sheds, pigsties, garages, barns, factory buildings, and the like were requisitioned to quarter prisoners. The hygienic conditions in these makeshift facilities often did not conform to the requirements of the Geneva Convention. Prisoners often complained about the bathing facilities, the presence of vermin, and the lack of heating. These spaces were often overcrowded and rain leaked through their roofs.

The complex in Heidkaten (33 kilometers [21 miles] north of Hamburg, in Kreis Segeberg) played a notable role. The fate of the Soviet prisoners in Stalag X A was reflected with its own infirmary in Heidkaten; there was also a very early work detail for Soviet prisoners (established on August 1, 1941). Otherwise, Heidkaten was the location of a large subcamp (*Teilstammlager*).

From October 1941 on, Soviet prisoners arriving in Stalag X A were often severely ill, especially with typhus. Due to fear of infection of the German civilian population, many of the prisoners were sent to the "Expanded Infirmary Heidkaten" (*Erweiterte Krankenrevier Heidkaten*). More than 400 Soviet prisoners died there by 1944. Not all of the sick went to Heidkaten, however; others died in other parts of the province, for example, in Flensburg and Alt Duvenstadt (Kreis Rengsburg). In addition to Heidkaten, the detachment in Broweg had a particularly high death

rate due to typhus. More than 100 prisoners died in the Broweg subcamp in 1941 and 1942.

The poor health of incoming Soviet prisoners in the camp explains the difference between the number of prisoners in the camp and the number of prisoners performing labor. On September 1, 1941, the difference was about 1,900; by December 1, it was 7,200. However, it must be noted that not all of this difference was due to illness; some prisoners worked within the camp itself and others were still waiting for their assignments from the Labor Office. In 1943 and 1944, there were also Italian military prisoners in Heidkaten, of whom 37 died between November 1943 and May 1944. The Soviet section of the infirmary and the main camp were transferred to Gudendorf (80 kilometers [50 miles] northwest of Hamburg, in Kreis Süderdithmarschen) in 1944.

The Germans intended that the prisoners would be granted their right to free medical care (under Article 18 of the Geneva Convention) in clinics, infirmaries, or nearby hospitals, if the camp clinic was not adequately equipped for this purpose. Camp Hospital II in Schleswig, expanded through the establishment of an additional hospital in Hamburg-Wandsbek, was responsible for the most severe cases in Stalag X A. In addition to Heidkaten and Gudendorf, there were also infirmaries in Elmschenhagen, Hamburg-Veddel, Neumünster, and Elmshorn. Additional infirmaries were located in Rendsburg, Marne, and Hamburg-Barmbek.

Clear violations of the Geneva Convention (particularly the right of repatriation for the severely ill or wounded) occurred throughout the war. Instead of being repatriated, the prisoners were sent back to work and their release from the detachments was prevented or delayed by their employers or the Labor Office. Reports from the ICRC and the Scapini Mission, as well as the ever-increasing death rate, indicate that medical care, which was never of high quality, deteriorated throughout the war. There were shortages of personnel, medication, and transportation, which were especially severe in the rural work detachments.

There were also repeated violations of the prohibition against corporal punishment (Article 46 of the Geneva Convention). There were penal detachments for escape attempts and unruly prisoners,

such as No. 823 in Glashütte (Kreis Segeberg) and No. 1646 in Vaalermoor (Kreis Rendsburg). Noncommissioned officers who refused to work (as was their right pursuant to Article 27 of the Geneva Convention) were sent to work detachment No. 1023 in Broweg. The "brutality of the overseer … is known to all of the prisoners and instills deep fear," as one prisoner noted of the detachment in Broweg.[3]

For Soviet POWs, there were Reich-wide special rules, for example, with respect to the use of firearms. Many such cases are known from the area of the main camp. Incidents in Neumünster, Plön, and near Sülfeld (Kreis Segeberg) serve as examples of the immediate use of weapons and the resulting deaths. In a strikingly different case, a combined English-German task force hunted down and killed five escaped Soviet POWs in Hartenholm on May 8, 1945, after the partial capitulation of northern Germany on May 5.

The Geneva Convention also regulated the procedures for the handling of prisoners of war who attempted to escape. The punishments for such attempts are regulated by Article 93. However, prisoners were taken for different reasons to jail or prison. The right to due process and legal representation was not respected in many cases. Polish and Soviet prisoners were, for the same incidents, given over to the Gestapo, sent to concentration camps, or publicly executed.

A particular danger existed for the prisoners, especially in Hamburg, with the Allies' increasing air superiority, combined with forced labor on airfields and in the armaments industry. Prisoners were forced to continue working even when the air-raid sirens sounded, there were often no air-raid shelters available, entry to bunkers was often refused, or they were even expelled from shelters. On August 4, 1944, 16 French and Belgian POWs who were quartered near the Blohm and Voss firm were killed in a bombing raid on Hamburg. On April 26, 1945, a bomb hit a barrack for Soviet POWs at the Eggebek airfield, killing many; some dazed prisoners who were wandering about in the village after the bombing were shot, so that a total of 74 POWs "passed away."

These examples should demonstrate that there were numerous

violations of the regulations of the Geneva Convention by the authorities at Stalag X A. This noncompliance led to daily hardships and illnesses and exacerbated the death rate among the prisoners. The camp was liberated by British forces between May 5 and May 9, 1945.

SOURCES Additional information about Stalag X A can be found in the following publications: Janine Dressler, "Die medizinische Betreuung von Kriegsgefangenen in Schleswig-Holstein: Das Stalag X A in Schleswig und das Internationale Komitee vom Roten Kreuz," *Zwangsarbeit und Gesundheitswesen im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Einsatz und Versorgung in Norddeutschland. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin* 16: 21–46 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2006); Janine Dressler, "Letzte Ruhestatt: Das vergessene Schicksal Italienischer Militärinternierter in Schleswig-Holstein. Mit einer Erinnerung an Maria Magdalena Truppa," *Informationen zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte* 41–42 (2003): 228–234; Gerhard Hoch, "Französische Kriegsgefangene in Hamburg 1941–1945," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 78 (1992): 209–233; Gerhard Hoch, "Broweg—ein Straflager in Nordfriesland," *Grenzfriedenshefte, vol. 1* (1994): 33–55; Gerhard Hoch, "Jagd auf sowjetische Kriegsgefangene: English-deutsche Einsatzgruppe in Hartenholm, Mai 1945," *Informationen zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte* 32: 71–79 (December 1997); Gerhard Hoch and Rolf Schwarz, *Verschleppt zur Sklavenarbeit: Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter in Schleswig-Holstein* (Bremen: W. Geffken, 1985); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel,* vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 15; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Populations)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 106–108; and Rolf Schwarz, "Der 15.2.1944: Eine Momentaufnahme der Wirtschafts- und Beschäftigungsverhältnisse in Schleswig-Holstein," *Informationen zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Zeitgeschichte*

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NOTES

1. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 107.

2. Schreiben des IKRK vom 22.7.1981 an den Verfasser und Besuchsbericht des IKRK vom 22.10.1940: Archiv de France F92717, dort auch die weiteren Berichte des IKRK und der Mission Scapini über das Stalag XA.

3. Besuchsbericht des IKRK vom 28.7.1941, Archiv de France F92717, dort auch die weiteren Berichte des IKRK und der Mission Scapini über das Stalag XA.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) X B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag X B in September 1939 in Sandbostel, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X (map 4a). Until June 30, 1940, the camp was subordinate to Gruppe Ic of the Deputy General Command of the X Army Corps (*Stellvertretendes Generalkommando / X Armeekorps*); thereafter, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X). The practical effect of this transfer of power was minimal.[1] In August 1942, Stalag X B took over the site of the former Stalag 310 (X D) in Wietzendorf, which became a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) known as Stalag X B/Z; this camp was later converted into Oflag 83.[2]

The first commandant of Stalag X B, from September 1939 to January 1940, was Oberst Büttner. He was succeeded by Oberst Arnold von Engelbrechten, who remained at the camp until May 1941. Von Engelbrechten was replaced by Oberstleutnant Gerhard von Hirsch in June 1941. In April 1942 von Hirsch was succeeded by Major (later Oberstleutnant) Kurt-Hermann Lefevre, who remained the commandant through March 1944. He was replaced by Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Bernhard Karl Waldemar von Foris, who remained the commandant until January 1945. The next commandant of Stalag X B was Oberst Lühe, who remained at the camp until April 20, 1945. The commandant for the final days before the camp's liberation was Oberstleutnant Heinrich Ferdinand Westphal. The camp was guarded by four (later six) companies of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) personnel.[3]

Stalag X B was originally constructed in 1932 as a camp for civilian laborers who had lost their jobs due to the Great Depression. It was taken over by the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) in 1933. In 1939, it was turned over to the

Wehrmacht for use as a prisoner of war (POW) camp.[4] As the first POW camp in Defense District X, it was originally designated Stalag X A; however, it later switched designations with the Stalag in Schleswig and became Stalag X B. It was part of a larger camp complex that also included an officers' camp (Oflag X B) and a camp for interned naval and merchant marine personnel (Marlag-Milag Sandbostel). The Marlag-Milag was relocated to Westertimke, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) south of Sandbostel, at the end of 1941.[5] The entire complex covered 35 hectares (86.5 acres) and consisted of more than 150 buildings. The Stalag was located in the northeastern quadrant of the complex.[6]

Stalag X B was one of the largest POW camps in Nazi Germany. More than 300,000 prisoners from 55 countries are estimated to have passed through the camp during the war.[7] The largest prisoner groups were Soviet and French POWs, with large numbers of British, Polish, and Serbian prisoners and small numbers of Romanian and Czechoslovak prisoners, as well as other nationalities, also present. The camp also held Italian military prisoners. Stalag X B reached a maximum population of 50,697 in November 1944.[8] Many of the prisoners in Stalag X B were assigned to one of the hundreds of work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were subordinate to the main camp. Many of the French and Belgian prisoners worked as laborers in the numerous industries located in the area around Hamburg—including some who were forced to work on military production, in violation of the Geneva Convention. Soviet POWs were primarily used as agricultural laborers.[9]

The first prisoners to arrive in Stalag X B were Polish POWs whom the Germans captured during their invasion of Poland in September 1939. As in other camps for Polish prisoners during this time, there were no permanent buildings in the camp yet, and the prisoners slept in tents while they built the camp structures. The original intended capacity of the camp was 10,000 prisoners in 40 barracks, but it was expanded to hold 30,000 in the spring of 1940.[10] In July 1940, the first French and Belgian prisoners arrived at the camp. In the spring of 1941, Serbian prisoners captured during the German invasion of Yugoslavia were brought to the camp, followed a few months later by Soviet prisoners from the

eastern front. In September 1943, the first Italian military prisoners arrived at Stalag X B.[11] Many other nationalities were represented in smaller numbers in the camp's population.

The Germans generally observed the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War in their treatment of Western Allied POWs. However, conditions in the first year of the camp's existence, before the completion of construction on the camp facilities, were difficult, as they were in most camps for Polish prisoners in the early stages of the war. For example, there were no permanent sanitary facilities available to the prisoners. By the time the first Western Allied prisoners arrived, conditions had improved and were generally decent for most of the war.

The prisoners slept in large wooden barracks with a capacity of 240 men per barrack. Each barrack was divided into two main halls, which were further subdivided into four rooms each, with a capacity of 30 men per room. The men slept on wooden double bunk beds. Between the two halls of each barrack was a washroom, which had running hot and cold water. Latrines and bathing facilities were located outside the barracks, and the prisoners had opportunities to take hot showers, a luxury not available in many other camps. Stalag X B also had its own delousing facilities, which had a capacity of between 700 and 1,000 prisoners per day.[12] Food supplies were generally adequate during this period. In the final months of the war, the conditions in Stalag X B deteriorated once again, as was the case in most camps in the Reich, due to the supply difficulties Germany was facing. Food decreased in quality and quantity and sanitary conditions worsened due to increasing overcrowding in the camp, which resulted from the evacuation of prisoners from camps farther to the east to Stalag X B. Prisoners relied heavily on Red Cross food parcels to maintain adequate nutrition during this period.[13]

Stalag X B at Sandbostel. General view of the camp, March 1944.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The prisoners in Stalag X B were allowed to engage in a variety of sports and cultural activities. Catholic and Protestant chaplains provided religious services for the prisoners; a daily Catholic mass and three or four services on Sundays were held. Most large work details had their own chaplains, while smaller units were visited by chaplains from other details. There was a 20-man theater troupe, which put on performances two to three times a week, as well as a 25-man orchestra with instruments provided by the YMCA and a choir that performed religious music. The prisoners had access to a library that had approximately 8,000 volumes; however, most of these volumes were in French, with comparatively small numbers of books in other languages, such as Polish and Serbian. The prisoners played a variety of sports, including basketball, football, and volleyball, on a large sports field in the northern section of the camp.[14] The prisoners organized courses in a variety of fields of study, including languages, mathematics, physics, theology, history, and technical subjects.[15] The camp leadership saw cultural and sports activities as a valuable asset, both because they would help maintain prisoner morale (and therefore discipline) and because they would help them project a positive image of life in the camp to their superiors and international observers.[16]

As in other camps, the treatment of Soviet POWs in Stalag X B was harsh and in violation of the norms established by the Geneva

Convention. The Soviet POWs lived in crowded conditions and received minimal food supplies and medical care. As a result, they experienced a high death rate, primarily due to malnutrition, exhaustion, and diseases such as typhus. The death rate was particularly high in the winter of 1941–1942, when epidemics were rampant among the Soviet prisoners.[17] The death toll in Stalag X B is not known with certainty. Several thousand prisoners, the vast majority of them Soviet, are known to have died in the camp; at least 4,697 of them are known by name, and it is likely that thousands more died and were buried in mass graves without record.[18]

POW hospital (*Lazarett*) Sandbostel, was attached to Stalag X B. The hospital had a capacity of more than 1,000 patients. In early 1944, the hospital became an independent unit with its own administration, separate from Stalag X B. Shipments of supplies from the Red Cross could be sent directly to the hospital instead of having to pass through the Stalag first. As of 1944, the Sandbostel hospital was the only POW hospital in Defense District X. It handled all serious and chronic medical cases from the nearby Stalags and Oflags.[19] The medical facilities were adequate, with well-constructed operating rooms and a dedicated, highly regarded team of medical officials. However, the facilities in the rest of the hospital were lacking. Linens and dressings were not cleaned properly due to a lack of laundry facilities. Low coal rations meant that the hospital was not heated sufficiently, which was exacerbated by a lack of extra warm clothing for the patients. The patients slept on hastily built and uncomfortable wooden beds. Nonetheless, Red Cross observers who visited the camp in April 1944 declared the Sandbostel hospital to be "one of the best [hospitals] for prisoners of war."[20]

Late in the war, concentration camp prisoners who had been evacuated due to the advance of Allied troops were brought to Stalag X B by the SS. They were housed in a separate compound, away from the POWs. These prisoners arrived in several transports during the last weeks of the war. On April 8, 1945, a transport of 2,500 prisoners from the Neuengamme concentration camp departed for Sandbostel, about 72 kilometers (44.7 miles) to the west. An additional 2,500 prisoners were picked up along the way in Schneverdingen. Hundreds of prisoners died en route to

Sandbostel on the severely overcrowded train and were either buried in mass graves near the rail line or removed on arrival and buried in the Stalag X B cemetery. On April 18, as the Germans prepared to evacuate Stalag X B, 400 of the former Neuengamme prisoners were marched out of the camp in the direction of Flensburg via Bremervörde. It is unknown how many of these prisoners died on this forced march. The survivors were liberated by British troops on May 8, 1945.[21]

Stalag X B was liberated by British forces on April 29, 1945.[22] There were about 25,000 POWs and 8,000 former concentration camp prisoners remaining in the camp at the time of its liberation. The POWs were generally in good shape, although there were 122 typhus cases reported by the French doctor attending to them in the camp infirmary. Captain R. Barer, who was part of the British unit that liberated the camp, reported that the POW camp was "well-run," but that food was scarce (although Red Cross parcels remained plentiful) and that sanitary facilities were "poor but passable." However, even the deteriorated conditions in the POW camp were much better than those in the compound in which the SS had kept the concentration camp prisoners.[23]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag X B is located in BA-MA; IWM (BU 4884); NARA (RG 59, Box 91; RG 153, Box 95; RG 389, Box 2143); USHMMA (RG-09.038; RG-15.843; RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 525–541); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag X B).

Additional information about Stalag X B can be found in the following publications: Werner Borgsen and Klaus Vol-land, *Stalag X B Sandbostel: Zur Geschichte eines Kriegsgefangenen- und KZ-Auffanglagers in Norddeutschland, 1939– 1945* (Bremen: Temmen, 1991); Andreas Ehresmann, ed., *Das Stalag X B Sandbostel: Geschichte und Nachgeschichte eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers: Katalog der Dauerausstellung* (Munich: Dölling und Galitz, 2015); P. van der Heyde, *Sandbostel! Kamp XB: uit het leven van een Vlaamsch krijgsgevangene* (Antwerp: P. Vink, 1941); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und*

Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 22; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939– 1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 100–103; and Klaus Volland, ed., *Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Sandbostel: Eine Wanderausstellung des Trägervereins Dokumentations- und Gedenkstätte Sandbostel* (Bremervörde: Dokumentations- und Gedenkstätte Sandbostel, 1994). See also Gedenkstätte Lager Sandbostel (the Sandbostel Camp Memorial site at www.stiftung-lager-sandbostel.de.

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NOTES

1. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B*, p. 16.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.
3. Ehresmann, *Das Stalag X B Sandbostel*, pp. 52–56.
4. Volland, ed., *Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Sandbostel*, p. 11.
5. For additional information, see the entries for Oflag X B and Marlag Milag Sandbostel.
6. "Veranstaltungshinweise," *Gedenkstätte Lager Sandbostel at*. www.stiftung-lager-sandbostel.de.
7. Ibid.
8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 100–103.
9. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B*, pp. 52–54.
10. Ehresmann, *Das Stalag X B Sandbostel*, pp. 46–48.
11. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B*, p. 24.
12. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B*, p. 34.

13. Ibid., pp. 34–45.

14. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, 1940–1945, Reel 2, pp. 525–526.

15. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 535.

16. Ehresmann, *Das Stalag X B Sandbostel*, p. 99.

17. Borgsen and Volland, *Stalag X B*, p. 169.

18. Ehresmann, *Das Stalag X B Sandbostel*, pp. 132–133.

19. Report by the International Red Cross (March 26, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

20. Report by the International Red Cross (April 22, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

21. "Transporte, die das KZ-Lager Neuengamme und seine Kommandos in der Zeit zwischen 6.-29.4.45 verliessen," ITS Digital Archive, 5.3.3/0008/0021–0022.

22. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.

23. USHMMA, RG-09.038, Sandbostel—April 1945, Folder 1, pp. 1, 3.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) X C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag X C in Nienburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) X (map 4a), by an order of the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*, AHA) dated July 17, 1940.[1] Stalag X C remained in Nienburg until the end of the war, in an area directly next to Oflag X B (Mudra Barracks). When the first prisoners of war (POWs) arrived in July 1940, the construction of housing (wooden barracks) was continued. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District X (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* X).

No field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was assigned, since the camp remained within Germany. The following officers served as camp commandant:[2]

Oberstleutnant z.V. Gebhard von Kotze	July 25–September 12, 1940
Oberstleutnant z.V. Beelitz	September 13–December 17, 1940
Major z.V. Dr. Willi Anschütz	December 20, 1940–April 11, 1941
Oberst Curt von Zimmermann	May 9, 1941–July 31, 1942
Oberstleutnant d.R. Ernst Bischoff	August 1, 1942–January 31, 1944
Oberst Ernst von Koss	from February 1, 1944
Oberst Steininger	from March 25, 1944

The campgrounds and the work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) were guarded by the 2nd Company of the Home Guard Battalion 325 (*Heimatschutzbatallion* 325, later Reserve Battalion 233) and by Reserve Battalions

(*Landesschützenbataillone*) 660, 670, 675, and 680. Stalag X C temporarily supported POW Construction and Labor Battalions 2 and 22, respectively (*Kriegsgefangen Bau- und Arbeits-Bataillon 2 bzw*. 22) during their deployment in the region. This support consisted of, among other things, handling administrative matters, providing medical care, passing on shipments of charitable gifts, and providing support services to the POWs. On November 4, 1941, Stalag X C detailed personnel for the organization of Stalag 370 in Nienburg, by order of the Deputy Corps Headquarters for XII Army Corps (*Stellvertretende Generalkommando XII. Armeekorps*).[3]

In July 1943, Stalag X C had a special feature. It served as the central collection camp for POWs who had worked for the Wehrmacht as *Geheimnisträger*, persons entrusted with confidential information (confidential informants, radio operators, etc.), but who could no longer do so. Usually, the reason for this was that the individual had been exposed or unmasked or that there were security concerns about him.

Stalag X C had a subcamp in Rohrsen, in an area with wooden barracks in the communal district of the municipality of Heemsen. It was established in September 1942 and admitted the separatist French POWs from Corsica on October 20, 1942, prisoners who previously had been housed in Oflag V C. The Germans continued their efforts to use this group of POWs for political purposes. The poor conditions in Rohrsen, however, caused the Corsicans to feel as if they were in a penal camp, and their interest in collaboration with the Germans gradually faded away. Then the project was abandoned by the Germans, and the Corsicans were assigned to other camps. From then on, the Rohrsen camp was used only as accommodation facilities for Soviet POWs. Finally, by order of the AHA on May 15, 1944,[4] it was disbanded and turned into a camp hospital (*Lazarett*) for around 500 Soviet POWs who had contracted tuberculosis. The conditions there were very poor and in no way justified the designation of "hospital." More than 700 Soviet soldiers lost their lives there.

Stalag X C at Nienburg. Group portrait of Belgian POWs, 1940–1941. USHMM, COURTESY OF MYRIAM SANFUENTES, WS #98117

Stalag X C was a fairly large camp with an average of around 30,000 prisoners, reaching maximum occupancy in June 1941 with a prisoner population of approximately 45,000.[5] The French constituted the largest group. The second-largest group varied, at different times being made up of Belgians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Italians, or, perhaps most often, Soviets. Additional countries were also represented in the camp in smaller numbers, ranging from 5 to 100 prisoners at various times: Great Britain, Romania, Greece, and Crete. Stalag X C thus had the full range of possible prisoners in its area. Until June 1941, the camp also held a total of 100 civilians from France, Belgium, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The treatment of the POWs depended on their nationality. Those receiving the best treatment were the Belgians, the British, and, in particular, the French, who received strong support from the pro-Pétain movement in Vichy France. The POWs from Western nations received substantial deliveries of foodstuffs and other materials from relief organizations.

A library (around 20,000 books) was available to the prisoners, and they had orchestras and theater ensembles. These opportunities were also provided to the work detachments, which

enjoyed performances and received regular shipments of crates of books. The French published several camp newspapers for their own group: *Le Mois*, *Entre Nous*, *Servir*, and *La Françisque*. Numerous courses on all kinds of topics functioned for the prisoners as a sort of camp university.

The Poles and Yugoslavs received somewhat worse treatment. On the lowest rung of the ladder were the Italians and, especially, the Soviets, who were provided insufficient rations and inadequate medical care and often had to perform very hard work. Clergymen of various faiths who were members of the prisoner population held religious services on a regular basis.

Between 85 and 95 percent of the camp was deployed in more than 1,000 work detachments, dispersed among nine district sites. The support area of Stalag X C was essentially the area of the Lower Saxony Regional Employment Office (*Landesarbeitsamt*) (provided that the places were located in Defense District X). The main emphasis of labor deployment was on agriculture and drainage projects. In the Bremen area, deployment in industry was the general rule.

The medical care provided to the POWs usually began in the camp's medical clinic, which was operated by physicians and personnel drawn from the POW population, under German supervision. Because of the distance from the camp to the work detachments deployed in the Bremen area, Stalag X C operated a medical clinic there. The more seriously ill were referred to hospitals outside the combat zone (with POW wards) or to POW hospitals, such as those in Sandbostel and Rohrsen (here, for Soviet POWs).

Stalag X C received numerous visits from a variety of delegations. In addition to the main camp, the visitors very often went to the labor detachments. The following visit reports are known: US Embassy—November 18, 1940; February 20, March 12, May 9, June 17, and September 1941; YMCA— April 24, June 25, September 16, 1941; September 18, 1942; February 23, and February 26, 1944; ICRC—November 13– 19, 1940; March 6, July 7, July 10, August 2, November 24, and November 29, 1941; January 9, August 3, November 10, and November 26, 1942; July 29, and August 9, 1943; February 23, March 25, July 29, and

October 13, 1944; March 16, 1945; Scapini Mission—March 8, July 14, and August 2–8, 1941; January 8–9, 1942; February 7, and July 29–30, 1944; DSLP— September 13, 1942 and March 25, 1944; Swiss Legation— February 7, 1944.

Some reports contain overall assessments. For the main camp in Nienburg, these assessments generally were in the "good" to "very good" range. For the labor detachments, the assessments varied quite widely. The evaluation result depended on the nature of the work, the housing, and the degree to which the regulations were observed by the employer in question. The assessments covered the entire spectrum from "not acceptable" to "very good." The Rohrsen subcamp, like the camp hospital into which it was converted, received uniformly negative evaluations.

The end of the deployment period of Stalag X C began in March 1945. Numerous prisoners were admitted in the wake of evacuations from other camps. This inevitably led to problems in the distribution of scarce resources.

Beginning on April 5, 1945, the POWs who were fit to march were evacuated from the camp and forced to walk in a northerly direction. The first work detachments were liberated in their deployment locations by the Allies. On April 9, 1945, the US Army liberated the Nienburg permanent camp area (with the approximately 15,000 prisoners still remaining there).

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag X C is located in BA-MA (RH 15/81, RH 53-10/37, RW 6/483, RW 59/2128, MSg 194/58, 65, 66); PAAA (R 40678, 40705, 4076b, 40972b, 40973, 40974, 40975, 40980, 40982, 40988, 40991, 67003, 67004, 67011, 67033, 67041, 67053, 67054, 67055, 67056, 67060); StA Diepholz (V 13); KrA Grafschaft Diepholz (B 132); StA Oldenburg (136/7032); TsAMO (B 500-14250-41); CMJW (R MKCK 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13); AN (F 9-2296, 2680, 2717, 2880, 2899, 2917, 2920, 3315); ICRC (Hist 01580, 01707, 02230); and NARA (RG 242, T-84, Roll 464).

Additional information about Stalag X C found in the following publications: Patrizia Berger, Frank Thomas Gatter, and Hans Klusmann-Burmeister, *In fremder Erde namenlos begraben—das Schicksal sowjetischer KrGef, Zwangsarbeiterinnen und*

Zwangsarbeiter in Nienburg 1941 bis 1945 (Nienburg: Das Archiv, 1991); Helga Bories-Sawala, *Franzosen im "Reichseinsatz"—Deportation, Zwangsarbeit, alltägliche Erfahrungen und Erinnerungen von Kriegsgefangenen und Zivilarbeitern* (New York: P. Lang, 1996); Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris, 1982); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalag, les Oflag et les Kommandos 1939–45* (Hachette, 1987); Holger Frerichs, *Todesursache: Erschossen, das Arbeitskommando Bockhorn-Kreyenbrok, die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen und die 27 Russengräber auf dem Friedhof Bockhorn-Luers* (Leer, 2010); Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Deutschen Reich 1941/42, Behandlung und Arbeitseinsatz zwischen Vernichtungspolitik und kriegswirtschaftlichen Zwängen* (Göttingen, 2011); Fernand Masson, *Als Kriegsgefangener zwischen Weser und Ems* (Leer, 1985); Günter Nonninger, *Fleckfieber, eine erschütternde Kriegserinnerung* (Nettetal, 2002); *Revue International du Croix Rouge* 267 and 312; Hans-Jürgen Sonnenberg, *Gefangen hinter Stacheldraht— Oflag X B und Stalag X C, KrGefLager in Nienburg* (Nienburg, 2005); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); and Hans-Jürgen Sonnenberg, *Kriegsgefangene im Kreis Nienburg 1939–45* (Nienburg, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Fernschreiben des AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/81).
2. BA-MA, RW 59/2128.
3. Stammtafel Stalag 370 (BA-MA, RH 53-11/13) and Stammkarte des AHA für Stalag 370 (BA-MA, RH 15/458).

4. Stammtafel AHA für ZL Rohrsen (BA-MA, RH 15/458).

5. The monthly strength reports of the camp, by nationality, from the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XI A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XI A on September 20, 1939, in Altengrabow, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI (map 4a); until November 1939, the camp was officially known only as Stalag XI. It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI). The camp was liberated by the Red Army on May 3, 1945.

The camp was located near a military parade ground and a munitions depot. The site had functioned as a prisoner of war (POW) camp during World War I as well, holding about 12,000 French prisoners, who worked in nearby farmers' fields. At the start of World War II, Stalag XI A had 15 multistory masonry buildings, 35 masonry barracks, 25 wooden barracks, and 25 horse stables. The camp was guarded by personnel from the 718th, 720th, 740th, and 741st Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*).

The first prisoners to arrive at Stalag XI A were Polish, but the majority of the prisoners in the camp in the first years of the war were French. Most of them were sent to work in industrial concerns in the region, mainly in Stendal, Magdeburg, and Dessau. After the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the prisoner population of the camp increased substantially. Despite the large number of structures on the grounds, the camp became severely overcrowded, as 49,500 prisoners were crammed into it; as a result, many of the Soviet POWs had to sleep in the stables. About 70–80 percent of the prisoners were assigned to one of the camp's approximately 1,600 work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), most of which were located in the eastern part of Defense District XI. Most of the prisoners who remained in the camp were not physically capable of agricultural or industrial labor, whether through weakness induced by the conditions in the camp or

through combat injuries.

Forced labor by POWs was generally administered along the same lines in each Defense District, but the types of work the prisoners performed took on a local character unique to each region, based on the interests of the organizations that were concerned with POWs. In Defense District XI, many of the POWs were sent to the industrial center of Magdeburg, where they worked for companies such as Krupp, Wolf, and Strube producing goods that were important for the war effort. Approximately 4,500 prisoners worked in 30 work detachments in Magdeburg's industrial area. Even in early 1942, observers from the International Committee of the Red Cross decried the conditions for the work detachments in Magdeburg, including the poor quality of the housing and food provided to the prisoners. The situation became much worse as work detachments for Soviet POWs were created; these prisoners were afforded essentially no rights and lived in atrocious conditions. At least 3,229 Soviet POWs are known to have died in Stalag XI A and its associated work detachments.

The large number of work detachments from Stalag XI A virtually ensured that restrictions on "forbidden relationships" between prisoners and the German civilian population would be violated, particularly in areas where women were also working in the war-related industries.

The prisoners' cultural and recreational activities in the camp were mainly possible because of the intervention of the YMCA, which provided them with books, films, and sports equipment. Polish and Western Allied POWs were able to celebrate holidays and hold religious services. French painters received preferential treatment and were allowed to create an "artists' workshop" in which they produced artworks; 38 caricatures produced by the prisoners in the camp have survived. There was a Dutch-language Protestant Church in the camp, which operated from 1943 to 1945.

Western Allied prisoners had access to the large camp hospital, which had a capacity of over 1,200 beds. This hospital primarily dealt with more severe ailments requiring surgery, with lesser cases handled in smaller medical wards in the camp. The hospital was generally adequately supplied; patients received sufficient

food rations, medications, and dressings. By contrast, the facilities within the camp clinics were old and insufficient for the number of patients. International observers characterized the hospital as overcrowded and in need of cleaning. Patients were kept in bunk beds with older straw mattresses. As late as mid-1944, there were no separate facilities for prisoners with communicable diseases such as tuberculosis.[1]

As of January 1, 1945, there were 62,300 prisoners in Stalag XI A, including Americans, British, Poles, Belgians, French, Dutch, and Soviets. On April 25, 1945, some Western Allied prisoners were evacuated from the camp by British, French, and American commandos led by Major Philip Worrall, in an action code-named "Operation Violet."

In the 1960s, the prosecutor's office in Hamburg began an investigation of "weeding out" operations (*Aussonderungen*) performed by camp personnel in collaboration with the SS.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XI A can be found in GARF, RGVA, ACMJW, PAAA, NARA (RG 389), and Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Magdeburg (Bestände C 20 I, C 134 I 28, I 33).

Additional information about Stalag XI A can be found in the following publications: Franciszek Donczyk, *Stalag XI A Altengrabow* (Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1959); Paul Kannmann, "Das Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager XI A Altengrabow (1939–1945)" (PhD dissertation, University of Magdeburg, 2014); "Das Stalag XI Altengrabow und seine Arbeitskommandos als 'Unorte' der NS-'Volksgemeinschaft.' Kommunikations- und Interaktionsräume am Beispiel sogenannter GV-Verbrechen," *Schwierige Orte. Regionale Erinnerung, Gedenkstätten, Museen*, ed. Justus Ulbricht (Halle/Saale, 2013), 137–152; "Das Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschaftsstammlager XI A Altengrabow (1939–1945). Forschungsbericht," *Erinnern! Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung* 2 (2012): 15–27; Rolf Keller, "Bergen-Belsen, Altengrabow, Magdeburg: Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Wehrkreis XI," *Erinnern! Aufgabe, Chance, Herausforderung*, ed. Stiftung Gedenkstätten Sachsen-

Anhalt, 3 (2004): 1–13; Fabienne Montant, *Altengrabow: Stalag XI-A* (Carcassonne: Les Audois, 1999).

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Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTE

1. Report by the International Red Cross (May 24, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XI B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XI B on September 24, 1939, in Fallingbostel (map 4a), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XI. On March 6, 1942, Stalag XI B took over the former Stalag 321 (XI D) in Oerbke (located about 1 kilometer [0.6 miles] from the main camp in Fallingbostel), which became known as Teillager Oerbke. On October 10, 1943, Stalag XI B also took over part of the former Stalag 311 (XI C) in Bergen-Belsen, which became a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) known as ZL Bergen-Belsen. Stalag XI B was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XI).[1]

Stalag XI B was located on a former training ground of the German army (*Heer*), where barracks had been constructed in 1935. Additional wooden barracks that had been used by workers on this site prior to the war were fenced in and used as housing for prisoners of war (POWs) after September 1939. There were seven separate compounds within the camp, each of which housed a different national group (although American and British prisoners were kept together in one compound late in the war). A separate camp for Soviet prisoners was located one kilometer north of the main camp in Fallingbostel; it was originally the independent Stalag 321 (XI D), later incorporated into Stalag XI B. The commandant of Stalag XI B was Oberst Ostmann.[2] The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 461.

Stalag XI B held American, Belgian, British, Dutch, French, Polish, Serbian, Slovak, and Soviet POWs, as well as Italian military prisoners. It was one of the largest POW camps in Germany, with a population well above 50,000 for most of the war and a maximum population of 95,294 on September 1, 1944. However, the majority of the prisoners registered in the camp were

not housed within the main camp itself but were instead working outside the camp in one of the many work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were distributed throughout the surrounding area.[3] The labor performed by the prisoners in Stalag XI B was controlled by the State Labor Office of Lower Saxony (*Landesarbeitsamt Niedersachsen*). Most of the prisoners in the camps in Wehrkreis XI were employed in the defense industry near the city of Hannover, including the Hermann Göring Werke.[4] Other prisoners worked on nearby farms and in forestry.[5] The prisoners working in Hannover were quartered in a number of small camps throughout the city that were operated by the German Labor Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, DAF), while the city administration of Hannover operated an additional 21 camps, which held approximately 7,000 prisoner-laborers from camps in Wehrkreis XI, primarily Stalag XI B.[6]

The first prisoners to arrive in Stalag XI B were Polish POWs captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. By December 13, 1939, there were 7,958 Polish prisoners in the camp. The next prisoners brought to the camp were French, British, and Belgian prisoners who arrived in the spring of 1940, following the German campaign in Western Europe. As of September 10, 1940, there were 17,416 Belgian prisoners, 13,062 French prisoners, 2,180 Polish prisoners, and 1 British prisoner in the camp. The French soon became the largest national group in the camp and would remain so throughout the war; however, the camp continued to have a relatively large number of Belgian prisoners. Serbian prisoners were brought to the camp in the spring of 1941 after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in April of that year. As of May 1, 1941, there were 5,213 Serbian prisoners in the camp. The first Soviet prisoners arrived in the late fall of 1941 and soon became the second-largest prisoner group in the camp. By December of that year, there were 11,785 Soviet POWs in the camp. A small number of Dutch prisoners were brought to the camp in the summer of 1943, followed by Italian military prisoners in the fall of that year. The Italian contingent in the camp was also quite large, with 13,561 Italians in the camp by October 1943. American prisoners arrived in the late fall of 1943, although there was not a permanent American population until the fall of 1944; as of December 1, 1944, there were 378 Americans in the

camp. The final prisoners to arrive in Stalag XI B were Slovak prisoners captured during the Slovak National Uprising in the late summer and early fall of 1944. On December 1, 1944, there were 2,751 Slovaks in the camp.[7]

The conditions experienced by Polish, Serbian, and Western Allied prisoners in the camp varied over time. The Germans generally treated these prisoners well and observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929 in their accommodation of these prisoners. However, early in the war, the influx of large numbers of prisoners strained the camp's resources and led to overcrowding and poor hygienic conditions; an outbreak of typhoid fever occurred in 1940. These problems repeated throughout the war as large numbers of prisoners continued to arrive in the camp.[8] The efforts of the prisoner-doctors to provide medical care in the camp were often hampered by the lack of medical supplies, particularly during the final months of the war.[9] American corporal Albert Smith stated that lice were omnipresent, even in the infirmary, and that the sick prisoners who were inpatients there slept on straw mattresses with only a single blanket.[10]

These prisoners had some access to recreational and cultural activities in the camp, including a camp library, a theater troupe, an orchestra, and sports fields. Religious services were provided by clergy within the camp.[11] The French prisoners published two newspapers, one entitled *Les Temps Perdu* (*The lost times*) and the other called *Unir* (*Unite*).[12] A British paratroop officer, Regimental Sergeant Major John Clifford Lord, took on a leadership role within the British section of the camp after he arrived following his capture at Arnhem in September 1944. He demanded discipline and good hygiene from the prisoners as though they were in a regular army camp rather than a POW camp.[13]

As in other camps, the Germans treated Soviet prisoners of war horribly, in flagrant violation of the terms of the Geneva Convention. The prisoners lived in severely overcrowded quarters and received minimal food and medical care. As a result, diseases such as typhus and dysentery spread rapidly through the Soviet prisoner population and, in combination with chronic malnutrition and exhaustion, produced a very high death rate. After the closure

of Stalag 321 (XI D), the surviving Soviet prisoners from that camp were transferred to Stalag XI B, where the conditions were little better than they had been in the former Russian camp (*Russenlager*).[14] Even in the final months of the war, the death rate among the Soviet prisoners remained high. American private first class Robert G. Noble recalled that during his time in the camp, between late February and mid-April 1945, the Soviet prisoners were dying at a rate of almost 20 men a day due to malnutrition, pneumonia, typhus, and tuberculosis.[15]

Although the Germans were initially hesitant to use Soviet POWs for forced labor in the work details for ideological and security reasons, after the first winter, they relented and began to employ large numbers of Soviet laborers. Even the officers (exempted from working by the Geneva Convention, which the Germans routinely ignored) were put to work in their own "special" work details; a total of 44 such kommandos were created.[16] As in other camps, the Germans—in this case, a special unit (*Einsatzkommando*) of the Hamburg Gestapo—conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of the Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were sent to concentration camps and executed.[17] Most of the Soviet prisoners who were selected in the Stalags in Wehrkreis XI were sent to Sachsenhausen, but a few were sent to Neuengamme.[18]

The Germans also treated Italian military prisoners poorly in Stalag XI B, as was generally the case in other camps as well. The Italian prisoners' section of the camp was overcrowded and sanitary conditions were inadequate. Dysentery and other infectious diseases, including influenza and tuberculosis, were widespread. Their food rations consisted of two bowls of soup per day. Since the Italian prisoners were sent to hard labor (for example, in a nearby Volkswagen factory), these meager rations quickly led to malnutrition. Once it became clear that the inadequate food rations were depleting the working strength of the Italian prisoners, the Germans decided to add a third bowl of soup and a piece of bread to their diets. Nonetheless, the rates of disease and mortality among the Italian prisoners remained high.[19]

In September 1944, the Germans reestablished the camp at

Oerbke, now designated as Stalag 357. Some of the prisoners from the severely overcrowded Stalag XI B as well as some new arrivals—mainly American and British prisoners from Stalag Luft 4 and Stalag XX A, who had marched hundreds of kilometers to Fallingbostel along the "northern route"—were transferred to that camp.[20] However, by the final months of the war, conditions had severely deteriorated in both camps due to overcrowding and shortages of supplies.

New American prisoners arriving in the camp after the Battle of the Bulge were forced to live in tents, as there was no room left for them in the barracks.[21] These tents were often filled well beyond their capacity—as many as 150 men in a space intended to hold 70–75—and had no furnishings or bedding; the prisoners slept on straw on the ground. The tents were also not heated.[22] Those who were fortunate enough to live in the barracks found them to be severely overcrowded and poorly heated—American private first class Paul C. Denning recalled that there were 234 men in his barrack.[23] Although the sanitary facilities were still maintained, American prisoners noted that the camp's drinking water had a very high sulfur content, which induced gastrointestinal illnesses among the prisoners. The decreased food rations, mainly consisting of soup, during the last weeks of the war caused many prisoners to suffer from malnutrition and lose significant amounts of weight; they depended heavily on Red Cross parcels for supplementary food, but only two shipments of these parcels arrived in the final eight weeks of the operation of Stalag XI B.[24]

Around 12,000 prisoners from Stalag XI B and Stalag 357 were evacuated to the northeast toward Lübeck and Schleswig beginning on April 6, 1945.[25] Stalag XI B was liberated by the 7th Division of the British Second Army on April 16, 1945.[26] The final columns of prisoners evacuated from the camp were liberated on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XI B is located in BA-MA; BArch B 162/25228: "Ermittlungen StA Braunschweig 1 Js 466/66 gg. Einwohner der Gemeinde Neuekrug-Hahausen wg. der Tötung von russ. Kriegsgefangenen aus dem Kommando 3330 des Stalag Fallingbostel XI B im April 1945" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reel 2007); NARA

(RG 59, Box 91 and 128, Stalag XI B; and RG 153, Box 29–30, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B [Fallingbostel, Germany]); and USHMMA (2007.398; RG-04.036.01; RG-09.005.39; RG-15.079M; RG-30.007M, Reel 2).

Additional information about Stalag XI B can be found in the following publications: Janet Anschütz and Irmtraud Heike, *Feinde im eigenen Land: Zwangsarbeit in Hannover im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld: Regionalgeschichte, 2000), pp. 92–113; Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationales du Document, 1951), pp. 145, 193; Oliver Clutton-Brook, *Footprints on the Sands of Time: RAF Bomber Command Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–45* (London: Grub Street, 2003), pp. 116–123; Tamurbek Dawletischin, *Von Kasan nach Bergen-Belsen: Erinnerungen eines sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 146–163; Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); David Alden Foy, *For You the War Is Over: American Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (New York: Stein and Day, 1984), p. 115; Tadeusz Gasztold, *Zagończyk—głos jeńca polskiego Stalagu XI B Fallingbostel: z dziejów prasy polskiej w obozach jenieckich i internowanych 1939–1945* (Koszalin: Koszaliński Ośrodek Naukowo-Badawczy w Koszalinie, 1983); Rolf Keller, ed., *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene 1941–1944: Leiden und Sterben in den Lagern Bergen-Belsen, Fallingbostel, Oerbke, Wietzendorf* (Lohheide: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1991); Karl Liedke, "Offiziere der Armia Krajowa (AK) aus dem Warschauer Aufstand im Stalag XI B Fallingbostel/ Zweiglager Bergen-Belsen," in *Kriegsgefangene der Wehrmacht 1939–1945—Forschung und Gedenkstättenarbeit in Deutschland und Polen*, ed. Rolf Keller and Karl Liedke (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2004), pp. 70–86; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und*

Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 22; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 108–111; John Nichol and Tony Rennell, *The Last Escape: The Untold Story of Allied Prisoners of War in Europe, 1944–1945* (New York: Viking, 2003), pp. 286–316; S. P. MacKenzie, *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Rolf Keller and Silke Petry, eds., *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangenen im Arbeitseinsatz 1941–1945: Dokumente zu den Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen in Norddeutschland* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013); Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Deutschen Reich 1941/42: Behandlung und Arbeitseinsatz zwischen Vernichtungspolitik und kriegswirtschaftlichen Zwängen* (Göttingen: Wall-stein, 2011); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); and Gerhard Schreiber, *Die Italienischen Militärinternierten im Deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verachtet—Verraten—Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990), pp. 445–447.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22.
2. Clutton-Brook, *Footprints*, p. 119.
3. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 110–111.
4. Anschütz and Heike, *Feinde im eigenen Land*, pp. 93–94.
5. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 90.
6. Anschütz and Heike, *Feinde im eigenen Land*, pp. 95–96.

7. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 108–109.

8. "Fallingbostel, Germany—Stalag XI B and 357," USHMMA, RG-04.036.01, p. 101.

9. "Testimony of Paul C. Denning, Pfc.," NARA, RG 153, Box 20, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B (Fallingbostel, Germany).

10. Foy, *For You the War Is Over*, 115.

11. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 563.

12. Bellanger and Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés*, pp. 145, 193.

13. MacKenzie, *Colditz Myth*, p. 129.

14. "Fallingbostel, Germany—Stalag XI B and 357," USHMMA, RG-04.036.01, p. 101.

15. "Testimony of Robert G. Noble, Pfc.," NARA, RG 153, Box 20, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B (Fallingbostel, Germany).

16. Keller and Petry, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangenen im Arbeitseinsatz*, p. 36.

17. Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Deutschen Reich*, pp. 123, 126.

18. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 140, 248.

19. Schreiber, *Die Italienischen Militärinternierten*, pp. 445–447.

20. Nichol and Rennell, *Last Escape*, pp. 286–287.

21. "Fallingbostel, Germany—Stalag XI B and 357," USHMMA, RG-04.036.01, p. 102.

22. "Testimony of Max Carter Alkire, T/Sgt.," NARA, RG 153, Box 20, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B (Fallingbostel, Germany).

23. "Testimony of Paul C. Denning, Pfc.," NARA, RG 153, Box 20, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B (Fallingbostel, Germany).

24. “Testimony of Robert G. Noble, Pfc.,” NARA, RG 153, Box 20, File 100-421, Stalag XI-B (Fallingbostel, Germany).

25. Clutton-Brook, *Footprints*, p. 119.

26. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 22; “Fallingbostel, Germany — Stalag XI B and 357,” USHMMA, RG-04.036.01, p. 102.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XII A on January 23, 1940, by order of the Deputy Corps Headquarters of XII Army Corps in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII, by reorganizing Dulag G, which was already located at the site in question.[1] The site of the camp remained unchanged until liberation, in an area at the western edge of Limburg an der Lahn (map 4d). Today the area is part of the district of the neighboring town, Diez. The prisoners were housed in wooden barracks. Stalag XII A was the first one organized in Defense District XII. Over the long term, it played a special role, as reflected, in particular, in its numerous special tasks.

From the outset, the Stalag was under the sole control of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

Five officers are known to have served as camp commandants:[2]

Generalmajor Victor Geissert	April 10, 1940–June 30, 1940
Oberst Swoboda	July 1, 1940–May 8, 1941
Oberst Hubert Borck	May 8, 1941–October 6, 1942
Oberst Hilmar von der Recke	October 7, 1942–January 18, 1945
Oberst Franz Mensing	from January 20, 1945

The campgrounds and the labor detachments were guarded during the first few months by Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) XV/XII and IX/XVII, then by Reserve Battalions 776, 785, 861, 874, and 876.

Limburg was a medium-sized camp in the territory of the Reich, with occupancy figures between approximately 23,700 (on September 10, 1940) and approximately 42,200 (on January 1,

1945), according to the monthly reports of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).[3] The prisoners of war (POWs) came from many different countries, and they varied in number and by time period. There were French, Belgian, Polish, Serbian, Soviet, British, Italian, American, and also a small number of Dutch and Bulgarian POWs. Individuals of other nationalities may indeed also have been in the camp, as the reports of the OKW were not complete.

Around 85 percent of the POWs were not in the main camp itself but rather were deployed in one of the approximately 800 work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), which, in some cases, were more than 100 kilometers (60 miles) from the main camp. The area of responsibility of Stalag XII A encompassed several regional employment-office (*Arbeitsamt*) districts but was subject to frequent organizational changes. For example, there was a big change in 1942, when control over the work detachments of the regional employment-office district of the Rhineland was surrendered to Stalag XII D. In exchange, the work detachments of Stalag XII B were taken over from the employment-office districts of Mannheim, Heidelberg, and Mosbach. In the deployment of work detachments, the main emphasis was on agriculture, with midsized industries also playing a large role.

In Stalag XII A, the treatment of the POWs did not differ from the conditions in other Stalags within the territory of the Reich. Those who came off best, in terms of food, labor deployment, support, care packages, and so on, were the POWs from Western Europe and the United States. This was largely due to the substantial support this group received from international relief organizations. These POWs had, especially in the main camp, a library, educational classes, a theater group, and an orchestra. The French published their own camp newspaper, *Demain* (*Tomorrow*).[4] Also in Stalag XII A, the "Mouvement Pétain," a propaganda organization of the Vichy regime, sought to induce the French prisoners en masse to collaborate with the Germans.

Next in the prisoner hierarchy were the Poles and the POWs from the Balkans. On the lowest rungs and receiving the worst treatment in every respect were the Italians, followed by the Soviets.

The Germans provided medical care to the POWs at several levels. Treatment always began in the camp's medical facility, where POW personnel worked under German command. The more serious cases were referred to a reserve hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) with a POW ward. Depending on the patient's location —in a work detachment or in the main camp—the hospitals in question were those in Hadamar, Limburg, Koblenz, Wiesloch, Bad Kreuznach, Trier, Maria Laach, Heppenheim, and Bad Ems.

Stalag XII A at Limburg an der Lahn. Indian POWs carrying food, October 1943. COURTESY OF ICRC.

If the distance to the main camp was too great, larger medical facilities for work detachments, like the one in Wiesbaden, were interposed. These were run by Stalag XII A with its own personnel,[5] and they operated like the medical clinic in Limburg. Another special feature of the camp was the central dental lab that made dentures for POWs in Defense District XII.

The camp and the labor detachments were frequently visited by delegations from various institutions. Their visit reports often give a detailed picture of life in the camp.[6] The following visit reports are known:

US Embassy: November 1940, May 1941

ICRC: October 18, 1940; February 5 and September 23, 1941; August 28–29, 1942; March 5 and October 30, 1943; August 7 and November 24, 1944; February 11, 1945

YMCA: December 1940; April 19, July 10, and September 9, 1941; June 30, August 1, and September 30, 1942, March 5, 1943

Scapini Mission: June 27, July 18, August 18, and October 11, 1941; April 11, 1942; July 7, 1943

Belgian POW delegation: July 18, 1942; January 25, 1943

Swiss Legation: July 28 and November 15, 1944.

Stalag XII A had numerous special tasks and special functions. For a short time in February 1940, it continued to perform the tasks of Dulag G, which was closed down. Also in February 1940, it admitted Polish POWs whom the Germans had previously interned in Slovakia. On November 26, 1940, Defense District XII issued an order for Stalag XII A to organize the staffs of POW Construction and Labor Battalions (*Kriegsgefangenen Bau- und Arbeitsbataillonen*) 36, 39, and 42.

On April 26, 1941, the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*, AHA) ordered Stalag XII A to organize the headquarters of Stalag 312, Frontstalag 322 and 352, using its own personnel. When Stalag XII C was closed (October 1941), Stalag XII A took over its POWs, the labor detachments, and some of the buildings. During the intermittent deployment of parts of POW Glazier Battalion XIII and POW Construction and Labor Battalions 13 and 39 in the region, these battalions received organizational support from Stalag XII A.

In 1942, Stalag XII A functioned as a central assembly camp in Defense District XII for French POWs involved in the "Relève" system of prisoner exchange. In addition, in its capacity as the central reception camp for the northern part of Defense District XII, it admitted and redirected POWs when other camps were being reorganized.

From October 1943 on, by an order of the OKW dated October

29, 1943, Stalag XII A served as the reception camp for all Soviet volunteers (Hiwis)/Legion members from the West who were excluded from the Wehrmacht, before their further transport to various destinations, including the Mauthausen concentration camp.[7] From October 1944, British and US POWs who were part of the enemy paratroops, antiaircraft artillery troops, and air landing troops from the West were placed in the central camp in Limburg before being sent on to Dulag West in Wetzlar.

In 1944, the "army interrogation center," with administrative headquarters in Oranienstein Castle in Diez, was affiliated with Stalag XII. The end for Stalag XII A loomed as early as December 23, 1944, when large parts of the camp facilities were destroyed in an Allied air raid and 80 American POWs were killed.

In February 1945, the American POWs were evacuated by train, headed in the direction of Berlin. The camp area in Limburg was liberated by the US Army on March 26–27, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII A is located in BA-MA (RH 20-4/860; RH 20-12/341; RH 34/138; RH 49/12, 53, 55; RH 53-12/19; RH 53-23/52; RW 6/483, RW 48/12; RW 59/2128, MSg 194/55, 58; MSg 200/810); PAAA R (40705, 40706a, 40820, 409973, 40974, 40976, 40978, 40982, 40988, 40989, 40990, 67011, 67033, 67041, 67044, 67057); Archiv Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen (Bestand 14, No. 247/2); TsAMO (500-14250-41); CMJW (R MKCK 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20); AN (F 9-2879); ICRC Archives (G10/17/17, 13/65); and NARA (RG 238, NOKW-35; RG 242, T84, Roll 484; RG 389, Box 2150, E460A; RG 549, T1021, Roll 14).

Additional information about Stalag XII A can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des PG français 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1980); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne dans les Stalag, Oflag et Kommandos 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); D. A. Foy, *For You the War Is Over — American Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (New York: Stein & Day, 1984); Stefan Geck, *Dulag Luft—Auswertestelle West, Vernehmungslager der Luftwaffe für westalliierte KrGef im 2. Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008); *Revue du Croix Rouge, no.* 266, March 1941; Marie-Louise Crone,"Ein

Wohltäter im KrGefLager Stalag XII A Limburg," *Nassauische Annalen* 109 (1998); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); and Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Stalag XII A (BA-MA, RH 53-12/19) and Stammkarte AHA.

2. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the so-called *Kommandanten-Kartei*, a card file of commandants).

3. The monthly strength reports, broken down by nationality, are found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.

4. See Jean Claude Catherine and Pierre Laville, *Une vie quotidienne au Stalag: dessins de Pierre Laville: artiste réolais en captivité (1940–1943)* (Saint-Quentin-de-Baron: Les Éditions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2004) or Jean Claude Catherine, *Au travers des barbelés:Trois artistes au stalag: Pierre Laville, Félix le Saint, Pierre Péron: La captivité des prisonniers de Guerre, 1939– 1945 (Lorient: Archives Municipales de Lorient, 2005),* and Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationale du Documents, 1951).

5. A list from the standpoint of the French POWs, including the names of the physicians, can be found in a survey of the *État-Major de l'Armee de Terre, 5. Bureau* (Chief of Staff of the French Army, Office 5) dated 1945 (not published).

6. The visit reports generally are found in the Political Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, see *Hinweise zu den Aktenbeständen*.

7. See Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene.*

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XII B in Frankenthal, in the Palatinate (map 4d), by an order of the Deputy Corps Headquarters (*Stellvertretende Kommandantur*) for the XII Army Corps, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII, dated April 1, 1940.[1] The camp was deployed in Frankenthal throughout the war.

A unique feature of the camp was its very small camp area, which was gradually improved and enlarged. The camp was located on a small site surrounding the "Pfistersche Festhalle" (Pfister's or Pfisters' Banquet Hall), with a large room serving as the main lodging for around 2,000 prisoners. Later, wooden barracks were added. The commandant's office, however, was separated from the camp area and divided among various buildings spread throughout the surrounding urban area. The main task of the commandant's office was to control and manage the large number of work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*).

The camp was under the control of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

The following camp commandants are known:[2]

Oberst Schönpflug	until August 11, 1940
Major z.V. Friedrich Ernst	August 12–December 8, 1940
Oberstleutnant z.V. Johann Dulnig	December 9, 1940–April 12, 1941
Major z.V. Theodor Wussow	April 13–November 5, 1941
Oberst Max Emmerling	May 9, 1941–March 24, 1942

The campgrounds in Frankenthal and the work detachments were guarded by Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillonen*) 433, 434, 776, 785, and 861. During its deployment in the region,

Stalag XII B occasionally provided organizational support (medical care, delivery of charitable donations, etc.) for Prisoner of War (POW) Glazier Battalion XII (*Kriegsgefangenen Glaserbataillon* XII) and POW Construction and Labor Battalion 42 (*Kriegsgefangenen Bau- und Arbeitsbataillon* 42).

No field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was assigned to the camp, since Stalag XII B never deployed outside the Reich.

The Stalag was a relatively large camp, with up to 44,000 prisoners registered there.[3] With respect to nationality, the French were the largest group (on average, 30,000), followed by the Poles (between 5,000 and 10,000). Citizens of other nations, such as Belgians, Serbians, and Soviets, were present there in smaller numbers. A special feature was the presence of a Chinese prisoner, mentioned in some sources, though no additional information about him is available.

The main task of the camp was the deployment of approximately 900 work detachments, where more than 90 percent of the prisoners were located. The deployment area included the Palatinate, southern Hesse, Rhenish Hesse, and northern Baden. The main emphasis was on work in agriculture; POWs were only used in industry in the Mannheim-Ludwigshafen area.

For the purpose of organization, so-called control districts (*Kontrollbezirke*) were inserted between the level of the commandant's office and the labor detachments. In each case, they were run by companies of the Reserve Battalions, which were also responsible for guarding the POWs. The control districts were tasked with the direct deployment of the work detachments and with supervision of the conditions there. In addition, the heads of the control districts had disciplinary authority over the POWs. What is astonishing is the large number of control districts: 55. Other Stalags managed with approximately 10.

Even before the organization of Stalag XII B, there were Polish POWs in the region, deployed as a labor force. They had been allocated by the employment office in Ludwigshafen, and they were quartered in village halls in the surrounding area. Their assignment within the POW system cannot be conclusively determined, but there is much evidence that indicates that they

belonged to Stalag XII A at this time. Stalag XII B then took over these POWs.

Stalag XII B at Frankenthal. Prisoners behind a barbed wire fence, November 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

With regard to the treatment of the POWs, different nationalities experienced different conditions. The French and Belgians were generally well treated, and they also received sizable deliveries of foodstuffs and other items from relief organizations. The treatment of the Poles and Serbians was somewhat worse but tolerable in general. The Soviets suffered the most from shortages of rations and inadequate medical care.

A distinction must also be made between the main camp and the work detachments. The situation in the labor detachments was not uniform; there were repeatedly instances in which regulations were not complied with. It was the responsibility of the Stalag to take corrective action through administrative supervision and by exerting influence on the employers.

The prisoners had a library available. They operated an orchestra and a theater ensemble, which also gave performances in the camp and for larger work detachments. Clergymen, who were POWs themselves, held religious services on a regular basis.

Medical treatment of the POWs usually began in the camp's medical facility, which was run by physicians and personnel who were POWs, under the supervision of the Germans. In the early

period of the camp's existence, the medical facility was very small. At the beginning of 1941, it was transferred to the nearby civilian mental hospital and expanded there. After additional barracks were erected, part of the operation returned to the campgrounds. On the basis of the size of the facilities, the term *Kriegsgefangenenlazarett Frankenthal* (Frankenthal military hospital for POWs) was also in use.

The more serious cases were referred to military hospitals with POW wards, such as those in Bad Kreuznach, Trier, Wiesloch, and, for tuberculosis patients, Saarburg (today Sarrebourg, France).

Stalag XII B received numerous visits from foreign delegations, which also visited the work detachments. The following visit reports are known: the US (protecting power) delegation—October 21, 1940 and May 1941; the Scapini Mission—May 13, July 19, August 11, October 9, and November 10–11, 1941; the ICRC—November 5, 1940, and September 5 and 29, 1941; and the YMCA—December 19, 1940 and April 24, August 6, September 24, and November 26, 1941. The overall assessment was that the camp, even considering the small camp area and shortcomings in individual labor detachments, was "attractive and good."[4]

In the spring of 1942, Stalag XII B ceased to exist. By order of the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*, AHA) dated March 13, 1942, Stalag XII B was terminated and made into a subcamp of Stalag XII F. The work detachments were distributed among Stalags XII A, XII D, and XII F. The process of closing down the camp was concluded on April 20, 1942.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII B is located in BA-MA (RH 49/21, RH 53-12/19, RW 6/483, RW 48/12, RW 59/2128, MSg 200/810); BArch B 162/15404; PAAA (R 40705, 40706a, 40770, 40973, 40974, 40975, 40977, 40988, 40989, 40990, 40991, 67011, 67033); Archiv Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen (B 14, No. 247/2); TsAMO (500-14250-41); AN (F 9-2879, 2880; ICRC: G 10/17/17.13/b5); NARA (RG 424, T 84, Roll 464); and Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (EL 48/2 I Bü 1699).

Additional information about Stalag XII B can be found in the

following publications: Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris: Fédération nationale des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie Tunisie Maroc, 1980); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalag, les Oflag et les Kommandos 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); *Revue Internationale du Croix Rouge,* No. 267; Eginhard Scharf, "Verwischte Spuren, verdrängte Erinnerung, Zwangsarbeit von Kriegsgefangenen und Zivilarbeitern," in *Frankenthal unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Gerhard Nestler (Ludwigshafen: Pro Message, 2004); Rüdiger Stein, "Die medizinische Versorgung der KrGef im 2.Weltkrieg. Frankenthal unterm Hakenkreuz," in *Frankenthal unterm Hakenkreuz*, ed. Gerhard Nestler (Ludwigshafen: Pro Message, 2004); and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Stalag XII B (BA-MA, RH 53-12/19) and Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/453)
2. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the so-called card index of commandants).
3. Monthly population reports of the Wehrmacht High Command (OKW), by nationality, can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.
4. For example, in the ICRC visit report dated September 29, 1941 (PAAA, R 40977).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XII C in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII, by an order of the General Army Office (*Allgemeines Heeresamt*, AHA), dated March 20, 1940. It began operation on April 1, 1940.[1] It was deployed in Wiebelsheim (map 4d) and the Generalgouvernement. The camp was initially subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

Stalag XII C was notable for the separation of its facilities from each other. The camp proper consisted of approximately 15 barracks of a former Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*, RAD) camp in Wiebelsheim. The majority of the commandant's office (headquarters) was located in buildings in Oberwesel, directly on the bank of the Rhine, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. These buildings included, among others, the mail censor, the delousing facility, and the camp medical center.

The names of the following camp commandants are known:[2]

Oberstleutnant Bruno Becker	until May 8, 1941
Oberstleutnant Karl Christiani	May 9, 1941–March 24, 1942
Oberst Max Emmerling	March 25–June 20, 1942

The campgrounds in Wiebelsheim and the work detachments were guarded by a Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbattaillon*). From December 17, 1940, to the end of 1941, Prisoner of War Construction and Labor Battalion 12 (*Kriegsgefangenen Bau- und Arbeitsbataillon* 12) was under the control of Stalag XII C while the battalion was deployed in the region.

Stalag XII C had field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 42 709, assigned between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942, and

withdrawn between March 1 and September 7, 1942. The number was then given to Stalag 380.

Stalag XII C was a medium-sized camp with a maximum of 18,000 prisoners of war (POWs), consisting of noncommissioned officers and enlisted men.[3] It was primarily a camp for French and Polish soldiers, although 8 Belgians and 100 Serbians were also there for a short time. In 1940, a striking feature was the additional presence of around 2,500 so-called free workers who were housed in the camp. These were former Polish POWs who had been reclassified as civilian workers (contrary to the usual usages of international law). They also do not appear in the strength reports of the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW).

During the deployment in Wiebelsheim, 95 percent of the prisoners were assigned to about 500 work details (*Arbeitskommandos*). Their work was mostly agricultural. There were also work detachments that did heavy labor, so-called punishment units, like the one in Baumholder for former members of the French Foreign Legion.

On the whole, the French were well treated. They also received regular food deliveries from relief organizations. The situation of the Poles was certainly worse, but still bearable.

Stalag XII C at Wiebelsheim. Outdoor washbasin, November 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The prisoners had a library available, and also had their own orchestra and theater group, which performed in the camp and for larger work detachments. The French published their own camp newspaper (*L'an quarante*). Taking regular showers was somewhat difficult, as it was possible only in Oberwesel, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. Clergymen, POWs themselves, conducted religious services on a regular basis.

Provision of medical services to the prisoners began first in the camp's medical clinic, which was in Oberwesel. It was run by physicians and medical personnel from the POW population, under German supervision. The more serious cases were referred to military hospitals with POW wards, such as those in Koblenz, Bad Kreuznach, and Birkenfeld.

Only in Wiebelsheim did visits by various delegations take place. The following visit reports are available: ICRC: October 10, 1940; YMCA: December 1940 and August 22, 1941; Scapini

Mission: June 28, July 20, and September 10, 1941. In every report, the overall assessment of the camp and the morale of the prisoners was "good."

In September 1941, the operation of Stalag XII C in Wiebelsheim entered its final phase. On September 29, 1941, the OKW issued the order for the closure of the camp and the transfer of the headquarters to Końskie, in the Generalgouvernement. The labor detachments were handed over to Stalag XII A and Stalag XII D. The POWs from the camp proper and the buildings of the commandant's office in Oberwesel were taken over by Stalag XII A. The Stalag was reassigned to the Commander of Prisoners of War for Special Tasks in the Generalgouvernement (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen z.b.V. im Generalgouvernement*).

The commandant's office of Stalag XII C arrived in Końskie on October 21, 1941, and began operating a camp there again. The prisoners were housed in barracks. These were all Soviet prisoners, without exception, several thousand of them. A large segment of them were deployed in work detachments.

The treatment of the prisoners was in keeping with the usual poor conditions for Soviet POWs, for example, with respect to the food supply and the provision of medical care. There were no visits from delegations to inspect the camp, and there were no food shipments from relief organizations either.

On November 5, 1941, the camp was moved from Końskie to Skarżysko-Kamienna, where the camp operation continued in the same manner. The guarding of this camp area and its work detachments was the responsibility of Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 377 and 818. On April 7, 1942, the OKW gave the order (converted to an AHA directive dated April 17, 1942) to terminate Stalag XII C and reclassify it as Stalag 380.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII C is located in BA-MA (RH 34/138, RH 53-23/33, 36, RW 59/2128), MSg (200/810); BArch B 162/8079; PAAA (R 40705, 40739, 40974, 40989, 67033); and TsAMO (500-14250-41).

Additional information about Stalag XII C can be found in the

following publications: Francis Ambrière et al., *Vie et mort des Français 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1972); Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris: Fédération nationale des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie Tunisie Maroc, 1980); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalag, les Oflag et les Kommandos 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); *Revue Internationale du Croix Rouge* 267; and Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Stalag XII C (BA-MA, RH 53-12/19) and Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/453).
2. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the so-called card index of commandants).
3. Monthly population reports of the OKW, by nationality, can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII D

The Wehrmacht issued the order for the establishment of Stalag XII D on July 10, 1940. The camp was located in Trier (French: Treves) (map 4d), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII. On October 14, 1944, the camp relocated to Waldbreitbach, near Neuwied. The reserve hospitals (*Reservelazarette*) in Bad Kreuznach and Igel were subordinate to the camp.[1] Stalag XII D was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

Stalag XII D at Trier. Prisoners in front of their barracks, October 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag XII D was located on the Petrisberg hill, east of the city center of Trier. The camp was composed of about 60 wooden barracks (constructed in 1939) with three-tiered bunks, surrounded by a barbed wire fence with several watchtowers. There was an infirmary (*Krankenrevier*) as well as a dentist's office within the camp.[2] The first commandant of Stalag XII D was Oberstleutnant Siegfried Krick. On July 28, 1941, he was replaced by Oberstleutnant Kurt Müller. The final commandant was Oberst Egon Arendt, who replaced Müller on June 25, 1942. The deputy commandants were Hauptmann Franz Kopp and Major Heinrich von Lattorff. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer was Hauptmann Alfred Paulus.[3] The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) 432, 725, 777, 780, 786, 788, and 789.[4]

Stalag XII D held Belgian, British, Bulgarian, Dutch, French, Polish, Serbian, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), as well as Italian military prisoners. It was a relatively large camp, with a population that remained above 18,000 prisoners throughout the war and had a maximum population of 37,715 in September 1944. However, most of the prisoners registered in the main camp were not actually housed there but instead distributed to the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were scattered throughout the area surrounding the camp.[5]

The first prisoners to arrive at Stalag XII D were Belgian, French, and Polish POWs. As of September 10, 1940, there were 22,765 French prisoners (including 14 officers and 80 civilians), 124 Belgian prisoners (including 1 officer), and 1,980 Polish prisoners (including 6 civilians). French prisoners remained by far the largest national group throughout the war. Probably the best-known prisoner in Stalag XII D was French philosopher and writer Jean-Paul Sartre, who was captured while working as a meteorologist in the French army in 1940. Sartre was held in the camp from August 1940 to April 1941; it was during this time that he wrote his theatrical piece *Barionà, ou le Fils du tonnerre* (*Barionà, or the son of thunder*). The first British prisoners arrived in the camp in early 1941, although there was not a permanent contingent of British prisoners until the summer of 1943. The first Serbian prisoners arrived in the spring of 1941 after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in April of that year. As of May 1,

1941, there were 890 Serbian prisoners (including 6 officers and 62 civilians) in the camp; by July of that year, there were 3,905 Serbian prisoners. The first Soviet POWs arrived in the fall of 1941. The first Dutch prisoners arrived in the summer of 1943, followed by Italian military prisoners in the fall of that year. Finally, a group of Bulgarian POWs arrived in the late fall of 1944; as of December 1 of that year, there were 992 Bulgarians in the camp.[6]

The Western Allied prisoners in the camp were generally treated decently, and the conditions they experienced were mostly in line with the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. Conditions in the work details varied, with some prisoners experiencing mistreatment and others experiencing better conditions than in the main camp. For example, in August 1942, the 52 French prisoners in Kommando 95 in Neumagen, who were working on a private farm, reported that their quarters were acceptable and that they were fed well, with most of the prisoners eating their meals with the owners of the farm.[7] Relations with German civilians were also mixed—tense in some cases, but in others quite friendly. For many French prisoners in the heavily Catholic Palatinate, there was a natural religious affinity with the local citizens that facilitated positive interactions.[8]

The Western Allied prisoners had access to some recreational and cultural activities in the camp, as well as in some of the work details. Religious services in the main camp were provided by three clergymen among the prisoners.[9] The French prisoners managed to assemble a large library of over 16,000 books, which circulated both within the camp and in the work details.[10] The Serbian library had around 4,300 books. There were several music groups among the different national sectors, and most prisoner groups also organized sports.[11] The French prisoners published a camp newspaper called *Tenir* (*Hold on*) which included both humorous illustrations as well as more serious and nostalgic photographs of peacetime life in France.[12]

Soviet prisoners, on the other hand, were treated horribly, in contravention of the established norms of international law regarding POWs but in line with how the Germans usually treated them. They lived in crowded quarters with inadequate sanitation and received minimal food rations (mainly consisting of a thin

soup) and almost no medical care. These conditions led to widespread malnutrition and the spread of infectious diseases such as typhus and dysentery, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942. The exact death toll for Soviet prisoners in Stalag XII D is unknown, but the Commander of Prisoners of War in Wehrkreis XII, General Reinhard von Westrem, estimated that the overall death rate for Soviet POWs in that district was between 15 percent and 20 percent during the first winter of the war, and this figure is likely representative of the death rate in Stalag XII D. A special unit (*Einsatzkommando*) from the Gestapo office in Frankfurt am Main conducted selections (*Aussonderungen*) of the Soviet prisoners in the camp to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp and executed.[13] Little specific information is available about the treatment of Italian military prisoners in the camp, but, in general, Italian prisoners were also subject to very bad living conditions.

By the final year of the war, conditions in the camp had deteriorated for prisoners of all nationalities, as was the case in most camps in the Reich. American prisoners who were brought to the camp shortly after the Allied landings in Normandy in June 1944 recalled that the conditions were already difficult at that time. Private Earl Melven Cunningham, who arrived in the camp in late July, stated that while the prisoners' lodging was acceptable (wooden barracks of similar size to American army barracks), their food supplies were insufficient—a cup of coffee in the morning, a small piece of bread (between one-sixth and one-seventh of a loaf), cabbage soup once a day, and boiled potatoes—and they were provided with no medical care.[14] Sergeant William LeRoy Bruns, who was sent to Stalag XII D in September 1944, stated that the prisoners were not deloused upon arrival and that there were not enough faucets for prisoners to obtain sufficient water for drinking or bathing.[15]

No specific information is available about the camp after its redeployment to Waldbreitbach. Stalag XII D was liberated by American forces on March 22, 1945.[16]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII D is located in BA-MA (RH 49/52); BArch B 162/15407–15408:

"Ermittlungen gg. Angehörige des Stalag XII D—Trier" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2877.00001598–00002004); NARA (RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XII D; RG 153, Box 55, File 100-499, Stalag XII-D [Trier, Germany]; and RG 153, Box 86, File 100-920, Stalag XII-D); TNA (WO 224/37); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 583–588).

Additional information about Stalag XII D can be found in the following publications: Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationales du Document, 1951), p. 191; Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen: Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 24; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 117–119; Henri Perrin, *Tagebuch eines Arbeiterpriesters: Aufzeichnungen von Henri Perrin 1943/44* (Hamburg: Furche, 1964); Reinhard Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im deutschen Reichsgebiet 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1998); and Adolf Welter, *Trier-Petrisberg 1940–1945: Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Stalag XII D* (Trier: Petermännchen-Verlag der Trierer Münzfreunde, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

2. Welter, *Trier-Petrisberg*.

3. "Schlussvermerk," BArch B 162/15407, Bl. 189 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2877.00001797).

4. "Vermerk," BArch B 162/15407, Bl. 202 (copy at USHMMA,

RG-14.101M.2877.00001810).

5. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 118–119.
6. Ibid., pp. 117–118.
7. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 70.
8. Ibid., pp. 234–235.
9. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 583.
10. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 182.
11. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 583.
12. Bellanger and Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés*, p. 191.
13. Otto, *Wehrmacht, Gestapo und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene*, pp. 140–141.
14. Testimony of Earl Melven Cunningham, Pvt., NARA, RG 154, Box 55, File 100-499, Stalag XII-D (Trier, Germany).
15. Testimony of William LeRoy Bruns, Sergeant, NARA, RG 154, Box 55, File 100-499, Stalag XII-D (Trier, Germany).
16. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XII E in Metz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII (map 4d), on December 9, 1940, as a result of the reorganization of Frontstalag 212.[1] At first, it continued to be deployed in Metz.

Frontstalag 212 had taken over a large number of remnants of former temporary prisoner-collecting points, the condition of which by that time was often unacceptable. In addition, the parts of the fortifications that were used as housing and the camp area in Metz were suitable only to a very limited extent to serve as a Stalag. The aim of the reorganization was thus to reduce and streamline a large number of geographically separate housing areas by setting up a Stalag. The intention was to create a camp operation that was tightly organized and easy to oversee. The camp initially reported to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

The following camp commandants have been identified: up to December 17, 1940, Oberstleutnant z.V. Ludwig Freiherr von Imhof, and from January 14–November 6, 1941, Major z.V. Theodor Wussow.[2] The permanent camp area and the work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) were guarded by Reserve Battalion (*Landesshützenbattailon*) 381.

Stalag XII E at Metz. ICRC delegate Dr. Marti visits the camp, February 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag XII E consisted of a large number of camp sections with various names:

1a.	Fort Goeben (French: Fort de Queuleu)
1b.	Fort Manteuffel (French: Fort de Saint-Julien), the main camp
2.	Warningen (French: Vany) subcamp and Mörchingen (French: Morhange) subcamp
5.	St. Julian camp military hospital in Metz
6b.	Johannis-Bannberg (French: Ban Saint Jean) subcamp
7.	Housing/work detachments

	in Wecklingen, Elsingen (French: Elzange), and Bidlingen (French: Budling)
8.	Housing/work detachments in Fentsch (French: Fontoy) and Grosshettingen (French: Hettange-Grande)
—	Saarburg (French: Sarrebourg) subcamp (housing for personnel of the military hospitals outside the combat zone and collecting camp (*Sammellager*) for escapees who had been recaptured
—	Saargemünd (French: Sarreguemines) subcamp.

From December 17, 1940, to December 1941, prisoner of war (POW) Construction and Labor Battalion 42 (*Kriegsgefangenen Bau- und Arbeitsbataillon* 42) had been subordinate to Stalag XII E for disciplinary purposes because of its deployment in the region.

From Frontstalag 212, Stalag XII E took over field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 10 655, which was terminated between July 15, 1942, and January 24, 1943.[3]

The Stalag was a medium-sized camp with a maximum of approximately 10,000 POWs.[4] From first to last, most of the POWs were French, followed by Serbians during the final months. In addition, a small number of prisoners (fewer than 70) from Poland and Belgium were in the camp. In terms of rank, the prisoners were noncommissioned officers and enlisted men. Because some "old inventories" were taken over from Frontstalag 212, there were also some (fewer than 50) French officers and civilians in Stalag XII E during the first weeks.

The housing areas were very diverse, owing to the initial situation in the various parts of the camp:

- in Metz: buildings in permanent barracks (*Kasernen*) and in the fortress area, also wooden barracks;
- in Mörchingen and Saarburg: buildings of former French barracks; and
- in Saargemünd: vacant houses in park grounds, then in a former French permanent barracks area.

Around 70 percent of the POWs were deployed in approximately 100 work detachments. They were most commonly used to perform agricultural labor. One distinctive feature was that several detachments maintained various fortifications in the region, fortifications that were part of the former Maginot Line (water, heat, electricity, maintenance). These work detachments generally consisted of the French soldiers previously deployed there.

On the whole, the treatment of the POWs was acceptable but was adversely affected by poor external conditions, such as the damp and cold accommodations. An attempt was made to improve these living conditions or to close the worst areas.

There was a library for the prisoners, and they began to set up an orchestra and a theater group, but a sustained and full-scale program for the prisoners' free time was very difficult to bring about, partly because of the distance between the housing areas. Catholic priests from among the POWs held religious services. The Serbian POWs had to contend with the fact that they received no food deliveries from relief organizations.

Medical care for the prisoners was provided first in the camp's medical clinic, in this case Camp Section 5, the socalled St. Julian camp military hospital in Metz. It was run by physicians and personnel from the POW population, under German supervision. The more serious cases were referred to military hospitals outside the combat zone (with POW wards) in Mörchingen and Saarburg.

Various delegations visited the Stalag during its time in Metz. Visit reports are available for the following: International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC): February 6, April, and September 26–27, 1941; Scapini Mission: May 12 and August 16, 1941; YMCA: April 22, August 20, and August 21, 1941.

The visit reports of the ICRC, in particular, describe the POWs'

complete set of living conditions. They are explicit concerning the prisoners' poor housing situation ("dirty and primitive") and suggest that the best solution is to close the camp.[5]

To the Germans, too, there was clearly no sustainable, long-term solution to the situation, and so they decided to close the camp in Metz and redeploy the Stalag XII E headquarters to the east. As a result, the commandant's office was made subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I, operation of the camp in Metz was terminated, and the remaining POWs and housing areas were made ready to hand over to Stalag XII F.

In January 1942, the Stalag staff moved to Zambrów, in the Białystok District. There, camp operations resumed in February. The prisoners were lodged in wooden barracks. They were all Soviet prisoners, approximately 2,000 in number. Their treatment was in keeping with the usual poor conditions for Soviet POWs in terms of food rations and medical care. There were no longer any visits by delegations, and there were no deliveries of food by relief organizations. Approximately 40 percent of the POWs were deployed in work detachments.

The deployment of Stalag XII E in the east ended after only seven months. On September 4, 1942, the General Army Office (*Allgemeines heeresamt*, AHA) ordered the closure of the camp. The POWs and the campgrounds were handed over to Stalag 316 for use as a subcamp. After the headquarters was disbanded, the headquarters personnel were used for the organization of POW Labor Battalions 180 to 190.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII E is located in BA-MA: RH 34/138, RH 49/21, RH 53-12/19, RW 6/483, RW 48/12, RW 59/128, MSg 200/810; BArch B 162/16506, 27870; and PAAA R 40705, 40706a, 40706c, 40770, 40973, 40974, 40989.

Additional information about Stalag XII E can be found in the following publications: Michel Frick, *Les camps de prisonniers de guerre allies en Moselle 1940–44* (Strasbourg, 2007); Zygmunt Lietz, *Obozy jenieckie w prusach wschodnich 1939–45* (Warsaw: MON, 1982); Philippe Wilmouth, *Les camps de*

prisonniers de guerre en Moselle 1940–48 (Villefrance, 2009); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); and Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–45* (Osnabrück, 1980).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Stalag XII E (BA-MA RH 53-12/19) and Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA RH 15/456).
2. BA-MA RW 59/2128 (the so-called card index of commandants).
3. Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–45*.
4. Monthly population reports of the OKW, by nationality, can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.
5. Besuchsbericht des IKRK vom 06.02.41 (PAAA R 40705).

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XII F

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XII F on November 15, 1940, from Frontstalag 211 in Saarburg (today Sarrebourg, France) (map 4d), in a reorganization undertaken by Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] It was initially deployed in the Ulanen Barracks in Saarburg, 55.7 kilometers (34.6 miles) west-northwest of Strasbourg, in annexed Alsace.

The characteristic feature of this camp was its repeated relocation within Defense District XII; it moved four times, which was very unusual for a Stalag in the territory of the Reich. In addition, Stalag XII F had, in total, nine subcamps in the course of its deployment at the various sites.

Throughout, Stalag XII F was under the control of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XII).

These officers are known to have served as camp commandant:[2]

Oberst z.V. August Horschelt	until February 9, 1941
Oberstleutnant (Ldw) Dr. Fritz Gerloff	February 10, 1941–June 21, 1942
Oberst Walter Dittler	June 22, 1942–January 31, 1943
Oberstleutnant d.R. Dr. Fritz Gerloff	February 1, 1943–July 31, 1943
Oberst Johannes Klein	August 1, 1943–March 31, 1944
Oberst August Clüver	from April 1, 1944
Major Leuken	from September 1942 (subcamp Frankenthal)

The campgrounds and the labor detachments were guarded by Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillonen*) 342, 381, 433, 434, 779, 780, and 782. POW Construction and Labor Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen Bau- und Arbeitsbataillon*) 36 (from December 1940 to August 1943) and POW Construction and Labor Battalion 39 (December 1940 to October 1941) were under the control of Stalag XII F during their deployment in the region. No field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was assigned to the camp, since it remained within the territory of the Reich.

On September 1, 1941, the camp was transferred from Saarburg to Bolchen (today Boulay-Moselle, France), to the former barracks of the French 162nd Fortress Artillery Regiment at the edge of town. On March 1, 1943, it was relocated again, this time to Forbach (4d), to the North Barracks (Spichern Barracks) and the South Barracks (General von François Barracks).

Yet another relocation, to Dudweiler (today part of the city of Saarbrücken) (4d), took place in August 1944. Finally, on October 1, 1944, the camp was moved to the planned alternate accommodations in Freinsheim, the last site. In the process, some of the POWs were left behind in the Saarland so that they could work on fortification and entrenchment projects.

Numerous subcamps are known:

- Bliesmengen-Bolchen: in operation from September 15, 1941, to September 1943
- Frankenthal: March 1, 1942, assumption of control over the former camp area of the disbanded Stalag XII B; on August 7, 1942, reorganized as Labor Detachment 200 B
- Johannis-Bannberg (today Ban Saint Jean, France): located in a disused permanent fortification of the Maginot Line, in the barracks of the former French 156th Fortress Infantry Regiment, on territory of the municipality of Denting
- Fort Manteuffel: taken over from the disbanded Stalag XII E in November 1941 in Metz; served as an assembly camp for Yugoslav POWs who were unfit for service, before their release
- Werningen (today Verny, France): taken over from the

disbanded Stalag XII E in November 1941 and in operation until April 1942

- Saargemünd (today Saareguemines, France): in operation from September to October 1944
- Saarburg: the former main camp of Stalag XII F continued as a subcamp from September 1941 to October 1944
- Nonnenhof (south of Worms): in use as a "camp for Russians" from April 1942 to the end of the war; located at a former factory site

Stalag XII F was a relatively large camp, with a maximum of 5,000 POWs until May 1942, and thereafter with between 40,000 and 75,000 POWs.[3] Until March 1943, most of the prisoners came from France, but many other nations were represented as well, including Poland, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and the Soviet Union. From August 1943, the Soviets formed the largest contingent. Stalag XII F became the priority camp for Soviet POWs in the Gau Westmark, with a total of approximately 350,000 members of this prisoner group passing through the camp.

The treatment of the POWs depended on their nationality. The French, Belgians, British, and Americans received the best treatment; in particular, they received ample deliveries of foodstuffs and other items from aid organizations. They had a library available, and they operated an orchestra and a theater ensemble. The French published their own camp newspaper, *Brindilles* (*Twigs*). Catholic priests, prisoners themselves, held religious services on a regular basis.

The Poles and Yugoslavs were somewhat worse off. The Italians and especially the Soviets were in the lowest category. They suffered consistently from a lack of food and medical care.

Approximately 85 percent of the POWs in the camp were deployed in around 1,000 work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). The focus of this deployment varied, depending on the region. In the Moselle/Palatinate area, agriculture was the focal point; along the Saar and in Lorraine, respectively, the emphasis was on mining and industry. From the

end of 1944, the work of constructing fortifications was added in the Saar and Moselle regions. This work was directed by the (now) forward command post of the camp in Dudweiler.

On March 1, 1942, the labor detachments from the area of the Westmark Regional Employment Office were taken over from the disbanded Stalag XII B. Because these detachments kept their old numbers, the letter "B" was appended to the number of each to prevent confusion.

Medical care for the POWs usually began in the medical clinic of the main camp. Physicians and personnel from the prisoner population operated it. Because the distance between the camp and the work detachments was significant in some cases, the clinic operated regional branches, such as those in Stiringen-Wendel (today Stiring-Wendel, France), Bolchen, and Johannis-Bannberg (this last facility more specifically for Soviet POWs with tuberculosis). The serious cases were referred to reserve military hospitals with POW wards, including those in Homburg, Saarburg, Fort Manteuffel, Frankenthal, Mörchingen (today Morhange, France), Forbach, Bolchen, and Andernach.

Stalag XII F received numerous visitors from Western countries. The following visit reports are known: ICRC— April 1941; August 22, 1942; March 9–10, and October 24, 1943; August 13, 1944; February 8, 1945; Scapini Mission— June 30, August 16, and November 9, 1941; February 9, 1942; February 25, May 6, and November 1943; YMCA—August 20, October 20, and December 5, 1941; July 25, August 22, and September 9, 1942; Swiss Legation—November 8, 1943, May 18, 1944; BKD—June 1943.

The overall assessment in many reports is not consistent, which is not surprising, given the large number of sites and the many subcamps. The assessments ranged from "poor/very poor" (Mörchingen branch camp and Bolchen main camp) to "satisfactory" (Freinsheim) to "good" (Forbach). In addition, the labor detachments that the inspectors visited were given evaluations ranging all the way from "poor" to "good/excellent."

The end of Stalag XII F's existence began in January 1945, when some of the prisoners were evacuated in the direction of Weilheim in Oberbayern, in Defense District VII. On March 21,

1945, the Freinsheim camp area was liberated by the US Army.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XII F is located in BA-MA (RH 34/138, RH 49/21, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 121, RH 53-12/19, RH 53-17/42, RW 6/483, RW 48/2128, MSg 194/56, 57, 58, MSg 200/810); BArch B 162/15408; PAAA (R 40706a, 40974, 40975, 40976, 40977, 40978, 40979, 40989, 40991, 67011, 67041, 67054); the Archiv Landeswohlfahrtsverband Hessen (B 174, No. 247/2); GARF (18/53, 123, 161, 200, 220, 222, 227, 228, Bestand 7021, Findbuch 115); CMJW (R MKCK 4, 8, 9, 11); and NARA (Box 69 A 255, RG 238-NOKW-35, RG 389, Box 2150, E460A).

Additional information about Stalag XII F can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La Captivité, Histoire des Prisonniers de guerre français 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1980); Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les Stalag, les Oflag et les Kommandos 1939–45* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Michel Frick, *Les camps de prisonniers de guerre alliés en Moselle 1940–44* (Strasbourg: Association des specialistes en marques postales et obliterations d'Alsace-Lorraine, 2007); Fabian Lemmes, *Zwangsarbeit in Saarbrücken, lokale Wirtschaft und der Einsatz ausländischer Zivilarbeiter und Kriegsgefangener 1940–45* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2004); Gerhard Nestler, ed., *Frankenthal unterm Hakenkreuz* (Ludwigshafen: Pro Message, 2004); Ortsgemeinde Orbis, ed., *Chronik eines Nordpfalzortes* (Orbis, 2002); Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003); and Philippe Wilmouth, *Les camps de prisonniers de guerre en Moselle 1940–48* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Sutton, 2009).

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NOTES

1. Stammtafel Stalag XII F (BA-MA, RH 53-12/19) and

Stammkarte AHA (BA-MA, RH 15/458).

2. BA-MA, RW 59/2128 (the card index of commandants, or *Kommandanten-Kartei*).

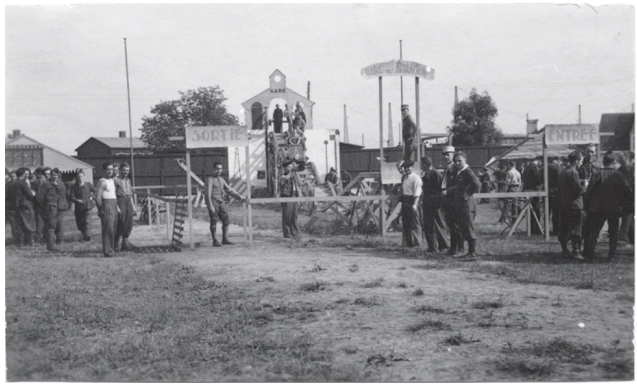
3. The monthly camp population reports from the OKW, by nationality, can be found in Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XIII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XIII A (map 4d) in early September 1939, in Sulzbach-Rosenberg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. Stalag XIII A had one subcamp (*Zweiglager*), which was designated as an internment camp (Ilag).[1] The camp was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII).

Stalag XIII A held French, Belgian, Polish, Serbian, Soviet, and Italian prisoners. It was a very large camp, with a maximum population of 50,507 in December 1942; the population was well above 30,000 and often above 40,000 for much of the first three years of its existence.[2] Many of the prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in nearby villages.

The Western Allied prisoners were treated decently by the German administrators and guards. Conditions in their part of the camp were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). These prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities in the camp and the work details. There were a total of 56 Catholic clergy in the camp and the work details, but there was no spiritual support for the approximately 200 Evangelical prisoners. A German course was created in the main camp, in which 40 men were enrolled. The main camp had a 12-man orchestra and a 20-man theater troupe that performed monthly; there were 1,600 musical instruments distributed among a total of 65 work details, and a total of 25 theater groups between them. The main camp had a sport field on which the prisoners played football and handball.[3]



Stalag XIII A at Sulzbach. Camp orchestra performing at a concert, October 1942. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The Soviet prisoners were treated inhumanely.[4] They received little food and no medical care and lived in horrible conditions that facilitated the spread of disease, leading to a high mortality rate.

German authorities designated 14 hospitals and clinics for treatment of prisoners from the camps located in Wehrkreis XIII. Western Allied prisoners could receive treatment at 12 of these, and in extremely urgent cases civilian hospitals could be used for their treatment. Soviet prisoners, however, had access to only two of these hospitals. If the camp doctor deemed that transport to one of these two hospitals would threaten the patient's life, only then could a Soviet prisoner receive care at one of the closer hospitals. A separate camp near Stalag XIII B was designated as a recovery camp (*Aufpäppelungslager*) for Soviet prisoners in extreme states of malnutrition.[5] American forces liberated the camp on April 22, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XIII A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XIII A); USHMMA; StA Nürnberg; and BArch B 162/30815 (Ermittlungen StA Nürnberg U-Js 4249/75 wg. Verdachts der Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener des Stalag XIII A in Sulzbach-Rosenberg auf dem Gelände der Heeresmunitionsanstalt [Muna] Feucht ab 1942).

Additional information about Stalag XIII A can be found in the following publications: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag XIII A," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 325–330; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 277; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 24; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 277; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 24.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 597–598.

4. Ermittlungen StA Nürnberg U-Js 4249/75 wg. Verdachts der Tötung sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener des Stalag XIII A in Sulzbach-Rosenberg auf dem Gelände der Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Muna) Feucht ab 1942, BArch B 162/30815.

5. "Handbuch für Arbeitskommandoführer," Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis XIII, BA-MA, RH 49/24.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XIII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XIII B (map 4d) on July 10, 1940, in Weiden, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII).

Stalag XIII B held French, Belgian, Polish, Serbian, British, American, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The largest number of prisoners held at one time was 31,439, as of February 1, 1943; broken down by nationality, they included 15,275 French, 1,823 Belgians, 63 Poles, 2,899 Serbs, and 11,379 Soviets.[2] There were 10,456 prisoners (all French) on July 15, 1944, and 10,508 on January 15, 1945.[3] Beginning in September 1943, there were also Italian military internees. There were 30 internees on October 1, 1943; 3,914 on December 1, 1943; 4,586 on February 1, 1944; 4,787 on April 1, 1944; and 138 on December 1, 1944.[4]

Treatment of Western Allied prisoners by the German administration and guards was decent. Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). Large numbers of prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in nearby villages; there were about 300 such details in total. The work conditions were considered by international observers to be much worse than Western Allies faced in other camps, however.

American prisoner work detachment A II near Grasseth worked in underground coal mining. Typically, prisoners were made to work in surface mining and sent underground only if they had prior experience. At Stalag XIII B, however, all of the nearly 150 American prisoners in the detachment were expected to take part in long shifts underground in three mines.[5] Conditions and high

accident rates were so appalling in the Heinrichsschacht mine that the International Red Cross accused the camp of violating the Geneva Convention. An investigation by the German Foreign Office concluded that "most of the accidents are due to the fault of the American POWs themselves, who out of carelessness or indifference do not observe the security and protection measures properly."[6] As a result, the mine remained open and accidents decreased only once the prisoners gained more experience in underground mining.[7]

Stalag XIII B at Weiden. Prisoners outside of their barracks, October 1942. COURTESY OF ICRC.

These prisoners had some opportunities to participate in cultural and recreational activities in the camps. Two masses were held every Sunday and a total of 24 clergymen served the men in the camp and work details. There was a camp library with approximately 8,000 books, of which around 6,800 were in French and 800 were in Serbo-Croatian. German language courses were taught in the main camp and 106 of the work details. There was an 11-man orchestra and a small theater troupe in the main camp, along with 46 musical groups and 29 theater groups in the work details. A small sport field was available to the prisoners in the main camp; the preferred sports were football and handball.[8]

The Soviet POWs, in contrast, were treated inhumanely. They received almost no food or medical care and lived in squalid conditions that enabled the spread of disease; as a result, mortality among the Soviet prisoners was high.

German authorities designated 14 hospitals and clinics for treatment of prisoners from the camps located in Wehrkreis XIII. Western Allied prisoners could receive treatment at 12 of these, and in extremely urgent cases civilian hospitals could be used for their treatment. Soviet prisoners, however, had access to only two of these hospitals. If the camp doctor deemed that transport to one of these two hospitals would threaten the patient's life, only then could a Soviet prisoner receive care at one of the closer hospitals. A separate camp near Stalag XIII B was designated as a recovery camp (*Aufpäppelungslager*) for Soviet prisoners in extreme states of malnutrition.[9]

Late in the war, the camp received prisoners transferred from camps further east which were threatened by the Red Army's advance, such as Stalag 344 in Lamsdorf, Stalag III C in Alt Drewitz, and Oflag 64 in Schubin.[10] American forces liberated the camp on April 22, 1945.[11]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XIII B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-13/17); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XIII B); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); TNA (WO 224/40: Stalag XIII B Weiden/Franken); and StA Nürnberg.

Additional information about Stalag XII B can be found in the following publications: *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1995), p. 198; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 25; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag XIII B," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris: Centre culturel de la Seconde Guerre Mondale, 1945), pp. 331–336; and Georg Tessin,

Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939– 1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 277. See also Stalag 13B at http://stalag13b.over-blog.com/pages/Implantation_du_stalag_XIIIB_a_Weiden-4858817.html.

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NOTES

1. Liste der Kriegsgefangenenlager (Stalag und Oflag) in den Wehrkreisen I–XXI 1939 bis 1945: BA-MA, RH 49/20; BA-MA, RH 49/5; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 277; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 25.
2. Prisoner of War Camps in the Reich, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0016.
3. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag XIII B," p. 331.
4. BA-MA, RW 6: 451–452.
5. Report by the International Red Cross (November 23, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150A.
6. Memorandum, Auswärtige Amt (February 23, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150A.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (March 23, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2150A.
8. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 599–600.
9. "Handbuch für Arbeitskommandoführer," Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis XIII, BA-MA, RH 49/24.
10. Prisonniers de Guerre: Notes Generales: Deplacements des Camps, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0023.
11. Liste des Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre, ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0051.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XIII C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XIII C (map 4d) on July 10, 1940, in Hammelburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII. The camp was also responsible for the Reserve Hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) Ebelsbach/Main.[1] Stalag XIII C was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). The camp commandant from November 20, 1943, until April 1945 was Oberst Heinrich Westmann. His deputy was Oberstleutnant Behrens. The camp physician was Stabsarzt Dr. Koch.

Stalag XIII C was a large camp for noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, with separate compounds for prisoners of different nationalities, when practical. The conditions for Western Allied prisoners of war (POWs) were generally good early in the war, but began to deteriorate by 1944. The camp population on October 1, 1944, was 30,294 prisoners: 13,464 French; 870 British; 4,393 Belgian; 904 Polish; 2,477 Serbian; 7,914 Soviet; 270 Italian; and 2 American.

The barracks in which the men lived varied in size from about 18 meters (60 feet) by 4.3 meters (14 feet) to 36.6 meters (120 feet) by 7.6 meters (25 feet). The number of prisoners quartered in each of these barracks also varied, but they generally became more crowded in the last months of the war; while the larger barracks were designed to hold around 100 men, by 1945, they often held 250, and the smaller barracks eventually held as many as 135 men.[2] Most prisoners slept on wooden bunks, but as much as a quarter of the prisoner population slept on piles of straw on the floor in the more crowded barracks.[3] The barracks were often infested with lice, particularly later in the war. The barracks were heated by coal or wood-fired stoves, but there was often insufficient fuel to keep the stoves burning, even during the winter months; at times, the prisoners received only enough fuel to

provide two hours' heat.[4] They were occasionally allowed to leave the camp to gather firewood, under close supervision from German guards.[5]

Sanitary conditions in the camp also deteriorated late in the war. While the men had access to large washbasins and cold running water, they were rarely given the opportunity to take hot showers and did not have hot water with which to wash their clothing.[6] The latrines in the American compound were completely unsanitary, consisting only of a pole over an open pit. The unsanitary and overcrowded conditions in this compound led to the spread of diseases such as pneumonia and dysentery, which affected nearly all the American prisoners.[7]

While the prisoners' rations had generally been satisfactory until late 1944, they had begun to decline by early 1945. By that time, the prisoners' daily fare consisted of ersatz tea or coffee in the morning (reported by American private Joseph Melosky to be "so putrid we used it to wash with"),[8] about a liter of watery soup at lunch (which consisted of turnips and potatoes, pine needles, potato skins, and/or barley), and one seventh of a loaf of bread at dinner.[9] These rations were sometimes supplemented with a small portion of cheese or sausage about once a week, and occasionally some jam or cottage cheese.[10] American private first class Donald S. Thompson reported that the caloric value of these rations was about 5 percent above starvation-level.[11]

The NCOs suffered even worse conditions than those for the enlisted men. They were quartered in a former horse stable.[12] They slept on wooden triple bunk beds with straw mattresses that were filled with lice. The stable was constantly cold and damp and there was no covering on the cement floor. The water was "polluted and unpalatable," according to Security and Intelligence Corps Agent William J. Counihan, who was interned there from January to March 1945.[13] The latrines were primitive, like those in the enlisted men's compound, and the prisoners had to bail them out every four to five days. The men were fed so poorly that some lost as much as 23 kilograms (50 pounds) in two months. They became weak and developed jaundice due to malnutrition. Agent Counihan reported that men died "daily" from pneumonia and malnutrition.[14] The two American medical officers in that part of the camp were unable to treat the population of 150 men with the

minimal supplies they had.

The medical facilities in the enlisted men's compound were not much better. The infirmary had 90 beds but was poorly supplied. Few medications were made available by the Germans and the camp medical personnel depended almost entirely on the Red Cross for their stocks of medicines.[15] American first lieutenant Leonard J. Lanzilotti reported that when he arrived at the Stalag XIII C hospital from Oflag 64 on March 9, 1945, the same bandage was left on his wound for eight days; the Yugoslav doctor who treated him told him he could not replace it because there were no supplies available. Lieutenant Lanzilotti also stated that at least one man at the hospital died and that this man would have certainly survived with proper medical care.[16] There was no possibility of performing surgery in the camp, and the X-ray and laboratory facilities were poor. Urgent cases were generally sent to the nearby Oflag XIII B for treatment, while seriously ill men were sent to the hospital in Ebelsbach.[17]

Large numbers of prisoners were assigned to work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) in nearby villages.[18] The majority of the prisoners were engaged in agricultural labor or forestry; in September 1944, it was estimated that approximately 90 percent of the British prisoners, for example, were engaged in agricultural work.[19] American staff sergeant Melvin M. Kimes reported that he and other American prisoners were assigned to unload military equipment from boxcars at the rail station in Hammelburg, in violation of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions regarding the use of POW labor.[20] Other prisoners were forced to perform other military tasks, such as digging machine gun trenches. The work to which the prisoners were assigned was invariably very hard, and there was, therefore, little in the way of recreational activity in the main camp.

Mistreatment by the German camp personnel only added to the misery that the prisoners experienced. The German block leader (*Blockführer*) over Block 4 in the American compound, for example, was notorious for abusing the prisoners.[21] American staff sergeant Willard Smee witnessed a German guard punching and kicking an American prisoner in March 1945.[22] Additionally, the prisoners were left exposed to the Allied aerial bombardments that became common near the end of the war; the Germans provided

them with no shelter and men had to dig foxholes to protect themselves. Staff Sergeant Smee believed that American prisoners had been killed by strafing from Allied planes on at least one occasion.[23]

Although the Western prisoners experienced poor conditions and treatment later in the war, their plight paled in comparison to that of the Soviet POWs. As in other camps, the Soviet prisoners were not afforded the protection of the Geneva Conventions and were treated inhumanely. They were subjected to deliberate starvation, complete neglect of their medical needs, and brutal treatment at the hands of the German camp personnel. These conditions led to a high mortality rate.

Stalag XIII C was the destination for many prisoners who had been evacuated from the camps in the east, such as Oflag 64 and Stalag VIII D, in advance of the Red Army's arrival. On March 27, 1945, a number of prisoners were evacuated from Stalag XIII C as the American forces approached from the west. The American 14th Armored Division liberated the camp on April 7, 1945.[24]

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XIII C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-13/17); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XIII C); NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War); and TNA (WO 208/3279; WO 309/1882; WO 309/1875; WO 311/940; WO 311/1038; WO 311/1059; WO 224/41; WO 309/2063).

Additional information about Stalag XIII C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 25; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 277; and Vasilis Vourkoutiotis, *Prisoners of War and the German High Command: The British and American Experience* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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13. Testimony of Agent William J. Counihan, File 100-418, Stalag XIII-C (Hammelburg, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 26.

14. Ibid.

15. Report of the International Red Cross (March 31, 1944), Stalag XIII C, NARA, RG 59, Box 128.

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17. Report of the International Red Cross (February 10, 1945), Stalag XIII C, NARA, RG 59, Box 128.

18. BA-MA, RW 6: 276, S. 2 f.

19. Report of the International Red Cross (September 26, 1944), Stalag XIII C, NARA, RG 59, Box 128.

20. Testimony of S/Sgt. Melvin M. Kimes, File 100-418, Stalag XIII-C (Hammelburg, Germany), NARA, RG 153, Folder 1, Box 26.

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MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XIII D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XIII D (map 4d) between November 1 and November 15, 1942, in Hammelburg, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII, on the site of the former Oflag 62 (XIII D).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). The camp was relocated to Nürnberg-Langwasser in February 1943.

Stalag XIII D held French, Belgian, Polish, Serbian, British, Soviet, and American prisoners of war (POWs); including 10,000 officers who arrived in February 1945 from Stalag Luft III. The largest number of prisoners held at one time was 30,000.[2] There were 11,038 prisoners on July 15, 1944, and 7,160 (of whom 5,200 were French) on October 29, 1944. On January 15, 1945, there were 5,708 prisoners (all French).[3] From September 1943, there were also Italian military internees (3,541 on October 1, 1943; 6,439 on December 1, 1943; 6,535 on February 1, 1944; 10,139 on April 1, 1944; and 1,521 on December 1, 1944).[4] Large number of prisoners were assigned to work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) in nearby villages.[5]

Western Allied prisoners were in the minority in the camp. They faced conditions that deteriorated markedly as the war lasted into 1945. British and American prisoners confronted harsh working conditions, as the majority were assigned to work details outside the primary camp compounds. An estimated 90 percent of these units were engaged in agriculture, with the remaining assigned to lumber and street-clearing details. In contrast to many other Stalags, prisoners carried out very little industrial labor. Due to the heavily agricultural nature of the work, days were quite long, often beginning at four o'clock in the morning and not ending until after sundown.

Racial tensions existed with prisoners from some areas of the British Empire and Commonwealth. In September 1944, an arrival of 247 British troops primarily from India, Pales-tine, and South Africa led to the creation of a separate work detail, known as Detachment 1740.[6] The spokesman for the 129 men in this detachment was the South African corporal Ben Hlatjwojo. The quarters they were given were greatly overcrowded (the men all slept in one room) and the rations were insufficient for the long and arduous days the prisoners spent digging trenches.[7] They were treated much more brutally than British prisoners from the British Isles; as international observers described harsh physical treatment: "Supervisors cannot make themselves understood verbally, [so] orders are therefore given in a brutal way."[8] Corporal Hlatjwojo corroborated this statement, stating that the prisoners were beaten because of their inability to communicate with the Germans.

By early 1945, rations, supplies, and overall conditions within the camp had deteriorated. The American prisoners were crammed into three overcrowded barracks. Food supplies were inadequate (the Americans supplemented their rations by borrowing from the Red Cross parcels given to Belgian and Serbian prisoners). The prisoners' clothing was in a poor state, and there was no possibility of having it repaired. The hygienic facilities were rudimentary; the latrines had frozen over and the prisoners were only able to have hot showers very infrequently. Due to the poor sanitary conditions, many of the Americans were infected with dysentery. The medical care supplied to them, however, was considered adequate. There were about 100 books in the library in the American sector, and sports facilities were available.

The discipline in the camp was very strict, which made an "unfavorable" impression on international observers in the camp.[9] American prisoners arriving at the camp from the front complained of the harsh interrogation tactics. They lacked reliable access to medical oversight and were clothed in the uniforms in which they were captured. Many from the western front endured long rides in cattle cars or long marches without rations prior to arrival.[10] Meanwhile, prisoners began to arrive at Stalag XIII D from evacuated camps in the east. Injured prisoners from a POW hospital in Defense District VIII were marched town to town from

the end of January until their arrival at Stalag XIII D on March 5, 1945.[11]

The Soviet POWs were treated inhumanely. They were subject to deliberate starvation, withholding of medical care, and shocking displays of cruelty and violence at the hands of the German camp personnel. As in other camps for Soviet prisoners, regular "weeding out" operations (*Aussonderungen*) were conducted at Stalag XIII D, in which "undesirable" elements among the Soviets, including Jews, political commissars, other Communist Party members, and any soldiers determined to have become "thoroughly Bolshevized" were taken out of the camp and sent to a concentration camp (usually Buchenwald or Dachau) and executed.

German authorities designated 14 hospitals and clinics for treatment of prisoners from the camps located in Wehrkreis XIII. Western Allied prisoners could receive treatment at 12 of these, and, in extremely urgent cases, civilian hospitals could be used for their treatment. Soviet prisoners, however, had access to only two of these hospitals. If the camp doctor deemed that transport to one of these two hospitals would threaten the patient's life, only then could a Soviet prisoner receive care at one of the closer hospitals. A separate camp near Stalag XIII B was designated as a recovery camp (*Aufpäppelungslager* from the front) for Soviet prisoners in extreme states of malnutrition.[12]

Camp hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) Nürnberg-Langwasser served injured or ill prisoners of Stalag XIII D and, on occasion, Stalag XIII C. The hospital had a capacity of 2,000 beds. As was the case in many camp hospitals, American and British prisoners were accorded certain advantages in their care. At Nürnberg-Langwasser, Germans dedicated an entire barrack to the 45 British and 18 American patients in May 1944.[13]

Although the camp hospital was well built and the medical arrangements were adequate, the prisoners' care and treatment relied heavily on the availability of medicines and dressings from the Red Cross. The prisoners depended almost entirely on Red Cross parcels for their food as well. Prisoner health was considerably worse than in many other camps treating American and British prisoners. On average, prisoners remained in

Nürnberg-Langwasser for four to five months prior to returning to the Stalag. In the opinion of international observers, this long period of convalescence stemmed from the reluctance of German officials' to take the men off their work detachments until they were completely unable to perform physically; this situation was particularly prominent in the case of the colonial prisoners, who were often physically unfit for work to begin with, and frequently became ill due to the unfamiliar climate and awful conditions in which they worked and lived.[14]

In the later stages of the war, the hospital's location became a concern, as German forces began to move antiaircraft guns into the vicinity. These concerns were particularly heightened after the bombing of the main camp. The American Seventh Army liberated the camp on April 20, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XIII D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453, RH 53-13/17); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XIII D); NARA (RG 59, RG 389); TNA (FO 916/1147); and StA Nürnberg.

Additional information about Stalag XIII D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 25; Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, "Stalag XIII D," *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), pp. 345–350; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 277.

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Trans. Robert Hyams

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BAMA, RH 49/5; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p, 25; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 277.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 25.

3. Ministère de la Guerre, "Stalag XIII D," 345.

4. BA-MA, RW 6: 451–452.

5. See the supplement for a list of the main working commandos.

6. Report by the International Red Cross (September 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2151.

7. Report by the International Red Cross (September 29, 1944), Stalag XIII-D, NARA II, RG 59, Box 128.

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11. Special Report of the International Red Cross (April 18, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2151.

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13. Report of the International Red Cross (June 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.

14. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XVII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XVII A on September 30, 1939, by converting Dulag J into a Stalag.[1] The camp was located in Kaisersteinbruch (map 4f), 34.6 kilometers (21.5 miles) southeast of Vienna, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII; it was the first Stalag opened in this Defense District. Stalag XVII A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII).

Stalag XVII A was located on the grounds of a former barracks of the Austrian army, which the Wehrmacht expanded. It was divided into two sections: Lager I, which consisted of 41 stone barracks, and Lager II, which comprised 32 wooden barracks and eight smaller buildings.[2] The two camp sections (alternately known as Lager A and Lager B) were located about 500 meters (1,640 feet) apart.[3] The camp kitchen was operated by a German noncommissioned officer and the camp infirmary was run by a German doctor and five French doctors. There was also a camp canteen where the prisoners could purchase goods such as cigarettes (10 Reichsmarks for a package), chocolate (15 Reichsmarks for a bar), and shoes (60 Reichsmarks for a pair).[4] The exact composition of the camp staff is unclear, but known commandants of the camp include Oberst von Puttkamer and Oberst Pamperl.[5] The camp was guarded by personnel from Reserve Battalions (*Landesschützenbataillone*) XXV (875) and XVII (877).[6]

Stalag XVII A was one of the largest prisoner of war (POW) camps in the Reich from 1939 to early 1941. The prisoner numbers decreased after the spring of 1941 due to the conversion of the three Oflags in Wehrkreis XVIII (Oflags XVIII A, XVIII B, and XVIII C) into Stalags and the transfer of some prisoners from Stalag XVII A to these new camps.[7] Nonetheless, Stalag XVII A

remained a relatively large camp throughout the war, with a population generally between 20,000 and 30,000 prisoners.[8] The first prisoners to arrive were Polish soldiers captured during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. By December of that year, there were over 13,000 Polish prisoners in the camp (including a small number of officers and civilians); however, by the spring of 1940, most of the Poles had been transferred to other camps in the Reich.[9]

The next prisoners to arrive in the camp were French and Belgian POWs captured during the German campaigns in Western Europe in the spring of 1940. The French prisoners became and remained the largest prisoner group in the camp for the rest of the war; the maximum population of French prisoners in the camp was 65,793 in February 1941.[10] In the spring of 1941, Serbian prisoners were brought to the camp after the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia. The first Soviet prisoners arrived in November 1941 and were confined to Lager I, which became known as the Russian camp (*Russenlager*).[11] In the fall of 1943, British prisoners of war and Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp. Finally, in the last months of the war, American, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Slovak prisoners were brought to Stalag XVII A.[12]

Stalag XVII A at Kaisersteinbruch. ICRC delegate Dr. Marti speaking with French POWs, August 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The majority of the prisoners registered in the camp were not housed within the main camp itself but were instead deployed outside the camp in work details (*Arbeitskommandos*).[13] As of 1944, there were at least 615 separate work details subordinate to Stalag XVII A.[14] The prisoners in Stalag XVII A mainly worked in agricultural labor and in the nearby stone quarries from which Kaisersteinbruch takes its name.[15] Others were employed in local factories and other industrial labor; for example, Kommando 96 GW worked in a cement factory.[16] However, certain groups, such as Jewish and Arab French prisoners, were not required to work because the Germans deemed their presence among the German civilian population unacceptable.[17] Prior to the creation of the Stalags in Wehrkreis XVIII, Stalag XVII A (along with Stalag XVII B in Gneixendorf) was responsible for the distribution of POW labor throughout the entire Ostmark (annexed Austria).[18] While the conditions in the work details and the labor the prisoners

performed generally conformed to the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929, French laborers in Kommando 25 GW at Eisenerz, who were working in an iron ore mine, informed the Red Cross delegate who visited them in October 1944 that their food was "bad and insufficient" and that their living conditions were "deplorable."[19] In another case, French prisoners in Kommando 657 GW were sent to work in an armaments factory, in violation of the provision of the Geneva Convention that prohibits the use of prisoners in directly war-related labor.[20]

Little information is available about the conditions in Stalag XVII A during the early months of the war; however, in general, the Germans treated Polish prisoners poorly and often did not provide them with adequate food or clothing. By contrast, the Western Allied prisoners usually received better treatment, and the conditions of their confinement in the camp were generally in line with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. The prisoners slept in triple bunk beds and were able to take a hot shower once a week. The first Red Cross visit to the camp took place in the summer of 1940, shortly after the arrival of the first Belgian and French prisoners. The inspector reported that conditions in the camp were relatively good and that, although the prisoners had some complaints (small bread rations and inadequate clothing for the Belgian prisoners), they found life in Stalag XVII A preferable to the conditions they had experienced in the Frontstalags in France.[21]

The camp regulations (*Lagerordnung*) stated that the prisoners were to be awoken for roll call at 5:00 a.m. during the summer months (6:00 a.m. in the winter months). Afterward, they were given their breakfast between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m. and then performed 30 minutes of "morning exercises" before those who were assigned to work details were sent to work. Lunch was served between 11:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m., and, after the prisoners returned from work, they received their dinner between 5:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. The prisoners' officially allotted rations differed based on whether they were working and the type of work they were doing. The minimum weekly rations for nonworking prisoners were 2.6 kilograms (5.7 pounds) of bread, 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of meat, 130 grams (4.6 ounces) of fat, 7 kilograms (15.4 pounds) of potatoes, 110 grams (3.9 ounces) of sugar, and 14

grams (0.5 ounces) of ersatz tea, with vegetables and spices offered based on availability. The prisoners were, in theory, responsible for discipline within their own ranks—including the cleanliness and presentation of the individual prisoners as well as of their barracks—through their self-administrative structure; the German guards were only supposed to intercede in matters that could not be resolved among the prisoners themselves. The German camp doctor (*Lagerarzt*) was responsible for both the operation of the camp infirmary and the maintenance of the hygienic conditions in the camp, as well as arranging the transport of seriously ill or injured prisoners to the camp hospital (*Lagerlazarett*). Disciplinary matters were to be handled not arbitrarily but in a military manner.[22]

However, the memoirs of former French POW Constantin Joffé demonstrate that the actual conditions in the camp were often much different than those described in the regulations and the more glowing Red Cross reports. According to Joffé, upon arrival at Stalag XVII A, the prisoners were taken to a large building where they showered and their clothes were disinfected. In contrast to the Red Cross report, Joffé described the food rations as unsatisfactory—a cup of ersatz coffee, two bowls of potato soup, and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day, well below the officially prescribed rations—and stated that gastrointestinal illnesses were common among the French prisoners early on in their captivity.[23] Joffé also recalled incidents of abuse by the German guards, such as a day in December 1940 when the temperature reached –28° Celsius (–18° Fahrenheit) and the Germans required the prisoners to move a large quantity of stones that were coated in ice, despite the fact that none of the prisoners had gloves or boots. Those who did not work quickly enough were beaten by the guards.[24] Joffé's experiences clearly illustrate that the front the Germans were able to present to the Red Cross was not entirely representative of the prisoners' experiences, and, while their treatment might have been proper in general, opportunities nonetheless existed for individual guards or groups of them to exercise wanton cruelty and violate the established norms for the treatment of prisoners. Joffé himself was among the fortunate prisoners from Stalag XVII A who were repatriated to France in 1941.[25]

The Western Allied prisoners had access to some cultural and recreational activities within the camp, including a small library, musical groups, and sports. However, these activities, as well as religious services, were often unavailable to the Polish and Serbian prisoners due to a lack of supplies and clergymen.[26] There was a camp hospital not far from the main camp, which, as of 1944, was staffed by two British doctors. Most major cases of illness and injury were sent to the hospital; the doctors in the camp infirmary treated only minor cases. Red Cross inspectors noted in August 1944 that the camp hospital was in good order and that the health of the prisoners in Stalag XVII A was generally good. However, the inspectors also remarked that, although the hospital's supplies of drugs were being depleted, they were not being replenished as quickly as they had been earlier in the war; in addition, the hot water in the hospital had been out for six months.[27]

Unlike the Western Allied prisoners, Soviet POWs were treated horribly, in a manner that was in violation of international law regarding the treatment of POWs. They were transported to the camp in open railcars, and many of the men were dead or on the verge of death before they even arrived in the camp. Their quarters in Lager I were overcrowded, the prisoners received little food or medical care, and conditions facilitated the spread of diseases such as typhus and dysentery. The death rate among Soviet prisoners was very high, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942. In total, about 9,500 Soviet prisoners died in Stalag XVII A, compared with 216 prisoners of all other nationalities combined. The dead prisoners were buried in mass graves outside the camp, located about 100 meters (328 feet) behind the camp infirmary.[28] As in other camps for Soviet POWs, the Germans also carried out selections (*Aussonderungen*) of Soviet prisoners to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were sent to concentration camps such as Mauthausen for execution.[29]

Surprisingly, however, Italian military prisoners in Stalag XVII A were reported to have experienced better conditions there than they did in most other camps in Germany (where they were often treated very poorly). About 2,500 Italian prisoners "volunteered" for a German-created special unit (*Einsatzbrigade*) of Italian troops, which ensured them better rations and living conditions, much like the Soviet volunteer guards and soldiers (*Hilfswillige,*

Hiwis) in other camps.[30]

Late in the war, conditions deteriorated for all prisoners in Stalag XVII A. The camp became increasingly overcrowded with the transfer of prisoners from other camps closer to the front (such as a group of sick and wounded prisoners from Stalag 344 in Lamsdorf who arrived in March 1945)—at times, over 400 men were crammed into each barrack. Cultural and religious activities in the camp declined during this time due to the strained conditions. Some prisoners were shifted to defense-related labor (illegal under the Geneva Convention), and many were killed working on a barrier at the Austrian-Hungarian border in the winter of 1944–1945.[31]

As the Red Army approached from the east in the spring of 1945, the Germans began preparing to evacuate the prisoners from Stalag XVII A westward. The evacuations began on March 30, with the final convoy departing on April 2 (the exact date of the camp's official dissolution is unknown). The prisoners were combined with columns of evacuees from Stalag XVII B in Gneixendorf and were led via Wels and Lambach in the direction of Braunau am Inn, in Upper Austria, where they arrived on April 19. The prisoners received little food during the march, and those who lagged behind were often shot.[32] After reaching Braunau, the prisoners were marched about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) further west to Neuenkirchen.[33] The evacuated prisoners were liberated by American troops on May 6, 1945.[34]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XVII A is located in BArch B 162/17341–17344: "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XVII in Kaisersteinbruch (Wehrkreis XVII)" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2987.00000584–00001095); NARA (RG 59, Box 128 [Stalag XVII A]); and USHMMA (Names Source 497 and RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 603–605).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 25.

2. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 220.

3. Joffé, *Les enterées vivants*, p. 89.

4. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 159.

5. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 221; "Vorermittlungen gegen ehemalige Angehörige des Stalag XVII A," BArch B 162/17341, Bl. 11 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2987.00000597).

6. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 218–219.

7. Ibid., p. 217.

8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 132–133.

9. Ibid., p. 132.

10. Ibid., p. 132.

11. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 223.

12. Ibid., p. 218; Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 133.

13. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 134–135.

14. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 82.

15. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz*, pp. 29, 33.

16. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 73.

17. Joffé, *Les enterées vivants*, pp. 103–104.

18. Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld*, p. 37.

19. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 88.

20. Ibid., p. 100.

21. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 219–221.

22. "Lagerordnung für das M[annschafts-] Stammlager XVII A in Kaisersteinbruch," BArch B 162/17344, Bl. 1490– 1503 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2987.00000996– 00001009).

23. Joffé, *Les enterées vivants*, pp. 75–79.

24. Ibid., p. 123.

25. Ibid., pp. 215–216.

26. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 603–605.

27. Red Cross Report from Stalag Hospital XVII A (August 8, 1944), NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XVII A.

28. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 223–224.

29. cf. BArch B 162/17341.

30. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 224.

31. Ibid., pp. 225–226.

32. Ibid., pp. 226–227.

33. "Transfers of Camps: Wehrkreis XVII," ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0029.

34. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 226–227.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XVII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XVII B on October 26, 1939, in Gneixendorf, near Krems an der Donau, from Dulag Gneixendorf (map 4f). It developed into the largest prisoner of war (POW) camp in what was then the Ostmark (present-day Austria). At one time, 66,000 POWs passed through the camp: French, Belgian, Serbian, Polish, British, and Soviet prisoners, as well as Italian military prisoners. The majority were housed in one of the camp's many work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). In October 1943, a "Luftwaffe subcamp" was created in Gneixendorf for 4,300 US Army Air Forces (USAAF) noncommissioned officers.

More than one-third of the POWs were used for agricultural work, and the rest worked primarily for the Wehrmacht and in construction. For the Soviet POWs, in particular, labor deployment meant some degree of improvement in their living conditions. The advantages of working for farmers were well known to the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW): "The high demand on the part of the agricultural sector, especially as a result of the scattered farming settlements, accommodates the wish of the prisoners of war to be employed there, owing to the availability of better food and relatively greater freedom."[1]

For labor deployment outside the camp, POWs were put to work in detachments and housed directly at their place of work or in its vicinity. Their "employers" provided their lodging and rations. The camps for the work detachments, in comparison with the main camp, looked more basic, but here, too, above a certain size, various facilities were officially required. These included an infirmary and a housing space allocation of 5 cubic meters (177 cubic feet) per prisoner. However, the exact guidance was not always complied with, even in the labor camps, because of chronic

overcrowding.

The size of the work detachments varied, depending on the deployment, but the demand for workers could not be met in either Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII or Defense District XVIII: "The allocation of prisoners of war was and is not commensurate with the requests for manpower. Assistance by the relevant authorities was repeatedly asked for." The numbers were mind-boggling: in September 1940 alone, there were 1,446 work detachments under the control of Stalag XVII B—with around 44,000 POWs altogether—and 823 additional detachments requested.

From 1941 on, with the establishment of POW Stalags in Defense District XVIII, the administrative ambit of the camp was reduced to the greater part of the Lower Danube Administrative Region (*Gau*) and the entire Upper Danube Administrative Region. As a result of the creation of Stalag 398 in Pupping, Stalag XVII B surrendered the supervision of Upper Danube. Nonetheless, until the end of the war it remained the largest administrative organization for the work deployment of POWs in the territory of the Ostmark.

A wide camp street cut through the quadrangular grounds of the Stalag, with prisoner accommodations on either side. Stalag XVII B consisted of 40 barracks, which in 1942 were subdivided by additional barbed wire fencing to create "battalions," each with three barracks. In American reports, 12 sectors, or "compounds," 5 of which, at the eastern end, were assigned to the American prisoners, were mentioned. The four double barracks in each sector were planned for 400 men, and each of these structures was divided into two parts by a washroom in the center, with six sinks. The latrine was outside near a playing field. The sectors for the Americans were separated from the areas for other nationalities by guard towers and barbed wire.

From the fall of 1943, when the first Americans came to Stalag XVII B, they were housed adjacent to the Soviet sectors. They were better fed and, in addition, received care parcels from the International Committee of the Red Cross. A lively barter trade across the barbed wire boundary separating the two groups soon developed, in which primarily the coveted American cigarettes

were exchanged for onions or potatoes. The Soviet POWs, who worked outside the camp, were able to smuggle foods of this kind into their sector. Not until the fall of 1944 were the rations for Soviet POWs aligned with those for the other nationalities, and that alignment was often more theoretical than real.

The Soviet POWs were excluded from the aid provided by the Red Cross and thus from an additional source of foodstuffs. Also, in contrast to all the other nationalities, the Soviet POWs were not supplied with cooking areas for preparing additional food. Until the fall of 1942, they even received "Russian bread," consisting of 50 percent coarse-grained rye meal, 20 percent sugar beet shreds, 20 percent cellulose powder, and 10 percent straw powder or leaves, leading to symptoms of deficiency. The presence of straw in the bread also acted as an irritant and ultimately caused disorders of the digestive system. The Soviets also received a soup, called *balanda*, which was made from millet or buckwheat, turnips, and uncleaned, sometimes rotten, potatoes.

The accommodations of the individual nationalities also reflected the differences in their treatment. "One camp—two systems" was the slogan. American POWs were housed in a sector of their own, as were the Soviet POWs. The rest of the prisoners lived in the so-called international sector.

In September 1941, when the first "Russian transports" arrived in the "East camp," which was separate from the rest of the camp, deaths began to occur at an extremely high rate. An infirmary was set up in a tent, but the seriously ill men there were largely left to their own fate. In December 1941, an epidemic of spotted fever and typhus broke out, causing the entire camp to be placed under quarantine. Four French Jewish POWs were assigned to take care of the sick, and in the process the French assistant physician Rosenberg died from an infection, on New Year's Eve 1941. Within one month, approximately 700 Soviets died as a result of the epidemic.

All told, around 1,700 Soviet POWs perished in Stalag XVII B, most of them during 1941–1942. During the period from August 1943 to April 1945, there were 360 deaths in this group of prisoners. These deaths, although the mortality rate had significantly declined, still represented 83 percent of all prisoners

who died during that time period. In addition to the Soviets, 19 Yugoslavs, 20 French, 1 Belgian, 2 Poles, 4 Americans (two of whom were shot while trying to escape), 22 Italians, 4 Romanians, and 1 Slovak—73 POWs altogether—were buried in the camp cemetery.[2]

Oberst Kühn (Army) was the commandant for most of the camp's existence, and Major Eigl (Luftwaffe) was camp officer in charge (*Lageroffizier*) or first camp leader (*Lagerführer*). Hauptmann Paletta (Luftwaffe) was assigned as second camp leader.

Reserve battalions (*Landesschützenbataillonen*) were used as guard personnel. They were ordinarily under the control of the Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*) in each district and were replaced at regular intervals.[3]

The American POWs exhibited amazing creativity in Stalag XVII B. Many of them kept "wartime logs," which they filled with poems, drawings, caricatures, and the like, and they also kept diaries. The latter consist of short phrases in note form, frequently lacking verbs, which mention the most important facts, written down in great haste. They record the food situation, theater performances, bomb alarms, correspondence, weather conditions, birthdays, Christmas celebrations, and important military events.

In addition, the American POWs published a camp newspaper, *The Gremlin*. They organized their own camp school, an orchestra, and a camp theater known as the Cardboard Theatre. Here, the two American prisoners Don Bevan and Edmund Trzcinski authored a play that had its Broadway premiere in 1951. It served as the basis for Billy Wilder's Oscarwinning film *Stalag 17*.

Most of the other national groups of POWs in Stalag XVII B also developed cultural activities. From July 1941, the French published the camp newspaper *Le Gai Mât,* whose title was a play on the Austrian dialect expression "*Gemma*" ("*Gehen wir*," "let's go"). Published twice a month, it contained poems, discussions of the cultural events in the camp, stories, announcements by the man of confidence (*homme de confiance*)

for the French, and editorials intended to maintain a mood of patriotism in the French sector. There was a typical struggle between collaborators and resistance fighters over the editing of the newspaper and over the political orientation of its content.

By contrast, the Soviet POWs were, to the greatest possible extent, forbidden to engage in artistic and literary activities. The most basic preconditions for the creation of literature and art were absent, with inadequate light and space conditions, hunger, cold, illnesses, and time-consuming labor deployment not the only obstacles. Even keeping a diary was risky; writing materials had to be hidden, and, if they were discovered, the prisoner in question could expect harsh punishment. Countless preparations for escape attempts were made in Stalag XVII B; some were prevented by the Germans, some were punished with solitary confinement, and occasionally they even ended in death.

Of the four American POWs who died in Stalag XVII B, three died while attempting to escape. For example, Sergeant Proakis, in the course of his attempted escape together with Sergeant LaVoie on December 3, 1943, was shot by the guards. Immediately thereafter, the guards returned to the American sector of the Stalag, where they fired additional shots and wounded one POW in his barracks. The wounded man, William E. Binnebose, had to wait for almost an hour at the main gate and then was carried to the camp medical facility and subjected to three hours of surgery. Only three months later, in late February 1944, was he able to return to his barracks in the camp.

Shortly before the war ended, a summary court martial in Stein an der Donau tried the commandant of the Gneixendorf camp, Franz Schweiger, as well as his subordinates Kilian and Zelenka, for attempted resistance to the regime. They organized a unit of guards that left the camp; the guards had planned to surrender to the Soviets but were captured. The guards were set at liberty; Schweiger, Kilian, and Zelenka were sentenced to death in Stein on April 21, 1945, and publicly hanged on the Südtiroler Platz in Krems an der Donau. Their bodies were left hanging for three days, as a cautionary example.

The public prosecutor's office in Vienna, on the basis of these two summary court-martial verdicts and other evidence, brought

charges of high treason and other crimes against Higher Regional Court Counsellor, retired Higher Counsellor to the State Court (*Oberlandesgerichtsrat, ausser Dienst*) Dr. Viktor Reindl; director of Public Prosecutions, retired States Attorney General (*Generalstaatsanwalt, ausser Dienst*) Dr. Karl Stich; and the bookkeeper Franz Dobravsky. On June 18, 1948, the Vienna Regional Court, functioning as the People's Court, sentenced Reindl to five years of strict confinement, Stich to eight, and Dobravsky to two.

On April 6, 1945, after the Soviets broke through toward Vienna, the decision was made to evacuate the POW camps in the eastern part of the Ostmark. All the POW camps in Defense District XVII—with the exception of Stalag 398 in Pupping—were evacuated in the direction of Braunau am Inn. Some of the prisoners from Kaisersteinbruch, on their way westward, stopped over for a few days in Stalag XVII B.

The evacuation of all Americans who were transportable or able to walk began on April 8, after the Soviet prisoners had marched away several days before. They were followed two days later by the French and Belgians in four columns of 500 men each. The American POWs were arranged in eight columns of 500 men apiece, each column led by a POW and guarded by 20 German home guards (*Volkssturm)* with two dogs. The march, approximately 300 kilometers (186 miles) in length, led, with minor deviations from the route by the individual march columns, through the Wachau region, via Mauthausen to Linz, and finally via Erferding and Altheim to the Weilhartsforst reception camp, located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of Braunau am Inn.

On May 3, 1945, the first Americans soldiers—six men from the US 13th Armored Division in three Jeeps— encountered the 15,000 POWs, guarded by 205 men. Soon thereafter, additional units of the 13th Armored Division arrived to coordinate the prisoners' return to their various home countries. On May 12, the removal of the former POWs from the Weilhartsforst began. They were taken in American trucks to the Pocking airfield, and from there transport planes flew them to Châteaudun, Reims, and Le Bourget.

After the evacuation of the majority of the POWs from Stalag

XVII B, the only ones remaining there were those who could not move for reasons of health or who had returned from work detachments, including around 200 Americans and 300 French. The remaining German guard forces proved accommodating during this final phase. The situation changed abruptly, however, on April 20, when SS troops assumed control of the camp. They remained in the camp until May 8, one day before the arrival of the Soviet troops.

Stalag XVII B was liberated on May 9 by elements of the Soviet 49th Rifle Division. A Soviet general permitted the liberated prisoners to move about freely inside the campgrounds in the daytime, but at night they were forbidden to be outside the barracks. Conditions in the camp are said to have been worse after liberation than before.

At least three former members of the camp staff at Stalag XVII B were tried by Soviet military courts in the postwar years. Two of them had been arrested as civilians in the Soviet zone of occupation in Austria. Found guilty of "war crimes," they were sentenced to 15 and 25 years, respectively, in a Gulag prison camp. Hauptmann Johann E., for example, who had worked from 1943 as a company commander engaged in guarding POWs, was accused of having forbidden the Soviet POWs to search through the garbage for something to eat and of having ordered his subordinates to use weapons to compel the POWs to work. In addition, he was said to have placed under his protection two guards who had shot Soviet POWs.

Although Johann E. pled not guilty, he was sentenced to 25 years of camp imprisonment. Johann E. returned to Austria in 1955 with the 70th transport of returnees. His application for rehabilitation was denied by the Russian Main Military Prosecutor's Office in 1998 on grounds of "proven cruel treatment of prisoners of war."

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XVII B is located in NARA, ÖStA, IfZG, and BA-MA.

Additional information about Stalag XVII B can be found in the following publications: *Kriegsgefangene des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Gefangennahme–Lagerleben–Rückkehr*, ed.

Günter Bischof, Stefan Karner, and Barbara Stelzl-Marx (Vienna; R. Oldenbourg, 2005); Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003); Barbara Stelzl-Marx, *Unter den Verschollenen: Erinnerungen von Dmitrij Čirov an das Kriegsgefangenenlager Krems-Gneixendorf 1941 bis 1945* (Horn: Waidhofen/Thaya, 2003); and Barbara Stelzl-Marx, *Zwischen Fiktion und Zeitzeugenschaft: Amerikanische und sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Stalag XVII B Krems-Gneixendorf* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2000). Several former POWs, Americans in particular, have published autobiographical books about their experiences in the camp. Detailed bibliographical information is available in Stelzl-Marx, *Zwischen Fiktion und Zeitzeugenschaft*.

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NOTES

1. IfZG, T 77/750, Geschichte der Rü In, 1.10.1940-21.12.1941.
2. cf. ÖStA/AdR, 314 Zs-120, Totenbuch Stalag XVII B. 2.8.1943–26.4.1945.
3. cf. BA-MA, RH 53-17/42. Kommandantur des M.-Stammlagers XVII A Kaisersteinbruch. 20.8.1942. Wachvorschrift für die Innenwache des Lagers II, p. 1.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XVII C

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XVII C (map 4f) from Dulag Döllersheim on October 20, 1939, in Döllersheim, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVII.[1] On June 15, 1940, the camp was reorganized as an officers' camp, designated Oflag XVII A, and the enlisted prisoners were transferred to Stalag XVII B.[2] The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVII).

Stalag XVII C held Polish prisoners of war (POWs). Little information is available about the conditions in the camp, but, in general, conditions in camps for Polish POWs in 1939 and 1940 were poor, with inadequate housing and insufficient food supplies.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XVII C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450; RH 53-17/16), BArch B 162/790, and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XVII C).

Additional information about Stalag XVII C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello amd W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 26; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 72.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 26.

2. BArch B 162/790, Bl. 48; Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 72.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XVIII A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XVIII A on March 1, 1941, by converting Oflag XVIII B into a Stalag.[1] The camp was located in Wolfsberg, 48.5 kilometers (32 miles) southwest of Graz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII (map 4f). Between October 3, 1942, and August 1, 1944, Stalag XVIII A had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) in Spittal an der Drau (previously, the independent Stalag XVIII B), which was designated Stalag XVIII A/Z. One section of this camp also served as a prisoner hospital (*Lazarett*), while the other was subsequently converted into Ilag XVIII. A second subcamp was established at Marburg an der Drau (today Maribor, Slovenia) from the former Stalag 306 (XVIII D)/Stalag XVIII B/Z in the spring of 1943. Other branch camps were located at Wagna, near Leibnitz, and Unterpremstätten, near Graz.[2] Stalag XVIII A was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).

Stalag XVIII A was located on the site of the former barracks of the III Bataillon, Gebirgsjägerregiment 139 in the district of Priel, in the southern part of Wolfsberg. The original barracks were too small to hold the number of prisoners the Germans wished to keep at the camp, so the Wehrmacht purchased 10 hectares (24 acres) of private land surrounding the camp. By the end of the war, there were a total of 35 barracks at the campsite. There were two separate sections of the camp: Lager I, which held Western Allied prisoners, and Lager II, which held Italian military prisoners and Serbian prisoners of war (POWs). An additional camp section for British prisoners was fashioned out of seven stables in April 1943; these prisoners were later moved to three new barracks that were constructed in early 1945.[3]

The first camp commandant was Oberst Richard Flechner. He was succeeded in 1942 by Oberstleutnant Werner von Reckow.

Oberstleutnant von Reckow was replaced by Oberst Georg Keller shortly before the end of the war. The adjutant was Hauptmann Anton Hopfer.[4] The first camp officer (*Lageroffizier*) was Major Johann Knaus.[5] His successor was Hauptmann Ferdinand Steiner; the latter was regarded by the prisoners as an understanding officer who followed regulations on prisoner treatment diligently.[6] The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officers in the camp were Hauptmann Küchler, Hauptmann Wladimir Kosurik, Hauptmann Gehard Ebenbichler, Major Gebhard Braun, Hauptmann Josef Steinklauber, Hauptmann Josef Küritz, and Major Dr. Karl Pollak.[7]

Stalag XVIII A was a relatively large camp, with a population that never fell below 21,000 prisoners; the maximum population of the camp was 47,844 prisoners in February 1944.[8] The first prisoners to arrive were French and British POWs transferred to the camp from Stalag XVII A in Kaisersteinbruch. The French remained the largest prisoner group in the camp throughout the war, while the British were the second-largest group for most of the camp's existence. The number of British prisoners increased substantially in late 1943 with the transfer of prisoners from camps in Italy northward to Stalag XVIII A.[9] This camp had the highest concentration of British, Australian, and New Zealand prisoners of any camp in the Reich.[10] As of March 31, 1941, the first date for which population statistics are available, there were 25,668 French prisoners (including 8 officers) and 518 British prisoners in the camp. Beginning in July 1941, there were smaller numbers of Belgian prisoners (never more than 1,000) and Serbian prisoners (maximum population of 177) in the camp.[11] Soviet prisoners were first brought to the camp in November 1941, and their numbers greatly increased after the closure of the so-called Russian camp (*Russenlager*) in Spittal in August 1942.[12] The first Italian military prisoners were brought to the camp in October 1943, and a small group of Dutch prisoners arrived in December of that year. Finally, a small group of Americans (63 men) was brought to the camp in January 1945.[13] Although the camp's official population was quite large, the majority of the prisoners registered in Stalag XVIII A (over 80%) did not reside in the main camp but were instead deployed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) outside the camp.[14]

As in most camps, the Germans' treatment of Western Allied and Serbian prisoners of war was decent and within the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929. In April 1944, a delegate from the International Committee of the Red Cross who visited the camp went as far as to declare that Stalag XVIII A was a "good" Stalag. There was a camp kitchen operated by the prisoners, as well as a camp infirmary, which was staffed by British doctors supervised by the camp doctor (*Lagerarzt*), Dr. Toppler. The prisoners' food rations and the sanitary conditions in the camp were deemed adequate by international observers, and the prisoners' clothing was in good shape.[15] A normal meal in the camp consisted of vegetable soup and black bread with margarine; the prisoners received 30–40 grams (1–1.4 ounces) of meat once a week.[16] Prisoners noted that the German guards sometimes amused themselves by abusing the prisoners, particularly during morning roll call, which was often dragged out for as long as two hours by the guards' chicanery.[17]

All POW labor in Wehrkreis XVIII was coordinated through Stalag XVIII A.[18] The prisoners worked primarily in agricultural labor and construction around the camp, and their work requirements generally conformed to the provisions of the Geneva Convention. Some work details consisted of large numbers of prisoners; however, others were simply small groups of prisoners assigned to work on private farms and quartered by the owners of the farms.[19] However, a group of about 110 French prisoners was sent to work on defensive fortifications on the Hungarian border, which violated the Geneva Convention's prohibition on the use of prisoner labor for projects of an explicitly military nature.[20]

The conditions in Stalag XVIII A deteriorated late in the war, as was the case in most camps within the Reich, although the problems were generally less severe than in many other camps, and Red Cross inspectors continued to give positive reports on the status of the camp even as late as the summer of 1944, noting adequate supplies of food and clothing at that time.[21] However, by early 1945, food supplies for the prisoners had decreased, and the prisoners increasingly relied on Red Cross food parcels to meet their dietary needs.[22] Overcrowding (due to the transfer of prisoners from other camps) and lack of fuel for heating were also major issues.[23] These problems had been exacerbated when the

camp was accidentally bombed by the Allies on December 18, 1944. Seventy-two bombs hit the camp, killing 46 prisoners and damaging or destroying 10 barracks (mainly in Lager II), requiring the confinement of larger numbers of prisoners in the remaining barracks. The camp infirmary was also badly damaged, and most ill or injured prisoners were transferred to the main (civilian) hospital in Wolfsberg.[24]

Stalag XVIII A also had a hospital, which was located in the West Camp (*Westlager*) of the former Stalag XVIII B/Stalag XVIII A/Z in Spittal an der Drau. An American prisoner, Private Benjamin Eagleman, who was in the camp infirmary after the bombing, stated that the food rations and medical supplies were inadequate and that the prisoners' sleeping quarters were crowded and uncomfortable (double bunk beds with straw mattresses).[25]

The prisoners had access to cultural and religious activities within the main camp. Religious services were held for Catholic, Protestant, and Serbian Orthodox prisoners. The camp had a library of about 15,000 books, and the prisoners organized educational courses (19 as of August 1942). There was a small British orchestra as well as a theater troupe that performed in a section of one of the barracks, which had been designated for cultural activities, that had a capacity of 200. The prisoners were also allowed to play sports like soccer during their spare time, although lack of sports equipment was a problem, according to prisoners' complaints to a visiting YMCA delegate.[26] The French prisoners published a camp newspaper called *L'Echo du XVIII A* (*The echo of [Stalag] XVIII A*).[27] Similar activities were organized on a smaller scale in the branch camps and work details.[28]

Information about the treatment of Soviet and Italian prisoners in Stalag XVIII A is limited. In general, the Germans treated both of these groups of prisoners very poorly, and death rates among them were high. However, the number of Soviet prisoners in Stalag XVIII A was low during the winter of 1941–1942, when the largest number of deaths occurred among the Soviet prisoners in other camps (most of the Soviet prisoners were at the Russian camp at Stalag XVIII B during this time). There was an outbreak of typhus among the Russian prisoners, with estimates of deaths

ranging from 100 to 500 (some French prisoners also died during the epidemic).[29] However, of the 121 prisoners buried at the camp cemetery, only 46 were from the Soviet Union (although this figure does not include prisoners who died at the camp in Spittal or those who died in transit to Stalag XVIII A); it is unclear where the remaining deceased Soviet prisoners were buried. French prisoners assisted the Soviets by passing food from the kitchen (operated by French soldiers) to them through the fence separating their sections of the camp.[30] A postwar investigation found no evidence of selections (*Aussonderungen*)—in which Soviet prisoners were screened and those identified as Jews and political commissars were executed—at Stalag XVIII A.[31]

There were no evacuations from the main camp of Stalag XVIII A (or most of the other camps in Wehrkreis XVIII) since this area was part of the German Alpine Fortress (*Alpenfestung*), which was purported by German propaganda to be impenetrable to Allied forces; however, some work details in the eastern part of Austria were moved further west to Stalag 317 (XVIII C) in Markt Pongau. Stalag XVIII A was reached by British paratroopers from MI9 on May 8, 1945; at this time, the commandant handed control over to the British.[32] Two units of the British Eighth Army, the 27th Lancers and the Irish Guard Fusiliers, arrived on May 11, 1945, to formally liberate the camp.[33]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XVIII A is located in BArch B 162/8992–8994: "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XVIII A in Wolfsberg (Österreich)" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00000999–00001149); NARA (RG 59, Boxes 91, 128, Stalag XVIII A; RG 153, Box 40, File 100-428, Stalag XVIII-A [*sic*]); and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 613–618).

Additional information about Stalag XVIII A can be found in the following publications: Claude Bellanger and Roger Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés* (Rabat: Éditions Internationales du Document, 1951), p. 43; Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Franz J. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz von 1940 bis 1945 und*

das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Lünersee" (Bludenz: Geschichtsverein Region Bludenz, 2001); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 26; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 138–139; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's Captives 1939– 1945* (Kent: Coronet Books, 1988); Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 275–294; and Barbara Stelzl-Marx, "Das Oflag XVIII B/Stalag XVIII A Wolfsberg 1939–1945," in *Wolfsberg*, ed. Robert Gratzer (Wolfsberg: Stadtgemeinde Wolfsberg, 2001), pp. 182–206. See also www.stalag18a.org.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 26.

2. Ibid., p. 26; "Niederschrift aufgenommen mit Alois Friedl," BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 25 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00001025); Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 275–276.

3. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 276–277.

4. "Schlussvermerk," BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 54 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00001059).

5. "Niederschrift aufgenommen mit Ferdinand Janda," BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 21-23 (copies at USHMMA,

RG-14.101M.2788.00001021–00001023).

6. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 289.

7. "Niederschrift aufgenommen mit Hans Schindler," BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 27 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00001027).

8. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 139.

9. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 276.

10. Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld*, pp. 38, 41.

11. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 138.

12. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 276.

13. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 138.

14. Ibid., p. 139; Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 277.

15. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 278–279.

16. Ibid., p. 284.

17. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 229.

18. Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich*, p. 66.

19. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, p. 66.

20. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 287.

21. "International Committee of the Red Cross—Stalag XVIII A (June 28, 1944)," NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XVIII A.

22. "International Committee of the Red Cross—Stalag XVIII A (February 25, 1945)," NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XVIII A.

23. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 284.

24. "International Committee of the Red Cross—Stalag XVIII A (February 25, 1945)," NARA, RG 59, Box 128, Stalag XVIII A.

25. “Testimony of Benjamin (NMI) Eagleman, Pvt.,” NARA, RG 153, Box 40, File 100-428, Stalag XVIII-A [*sic*].

26. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 616–618.

27. Bellanger and Debouzy, *La presse des barbelés*, p. 43.

28. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, pp. 613–615.

29. “Niederschrift aufgenommen mit Alois Friedl,” BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 25 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00001025).

30. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 287–290.

31. “Schlussvermerk,” BArch B 162/8992, Bl. 57 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2788.00001062).

32. Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich*, p. 169.

33. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 270–271; Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 293–294.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XVIII B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XVIII B on February 7, 1941, by converting Oflag XVIII C into a Stalag.[1] The camp was initially located in Spittal an der Drau (map 4f), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII. On October 3, 1942, the camp was relocated to Wagna, near Leibnitz. On January 31, 1943, the camp was relocated again to Pupping. Stalag XVIII B had a branch camp in Marburg an der Drau (today Maribor, Slovenia), designated Stalag XVIII B/Z (formerly Stalag 306 [XVIII D]), which operated from August 1 to November 15, 1942.[2] Stalag XVIII B was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).

Stalag XVIII B was a small camp, composed of seven barracks, each of which held between 170 and 250 prisoners. In Spittal, the camp was divided into two sections, the West Camp (*Westlager*) and the East Camp (*Ostlager*), about 800 meters (2,625 feet) apart. The first commandant was Major Sachs. On October 17, 1941, Oberst von Alten was named camp commandant.[3] He was succeeded in the summer of 1942 by Oberst Strandes.[4] The Lagerführer was Major Martung. Many of the camp's guards were Ukrainian and Serbian volunteers (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis).[5]

The population of Stalag XVIII B was originally composed primarily of French prisoners, with smaller numbers of Belgian and Polish prisoners also present. The first camp population statistics, from May 1941, recorded 13,116 French prisoners (including 7 officers), 475 Belgians, and 15 Poles. After June 1941, Serbian prisoners were the second-largest national group in the camp. Small numbers of British prisoners were also present in the summer of 1941. The maximum camp population during this period was 17,030 prisoners in July 1941. Many of the prisoners registered in the main camp were deployed in the numerous work details (*Arbeitskommandos*) that were subordinate to Stalag

XVIII B.[6] The prisonerlaborers from Stalag XVIII B worked in various locations near Spittal and throughout the districts of Salzburg and Tirol-Vorarlberg.[7]

In October 1941, the French, Serbian, Belgian, and British prisoners were transferred to Stalag 317 (XVIII C) in Markt Pongau and replaced by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs); Stalag XVIII B became known as the Russian camp (*Russenlager*) of Wehrkreis XVIII.[8] As of November 1, 1941, 2,393 Soviet prisoners were in the camp; their numbers grew to as high as 11,260 in July 1942. In August 1942, British prisoners were returned to the camp, and in October 1942, just before the camp was transferred to Wagna, French prisoners (along with one Serbian prisoner) were also brought back to the camp. By November 1942, the French prisoners were once again the largest group in the camp.[9] As of October 1942, the population of Stalag XVIII B/Z in Marburg was 11,444 prisoners (6,180 French, 2,812 British, 2 Serbian, and 2,450 Soviet).[10]

Information about the conditions in the camp prior to the fall of 1941 is limited. However, the Germans generally treated Western Allied and Serbian prisoners decently and observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention of 1929, and it is likely that they did so in Stalag XVIII B as well. Presumably, the same was true after the return of Western Allied prisoners to the camp in the summer of 1942. According to a YMCA delegate who visited the camp on August 26, 1942, the section of the camp where the British prisoners lived was "exceptionally nice." The prisoners had a small library of 1,250 books and had organized foreign language courses. The prisoners were able to conduct religious services and play sports on a small athletic field, and a small orchestra and theater troupe had been formed.[11] However, some prisoners reported to the International Committee of the Red Cross that the commander of the camp verbally abused them and was harsh toward prisoners who had allegedly violated camp rules.[12]

By contrast, the Soviet prisoners who arrived in the camp in the fall of 1941 were treated horribly, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention. They were transported to the camp in open wagons, unprotected from the elements, and given no food during the trip; about 10 percent of the Soviet prisoners sent to Stalag XVIII B died before they ever reached the camp. Their food

rations were poor, consisting mainly of thin vegetable soup; prisoners who tried to steal food to ease their hunger were usually executed. The camp was also severely overcrowded, which, combined with poor sanitary conditions and nonexistent medical care, allowed diseases like typhus and typhoid fever to spread unchecked. The Ukrainian and Serbian volunteer guards were exceptionally cruel and abusive toward the Soviet prisoners.[13] As in other camps, the Soviet prisoners were put through selections (*Aussonderungen*) to separate out "undesirables," such as Jews and political commissars, who were taken into a cellar in the camp and executed.[14] At least 6,000 Soviet prisoners are known to have died in Stalag XVIII B; they were buried in mass graves near the camp.[15] On February 27, 1943, Stalag XVIII B was converted into Stalag 398.[16]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XVIII B is located in BArch B 162/17305–17309: "'Aussonderung' von Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XVIII B in Spittal/Drau, später Stalag 398 in Pupping (Wehrkreis XVIII—Salzburg)" (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M, Reels 2985–2986) and USHMMA (RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 620).

Additional information about Stalag XVIII B can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La vie quotidienne des prisonniers de guerre dans les stalags, les oflags et les kommandos 1939–1945* (Paris: Hachette, 1987); Franz J. Fröwis, *Kriegsgefangene der Stadt Bludenz von 1940 bis 1945 und das Kriegsgefangenenlager "Lünersee"* (Bludenz: Geschichtsverein Region Bludenz, 2001); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 26; Gianfranco Mattiello, *Prisoners of War in Germany 1939–1945 (Camps, Nationalities, Monthly Population)* (Lodi: self-published, 2003), pp. 140–141; Edith Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld: Britische Kriegsgefangene in der Steiermark 1941–1945* (Graz: Selbstverlag der Vereins zur Förderung der Forschung von Folgen nach Konflikten und Kriegen, 2003); and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes:*

Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939 bis 1945 (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 296–302.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 26.
2. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 296–297.
3. Ibid., p. 296.
4. "Vernehmungsniederschrift, Walter Bircks," BArch B 162/17305, Bl. 17 (copy at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2985.00001510).
5. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 300.
6. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 140.
7. Petschnigg, *Von der Front aufs Feld*, p. 45.
8. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 296, 299.
9. Mattiello, *Prisoners of War*, p. 140.
10. Ibid., p. 141.
11. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Reel 2, p. 620.
12. Durand, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 102–103.
13. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, pp. 299–300.
14. "Vernehmungsniederschrift, Josef Doblinger," BArch B 162/17305, Bl. 13-16 (copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M.2985.00001506–00001509).
15. Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes*, p. 299.
16. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 26.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XX A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XX A on December 7, 1939, in Thorn (today Toruń, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XX (map 4c). The Germans constructed the camp within a string of forts that had been erected in the nineteenth century to protect East Prussia's border with the Russian Empire. In all, the fortress complex comprised more than 200 different structures forming a beltway of forts approximately 22 kilometers (13.7 miles) in circumference.

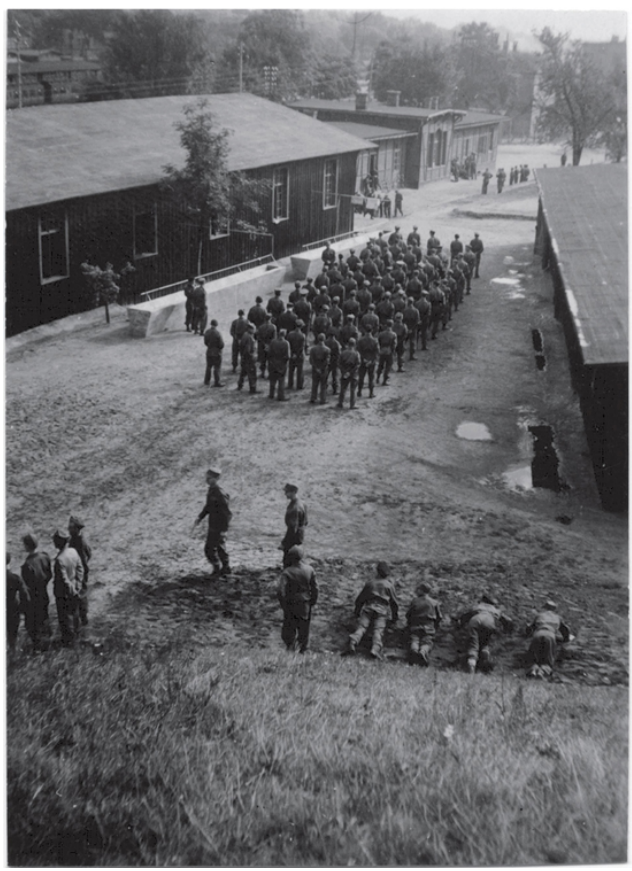
In the first stage of construction, from September to October 1939, Polish prisoners of war (POWs) worked to adapt Thorn's forts to serve as POW camps. The work mainly involved securing the camp against prisoner escape attempts and improving the roadways between the forts.[1] The Thorn camp made use of structures on the left bank of the Vistula River: the Stefan Batory Fort XI, Władysław Jagiełło Fort XII, Karol Kniaziewicz Fort XIII, Józef Bem Fort XIV, Jarosław Dąbrowski Fort XV, and Railway Fort XVI.[2] Forts XI, XII, XIII, XV, and XVII held prisoners. Fort XIV housed a prisoner hospital, mostly for French and British prisoners, and Fort XVI served as a jail.

The Michał Żymierski Fort XVII served as the headquarters of Stalag XX A and the prisoner camp.[3] In early to mid-1940, the camp headquarters was moved from Fort XVII to a three-story apartment building, previously occupied by the 31st Light Artillery Regiment, located across from Fort XIII. The building, on what is now Okólna Street, housed the headquarters until the camp ceased operations.[4] The Stalag XX A headquarters was in command of all the forts and camps in Thorn. This is evidenced by gathered accounts of witnesses, and German documents, including the daily orders (*Tagesbefehle*) of the commandant of Stalag XX A.[5]

The Stalag documentation is fragmentary, especially regarding

the camp organizational staff. Major Ditmar was the first commandant. In September 1940, Oberstleutnant Werner took over, followed on March 24, 1941, by Major (later Oberstleutnant) Seeger. The last commandant was Oberstleutnant (later Oberst) Kokail.[6]

Older Wehrmacht soldiers served as guards. The number of prisoners in the Stalag can be determined based on Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) reports sent to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC, the Geneva Statistics), with the exception of those for 1940, which did not survive. There is also information from the results of court ordered exhumations conducted in 1948 at the Prisoner of War Cemetery.



Stalag XX A at Thorn. British POWs exercising, August 1940.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

The camp's first prisoners were Poles. In late 1939, 200 Polish POWs arrived at the Thorn camp. The Germans had interned them since September in a camp in Skarszewy (German: Schöneck) for Polish army, navy, and civilian prisoners.

Eventually, Stalag XX A housed prisoners from the following countries (based on the information in the OKW reports): Poland, Belgium, Norway, France, England, Yugoslavia (Serbs), the Soviet Union, and the United States, in addition to Italian military prisoners and Moroccan and sub-Saharan African colonial prisoners.[7] As of September 1, 1941, there were 8,464 prisoners in the camp, including 8,360 British, 80 French, and 24 Poles. A year later, the total population rose to 13,308 prisoners, an increase of over 40 percent. The number of French prisoners grew by almost 2,000 to 2,073 prisoners. The number of British prisoners dropped by 1,609 to 6,751, and 2 Belgians, 9 Poles, 6 Yugoslavs, and, for the first time, 4,467 Soviets were also registered at the camp. The OKW statistics indicate that Soviet prisoners arrived at Thorn only in December 1941, although the camp had been in operation since August.

On October 1, 1943, the ICRC recorded a total of 24,744 prisoners, including 1,298 French, 5,533 British, 77 Belgians, 10 Poles, 6 Yugoslavs, 2,835 Soviet, and 1 Norwegian. For the first time, Italian prisoners (14,984) were part of the camp as well, following Italy's surrender and Germany's subsequent internment of Italian soldiers.

A year later, there were a total of 14,454 prisoners in the camp (663 French, 4,897 British, 80 Belgian, 8 Polish, 8,316 Soviet, 484 Italian, and 6 American). Only the population of Belgian and Soviet prisoners had risen. On January 1, 1945, the camp population was about 18,000 prisoners, including 725 Frenchmen, 5,099 British, 83 Belgians, 3 Poles, 409 Yugoslavs, 11,309 Soviet, 484 Italians, and 9 Americans.[8]

As time went on, the respective prisoner groups occupied separate forts. Fort XIII held mainly British prisoners (thus it was called the "English camp") but also some Italians; there were also

some British prisoners at Fort XV (officers) and XIV (the infirm). French prisoners occupied Fort XV (with smaller groups at Forts XI and XIII).[9]

As far as conditions were concerned, different standards applied to POWs of different countries. Westerners fared the best. The housing was adequate, as were the supply of clothing, underwear, and footwear, the medical care, and the opportunities for cultural and sporting activities (especially for the English and French). The death rates for these groups were not very high: 44 deaths, or an average of 3 per month, were recorded between October 1940 and December 1941, including 39 from natural causes. Two prisoners died at labor, two were shot while trying to escape, and one committed suicide.[10] The stricter application of the Geneva Convention, and occasional inspections by monitoring countries, doubtless made a great deal of difference.

The Soviet prisoners lived under much worse conditions. They were subject to severe abuse from the moment of their arrival. The Germans weeded out political commissars and shot them, based upon the Guidelines for the Treatment of Political Commissars (*Richtlinien für die Behandlung politischer Kommissare*, known as the Commissar Order), which the OKW had disseminated in early June 1941. The remaining prisoners lived in barracks, mostly unheated and without flooring. The prisoners slept on three-level unpadded bunks (later paper mattresses were issued) or on the bare ground. They lived with no sanitary facilities, in filthy, bug-infested conditions, which caused epidemics of infectious disease (one of them happened in the summer of 1943). Prisoners were forced to bathe in the wintertime, which left them weakened and further prone to illness. The existing field hospital for prisoners did not have the resources to treat them. The food was insufficient and was prepared under unsanitary conditions. Instead of pots for cooking rutabaga, concrete bins were used. Chopped rutabaga was tossed into some hot water and some coal grease was added in the proportion of 19 kilo-grams per 500 liters (42 pounds per 528 quarts) of soup. The prisoners received no bowls, instead using cans, forage caps, or boxes made in the carpenter's shop. On the way to work, the starving prisoners ripped up weeds and ate them.[11]

All enlisted prisoners had to work, but the Germans forced the

Soviet prisoners to do so for much longer, in so-called work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*). The labor seemed designed to work them to death. It lasted 10–12 hours; with fewer hours on Sundays and holidays. In the city itself they worked at the military training ground or expanded the camp and locomotive house in the depot in the Kluczyki section of town. They did drainage, construction, and roadwork near the Vistula River. Most prisoners were put to work outside the city, chiefly doing farmwork or working in country farmsteads. Prisoners were also delegated to work at industrial centers in other cities. Working conditions in these details were very arduous, as evidenced by the commandant's daily notes on fatal accidents and prisoners refusing to work.[12]

For Soviet prisoners, malnutrition, illness, and beatings often proved fatal. An estimated several dozen to 150 prisoners died daily during normal periods, with the figure reaching up to 300 during epidemics. Hundreds of Soviet prisoners were shot by firing squads, particularly on the basis of the aforementioned Commissar Order. In this way 300 prisoners were killed initially, then 1,200.[13]

The instructions of January 17, 1940, issued by the OKW, instituted order in the camp, including a system of punishments covering violations of work discipline, theft, insubordination, and escape attempts. The instructions also governed the use of weapons without warning. Excerpts of the instructions were included in the order by the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XX (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XX), dated August 23, 1941.[14] The instructions, consisting of five items, particularly applied to Soviet prisoners (item 5), specifying how they were to be treated, especially the prohibition on other prisoners communicating with them. The punishment for Soviet prisoners ranged from 1–21 days' confinement, while punishments for other prisoners complied with regulations (the maximum punishment under the Geneva Convention of July 27, 1929, was 30 days).

Prisoners served their punishment in the jail. For more serious offenses (communicating with German contacts, dealings with civilians, or high-profile escape attempts), there were more severe consequences, such as exile to a penal camp, 10 years at a high-

security prison, and, even a life sentence or death.

The Red Army liberated Stalag XX A on February 3, 1945. The total number of prisoners, according to the Geneva Statistics and the exhumation of 1948, has been established at 54,638, including 21,181 Soviets. A total of 14,263 died, including 14,219 Soviets. However, these are minimum figures. Maximum estimates (Soviet prisoners only) range from 60,000 to 80,000, of whom 30,000–40,000 died in the camp.[15]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XX A can be found in AK-IPN (Gendarmeriekreis Hermannsband, sygn. 11, pp. 7–9, 65, 70, 80, 86, 92, 94, 116, 142, 165, 168, 177, 183, 200); AMMJWL (Statystyki Genewskie, Vol. I, II, III, IV, Wehkreiskarte …); BUiAD (Dział "Ob," sygn. 167, p. 78 [questionnaire]); in the MKH (witness accounts); PZZ-OT (sygn. 2, pp. 10–14, 15–20, 38–39); WASt Berlin (Stalag XX A, Tagesbefehle); and the Zbiór Fotokopii (sygn. II/312 to II/315, II/614, p. 4).

Additional information about Stalag XX A can be found in the following publications: Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jeńcach wojennych armii regularnych w latach II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: MON, 1964); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); Jerzy Matynia, *Na szlakach walki i męczeństwa województwa gdańskiego 1939–1945* (Gdynia: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1967); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 520; J. L. Tyszkiewicz, "Hitlerowski obóz jeńcow wojennych w Toruniu," in *Z lat wojny, okupacji i odbudowy*, Marian Anusiewicz and Leszek Grot, eds., vol. 4 (Warsaw: MON, 1975), pp. 75–91; and J. L. Tyszkiewicz, "Żołnierze polscy w niewoli Wehrmachtu (1939–1945)," in *Rozprawy z dziejów XIX i XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1978), pp. 159–166.

NOTES

1. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” p. 75.
2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 520.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. AMMJW; WASt Berlin (Stalag XX A, Tagesbefehle).
6. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” p. 78 (based on daily orders and witness accounts).
7. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” p. 79.
8. AMMJW, Geneva Statistics, Vol. I, II, III, IV. The prisoner population at Stalag XX A in Toruń was provided by Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” pp. 83–84.
9. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” pp. 81–82.
10. AMJW; WASt Berlin (Stalag XX A, Tagesbefehle, no. 207).
11. MKH, witness accounts; BUiAD, Dział “Ob,” sygn. 131, pp. 13–14; Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” pp. 92–94.
12. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” p. 90.
13. Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*, p. 160; Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” pp. 95–96.
14. AMJW; WASt (Stalag XX A, Tagesbefehle, no. I/1117/41, p. 162).
15. Tyszkiewicz, “Hitlerowski obóz,” pp. 85–86.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XX B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XX B on December 16, 1939, on the outskirts of the city of Willenberg, Kreis Marienburg (today Wielbark, Gmina Malbork, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland) (map 4c). The camp administration was situated in the wooden barracks on what is today Piastowska Street between building number 3 and the bridge over the Młynówka River. Oberst Bollman held the position of camp commandant.[1]

Stalag XX B at Willenberg. General view of the camp, 1942.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

This was a camp for noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and rank-and-file soldiers of various nationalities. It also served as an Oflag for officers, several of whom had been interned at Stalag XX B, because there was no officers' camp in Kreis Marienburg.

The camp was enclosed by a triple fence of barbed wire as well as additional impediments. Prisoners were quartered in barracks that contained wooden bunk beds. The other barracks contained

clothing stockrooms, the kitchen, and the bathhouse. Stalag XX B was composed of the main camp and several large subcamps as well as many small groups of prisoners who were put to work in the nearby villages doing forced labor on farms and in factories. The average daily prisoner population was approximately 10,000–15,000 at the main camp, 300 at the Focke-Wulf factory in Königsdorf (today Malbork-Królewo), 1,300 at the Gdingen (today Gdynia) shipyard, and approximately 600 at Danzig-Stolzenberg (today Gdańsk-Chełm).

Until June 1940, the camp only held Polish prisoners. From 1942 to 1944, mainly Western European prisoners were interned at the camp. According to an inspection report by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), on November 23, 1940, the camp housed 14,000 prisoners, two-thirds of whom were French. About 550 Belgians were also registered at the camp. Four hundred work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) were under the camp command at that point. The inspection report was mainly positive, and any shortcomings were to be remedied when the camp construction was completed. The report emphasized that the food was good and "complied with the prisoners' tastes as much as possible." The report stated that there were shortages of clothing, especially underwear.[2]

On February 28, 1941, the camp housed 14,118 prisoners, including 8,597 French (5 officers), 5,197 British (2 officers), and 316 Belgians. Another inspection by the ICRC on September 19, 1941, showed that there were 18,592 prisoners (British, French, and Belgian) at Marienburg alone. The different figures are probably because some prisoners had been moved to other divisions and work detachments, of which there were 650 at the time. Some of the detachments did not return to the home camp.[3] Stalag XX B, therefore, began to take on the nature of a transit camp, which was clearly stressed in the inspection report. The conclusions drawn from the inspection were less satisfactory this time. Both the camp spokesman and the camp doctor stated that "Stalag XX B is a bad camp." Cited among the contributing factors was a lack of British uniforms for 50 percent of British prisoners and no protective clothing; overwork and maltreatment; poor footwear; inadequate showers and disinfection facilities; and insufficient beds, as well as the imprisonment of NCOs for

refusing to work, irregular remittance of soldiers' pay, and the lack of cultural opportunities.[4]

The prisoners were joined by Serbian and Soviet POWs in 1942, and by Italians beginning in the autumn of 1943. On June 1, 1942, the camp prisoner population was 23,010 (8,238 French, 9,541 British, 288 Belgian, 1,108 Serbian, and 3,835 Soviet). The ICRC inspection report of May 1, 1942, lists a much smaller population of 9,729, of whom 1,576 prisoners were in the camp itself. The number of work details was 704. The inspection conclusions were not entirely optimistic. The report states that "many things have improved since our last visit to the camp, especially in the work details, where cases of prisoner maltreatment are now very rare. They are very grateful to us for that. We have no stipulations as to the distribution of mass packages, food and clothing, for which the camp advocates are entirely responsible. We have no new stipulations in the camp itself."[5]

The summary stated that "the accommodation of prisoners in the camp leaves a lot to be desired. The barracks are overcrowded, old and poorly ventilated and lit. The sanitary facilities are inadequate, especially latrines and the camp infirmary. There is still a shortage of showers in the camp, causing recurrent lice infestations. There is no prosthetic section in the infirmary and the dental procedures still leave much to be desired. On the other hand the camp advocate's work is going well."[6]

A year later, on October 1, 1943, the camp population again increased to 27,529 prisoners, most of them British, French, Soviet, Italian, and Serbian. The largest population was recorded on July 1, 1944, at 32,477, including 10,577 French, 9,324 British, 6,081 Italian, and 5,708 Soviet prisoners. Also interned in the camp were groups of several hundred Belgians and Serbs, and two Poles. The prisoner population dropped to 31,151 at the beginning of 1945.[7] Evacuation of the camp began on January 20, 1945. The POWs and other prisoners had to walk approximately 700 kilometers (435 miles).

We also have some insight as to conditions at the Marienburg camp from the recollections of British and Belgian prisoners of war (Lance-Corporal Igor H. S. Lipscombe) and Robert Duchesne (chief camp advocate) and the inspections of the parent camp by

the ICRC in Geneva, conducted on November 22–23, 1940, September 19, 1941, and May 1, 1942.

As Lipscombe recalled that "our toilets were no more than long deep ditches with crossed poles at each end and the middle, and our 'urinals' were large wooden barrels placed at several spots around the camp. They were situated so that the lights could shine on anyone using them in the night." The ICRC camp inspection report from the autumn of 1940 stated that:

> the wooden barracks are spacious and well furnished: tables and chairs have been arranged to provide a great deal of free space. The beds are three-level bunks. There is electricity everywhere. Heating will be provided via tile stoves. Some barracks have been built in the Polish manner, i.e., the packed-earth floor is about a meter [3 feet] below ground level outside. The roof is gabled and partially covered with turf. This type of construction nevertheless causes no discomfort; the area is very dry and sandy. In any case, those barracks will soon be closed and the occupants will be moved to new, more spacious barracks, which are under construction.[8]

In the autumn of 1941, the prisoner camp consisted of 36 wooden barracks. They were built around a broad athletic field 150 meters long and 80 meters wide (328 by 263 feet). The barracks could house 20–200 people. Some of them were crowded with prisoners. In May 1942, the camp consisted of approximately 38 wooden barracks, including 9 inhabited by French and Belgians. There were also eight earthen huts of a lesser quality than the wooden barracks; the huts housed many French prisoners.[9]

Each Christmas the prisoners were escorted in groups of 100 to the field hospital in Marienburg where their heads were shaved and their clothes were deloused in special ovens. One prisoner recalled that "we took a shower, then put on our still-hot clothing and marched back to the camp. That lasted all day from 6:00 in the morning until 8:00 in the evening. While we were gone from camp, the Germans searched our barracks and our things. When we came back, the food from the Red Cross packages, cigarettes and soap, etc., has disappeared, but of course nobody knew

anything about it." Bathrooms were later installed, consisting of wooden troughs with running water and a row of toilets with seats, and at the very end, the prisoners actually had their own washroom with a delousing facility and shower.

The assignment of prisoners to work detachments started at 6:00 a.m. They were put to work loading and unloading coal at the train station; others were sent to work at various places in northern Germany, and some went to local farms to harvest grain, potatoes, sugar beets, and rutabagas or to work at the sugar factory. The winters would be so severe that they had to use pickaxes to dig out sugar beets.

The camp population was checked twice a day, at 7:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. As one prisoner recalled:

> Many times we were kept in the cold because someone was late or the Germans couldn't account for someone. During the day there was one hot meal at noon, a ladle of rutabaga with potato soup (…). We received one loaf of black bread with five tablespoons of jam, some sour whey or slimy fish paste (which looked, smelled and tasted disgusting) to spread on the bread. Our beds stood in two rows on both sides along the entire barrack. Those who slept on the lower level had to fight with the rats that came in through the floorboards. We all suffered from insect bites so much that sometimes we fled our beds at night.[10]

The winters were frigid and the summers hot and arid. Before British prisoners arrived at the camp, French prisoners were already there and occupied the best barracks and found the best work in camp at the Stalag headquarters in Marienburg. At the end of 1943, approximately 200 Serbs were put in the camp and brought in typhoid fever. Several of them died. General delousing was begun in the barracks; the prisoners' heads were shaved and their clothes were disinfected. A group of 100 Italians arrived at camp after the Serbs.

The evacuation of the main camp from Willenberg was conducted in the evening of January 20, 1945. A column made up of approximately 150 Belgians, French, British, Serbs, Italians,

and Soviets was escorted by armed guards headed by the camp commandant himself. The column crossed the Nogat River, then the Vistula. The prisoners spent the first night on the other side of the Vistula River in a meadow at 19 degrees below 0 Celsius (−2° Fahrenheit). They spent the successive nights in barns. Duchesne recalled:

> At the beginning, it was the few "Lebensgabens" and especially "Nescafes" that we took along with us that kept us alive. Later, with daily stages of 30 to 35 kilometers [18.6 to 21.8 miles], we had to make do with the official rations of a moldy loaf of bread every 10 days. Fortunately, the prisoners managed to cope: we milked cows and took eggs from under hens (to the morning screams of farmers), which was a valuable addition to our diet. There were also oats and rye, which was "ground" by turning the huge wheel of a machine in the barn all night. One day a lame horse was slaughtered and quartered, and its stringy meat was cut into pieces and boiled in water. The most beautiful day was when we encountered a column of the International Red Cross which has been searching for us and distributed American packages to everyone. That day we were the richest people on earth.[11]

Apart from a modest meal from the escorts, who gave them steamed potatoes every day, the prisoners got additional food at the farms they passed. After they had walked across almost all of northern Germany over six or seven weeks, the group reached the vicinity of Hamburg. The evacuation continued by railroad, and, on March 19, 1945, the prisoners reached Husum, a port on the North Sea in Schleswig-Holstein. From Husum they were transported to the camp in Schwerin-Nord near the Danish border. The Danish and Norwegian Red Cross took over the provisioning of the prisoners, along with their chief, advocate for Stalag I A, who supplied them with packages of rice.

The capitulation of May 8 occurred when the prisoners were in Schwerin-Nord. However, they only regained freedom on May 10, because until then they were guarded by armed Germans. The Belgians were grouped together in Sudderstappel, a North Sea port. They were then transported by trucks to Lüneburg and

repatriated to Belgium on June 3, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag XX B is located in IPN (Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Biuro Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów, Ankieta GK 1968, Camps in the city of Gdańsk); the Special Penal Court in Gdańsk (Records of the case against Gustaw Zuchaschewski, sygn. GK 199/7); AMJW (sygn. 3497, Wehrkreiskarte); AMS (Dossier of F. Medici provided by the Izba Rzemieślnicza w Gdańsku in 2003 [Italian press clippings, *Antologia di Francesco Medici*, recollections of time in the camp in 1944]); ASGS (biographies written by R. Posnic [1958] and his second wife, L. Posnic [2001], collections signed "Ryszard Techman"); and the Archives of the ICRC in Geneva (Stalag XX B [Malbork]. Inspections of November 22–23, 1940, September 19, 1941, and May 1, 1942). There is an account by British prisoner Jack Durey at www.warlinks.com/memories/index.php; note that he gets the camp designation wrong.

Additional information about Stalag XX B can be found in the following publications: Wieslaw Jedliński, *Malbork—dzieje miasta*, vol. II (Malbork, 2007); Bohdan Koziełło-Poklewski and Tomasz Rabant, "Kwidzyn 1918–1945," in *Dzieje miasta Kwidzyn*, ed. Justyny Liguz (Kwidzyn: Kwidzyńskie Centrum Kultury, 2004); Marek Orski, *Niewolnicza praca więźniów obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof w latach 1939–1945* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1999); Dieter Pfliegensdorfer, *Vom Handelszentrum zur Rüstungsschmiede: Wirtschaft, Staat und Arbeiterklasse in Bremen 1929–45* (Bremen: Universität Bremen, 1986); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979); and Wolfgang Wagner, *Kurt Tank—Konstrukteur und Testpilot bei Focke-Wulf* (Munich: Monch, 1980).

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NOTES

1. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 313; Jedliński, *Malbork*.

2. Archives of the International Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva, ER/JPS/MH/F Stalag XX B (Malbork). Inspection of November 22–23, 1940.

3. AMJW, sygn. 3497, Wehrkreiskarte; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 313.

4. ICRC, ER/JPS/MH, Germany, Stalag XX B (Malbork). Inspection of September 19, 1941.

5. ICRC, SR/Rh/JS/AG, Germany, Stalag XX B Malbork—East Prussia. Inspection of May 1, 1942.

6. Ibid.

7. AMJW, sygn. 3497, Wehrkreiskarte; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 313.

8. ICRC, ER/JPS/MH/F Stalag XX B (Malbork). Inspection of November 22–23, 1940.

9. ICRC, ER/JPS/MH, Germany, Stalag XX B (Malbork). Inspection of September 19, 1941; ICRC, SR/Rh/JS/AG Germany, Stalag XX B Malbork—East Prussia. Inspection of May 1, 1942.

10. *Stalag XX B – Virtual Museum of Malbork,* recollections of Igor H.S. Lipscombe, http://www.starymalbork.pl/stalag/art/wsp1/ramka3.html 06/10/2010.

11. Robert Duchesne to G. Paulus. January 21, 1975, copy of letter made available online by the sender, *Stalag XX B – Virtual Museum of Malbork,* Robert Duchesne – the prisoner's recollections of the camp's evacuation in January 1945, Exodus from XX B (translated by Paweł Głogowski), www.starymalbork.pl/stalag/art/wsp/ramka3.html.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XXI A

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XXI A (map 4c) on January 6, 1940, in Schildberg (today Ostrzeszów, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI.[1] It was under the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI).

The camp was located on the site of a former prison and forced labor camp for Polish civilians, or possibly a temporary prisoner of war (POW) compound (see Dulag Schildberg), which had been established in September 1939, shortly after the invasion of Poland. At first, Stalag XXI A only held Polish prisoners. In late May 1940, the first transport of French prisoners arrived (including some French colonial soldiers). The first transport of British prisoners, most of whom had been captured at Dunkirk, arrived in early August of that year. In December 1940, the majority of the Polish prisoners were transferred to other camps.[2]

In December 1940, there were about 2,500 prisoners in the camp. The 1,200 French prisoners resided in what was known as "Camp Seminar," a former school building. The 670 Poles still in the camp at that time lived in "Camp Gymnasium," also previously a school building. The 630 British prisoners lived in an old factory, known as "Camp Fabrik." The Germans planned to switch the locations of the French and British prisoners when the number of British prisoners exceeded that of the French. Two hundred of the British prisoners were divided into two equal work details deployed at sites that were 50 and 70 kilometers (31 and 43.5 miles) from the camp, respectively. Eight hundred French prisoners were also assigned to work details.[3]

Stalag XXI A at Schildberg. ICRC delegate Dr. Roulet visits the camp, December 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Camp Hospital (*Reserve lazarett*) 5 was located next to "Camp Seminar," while Camp Hospital 2, which was attended by British physicians, was located near "Camp Fabrik." The British prisoners lived in a large room on the ground floor of the factory. There was also a loft with bunks, but it was unoccupied because the main sleeping quarters in the factory were adequate for the number of prisoners at that time. The British prisoners' clothing had begun to deteriorate, but the Australian Red Cross Legation noted that they were planning to order more. The British also had a small library containing 45 books, and they had received a radio and soccer balls. Health was generally good, but some cases of diphtheria had emerged among the British prisoners.[4]

From 1941 until the closure of the camp, almost all of the prisoners were British. Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, illnesses were present in the camp, with the most common being dysentery; cases

of typhus were also reported. The prisoners had some access to recreational and cultural activities in the camp. Religious services were held in the camp every Sunday, and the camp library had been expanded and held 5,586 books as of February 1943. Twenty-seven educational courses were taught in the camp, covering diverse subjects including English, German, French, biology, music, art, mathematics, first aid, and technical courses; a total of 537 prisoners participated. The most popular course was French, with 75 participants in two classes. A camp theater group performed plays regularly, including George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* around Christmas 1942.[5] The order to disband the camp was dated March 15, 1943.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XXI A is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453 and RH 53-21/9), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XXI A), and TNA (WO 224/50: Stalag XXI A Schildberg, Posen).

Additional information about Stalag XXI A can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 28; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 358; Edmund Serwański, *Obóz jenieckie w Ostrzeszowie, 1939–1945* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1960); and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167. See also the Wartime Memories Project— STALAG 21A POW Camp at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag21a.html.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 358.

3. Report of the Australian Legation of the Red Cross (December 5, 1940), Stalag XXI–A, NARA, RG 59, Box 92.

4. Ibid.

5. USHMMA, RG-30.007M, Miscellaneous Records Relating to Prisoner of War Camps in Germany, Reel 2, pp. 697–698.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XXI B

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XXI B from Prisoner of War Camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) Schubin on October 5, 1939. Initially, the camp consisted of Stalag XXI B 1 Schokken (today Skoki, Poland) and Stalag XXI B 2 Schubin (known as Altburgund during the war; today Szubin, Poland). On August 1, 1940, Stalag XXI B 1 became Stalag XXI B/Z (Z for *Zweiglager*, or subcamp) (from September 1, 1940, it was Oflag XXI A), while Stalag XXI B 2 became Stalag XXI B/H (H for *Hauptlager*, or main camp). On December 3, 1940, Stalag XXI B/H was transferred from Alburgund to Thure (today Tur, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland) (map 4e), and, at the end of October 1941, it was moved to the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) and deployed in the town of Täps, in Estonia (map 9a). On April 28, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Stalag 381.[1]

Stalag XXI B at Schubin. British POWs in the camp yard, July 1940. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Stalag XXI B received the field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 46 105 between July 30, 1941, and February 28, 1942. The number was struck between March 1 and September 9, 1942.

From 1939 to 1941, the camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). While deployed in Estonia, the camp was under the authority of the 207th Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*).

Stalag XXI B initially held Polish POWs. In the summer of 1940, British prisoners replaced the Poles, and, in mid-1941, French prisoners were also brought to the camp. On February 28, 1941, the camp held 4,337 British prisoners; on July 1, 1941, there were 1,219 British prisoners; and on September 1, 1941, there were 1,119 British and 50 French prisoners.[2]

The conditions in the camp were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). In August 1940, observers from the International Commission of the Red Cross visited both Stalag XXI B/H and Stalag XXI B/Z. At the main camp, there were 2,654 prisoners present. The food supply was reported to be good, with bread, fat, meat, crackers, butter, and barley available to the men. Each man received a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of potatoes a day, along with 330 grams (11.6 ounces) of bread, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of barley, 69 grams (2.4 ounces) of meat, 5 grams (less than 0.2 ounces) of salt, and coffee. The observers tasted the soup for that day and reported that it was "excellent and substantial."[3] Three hundred and fifty of the men in the camp had sold their undershirts or shoes for tobacco. The observers stated that the main camp gave a "generally excellent impression."[4]

At the subcamp in Schokken, there were 1,200 men present. As in the main camp, a number of the soldiers, as many as 300, had sold their undershirts to the Polish civilian workers at the camp to obtain tobacco. There was a large athletic field available at the camp, to which men were sent in groups of 200 for a half day at a time.[5]

While the camp was deployed in Estonia, it held Soviet POWs. The treatment of the Soviet prisoners was inhumane, and the

mortality rate was high, particularly in the winter of 1941–1942.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XXI B is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RH 53-21/9), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XXI B), and BArch B 162/9301–9305.

Additional information about Stalag XXI B can be found in the following publications: Meelis Maripuu, "Soviet Prisoners of War in Estonia 1941–1944," in *Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against Humanity*, ed. Toomas Hiio, Meelis Maripuu, and Indrek Paavle (Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for Investigating Crimes against Humanity, 2006); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), pp. 28–29; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 531; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 28–29.
2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 531.
3. Report of the International Red Cross (August 1940), Stalag XXI-B/A, NARA, RG 59, Box 92.
4. Ibid.
5. Report of the International Red Cross (August 1940), Stalag XXI-B/Z; NARA, RG 59, Box 92.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XXI C

The Wehrmacht created Stalag XXI C (map 4c) on June 10, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI and deployed it to Wollstein (today Wolsztyn, Poland). Stalag XXI C had a sub-camp (*Zweiglager*), Stalag XXI C/Z, in Grätz (today Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Poland). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). The Germans disbanded the main camp on April 12, 1943.[1]

From June 1940 to the summer of 1941, Stalag XXI C held French and British prisoners of war (POWs). Beginning in the fall of 1941, it held Polish and Soviet POWs. The camp population peaked at 9,270 in September 1942, but it was much smaller for most of the camp's existence, rarely exceeding 2,000 prisoners.[2]

Stalag XXI C at Wollstein. General view of the camp, September 1941. COURTESY OF ICRC.

The conditions for French, British, and Polish POWs were generally satisfactory and in compliance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The conditions for Soviet POWs were inhumane and led to a high mortality rate, especially in the winter of 1941– 1942. For example, from December 1, 1941, to May 1, 1942, the number of Soviet prisoners decreased by 597. Because the camp was in quarantine during most of this period due to a typhus epidemic, and the movement of prisoners in and out of the camp was minimal, this decrease in population must have been almost entirely due to deaths.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XXI C is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–453; RH 53-21/9); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XXI C); BArch B 162/20334–20335 (Tötungsverbrechen an Kriegsgefangenen im Stalag XXI C

[Wollstein]); and TNA (TS 26/234, WO 309/2234).

Additional information about Stalag XXI C can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 29; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 570; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 29.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 570.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XXI D

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XXI D (map 4c) from Stalag XXI A/Z on August 1, 1940, in Posen (today Poznań, Poland), in (*Wehrkreis*) XXI. Reserve Hospital (*Reserve Lazarett*) Schildberg (today Ostrzeszów, Poland) was subordinate to the camp. Stalag XXI D had subcamps (*Zweiglager*) in Litzmannstadt (today Łódź, Poland) from April 1943, in Schildberg from June to December 1943, and in Montwy (today Mątwy, Poland) from September to December 1943. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). On February 1, 1945, the Germans ordered that Stalag XXI D be disbanded.[1]

The camp held French, British, Belgian, Dutch, Serbian, Polish, and Soviet (from February 1943) prisoners of war (POWs), and Italian military internees (from December 1943). The camp reached a maximum population of 7,250 in October 1944.[2] The conditions for Western Allied prisoners were generally satisfactory and in keeping with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). They were divided between two separate compounds: the main section of the camp, in which the prisoners lived in wooden barracks, and "Fort Rauch." International observers who visited the camp in July 1944 reported that conditions were very good at Fort Rauch, where the prisoners lived in small, well-heated rooms. The conditions in the barracks in the main camp were never very satisfactory, particularly in winter, but the repair of a previously faulty water system quelled most of the complaints.[3]

The prisoners' food rations were at a normal level, though as of the second week of July 1944, they had not received meat in five weeks. As in other camps, the prisoners relied on Red Cross food parcels as an important source of supplemental nutrition. The

sanitary facilities in the camp were in good order; the men were not able to take hot showers, but they could take cold showers whenever they liked and had the opportunity to bathe in a nearby river several times a week. There were no vermin reported in the barracks at that time.[4]

The highest-ranking medical officer in the prison was Major Lawson, from Britain, who had been sent to Stalag XXI D from Stalag VIII B. In July 1944, he reported eight minor illnesses at the fort, four more severe illnesses in the main camp infirmary, and four psychological cases, which had been transferred to the Tiegenhof hospital. Eighty-four more seriously ill and injured patients were sent to Camp Hospital Wollstein, as was standard procedure. Major Lawson expressed the desire to vaccinate the entire prisoner population against typhus.[5]

Stalag XXI D at Posen. ICRC delegate Dr. Mayer visits the camp, April 1943. COURTESY OF ICRC.

Both Protestant and Catholic chaplains were available to lead religious services at the camp. The prisoners had access to well-organized theater and music programs and were able to partake in various sports at the camp's athletic fields, using supplies provided by the Red Cross.

The conditions for Soviet prisoners were far worse; insufficient rations, inadequate medical treatment, and deliberate abuse by

German camp personnel led to a high mortality rate. In the second half of 1944, as the camp became increasingly crowded, the conditions for the Western Allied prisoners became significantly worse, though still not as bad as those experienced by the Soviet prisoners.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XXI D is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–453; RH 53-21/9); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XXI D); BArch B 162/15107 (Erschiessung von 5 sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen in einem Lager bei Treskau nördlich Posen [mutmasslich einem Aussenkommando des Stalag XXI D] im Februar 1944; 15848: Ermittlungen wg. des Verdachts der Tötung von aus einem Arbeitslager in Orzechowo [Nussdorf, Bezirk Posen], möglicherweise ein Kommando des Stalag XXI D, geflohenen sowjetischen Krigegefangenen im Herbst 1943 oder 1944); TNA (WO 311/964; WO 309/1952; WO 309/1859; WO 309/2135; WO 311/1067; WO 311/1146; WO 311/948); and NARA (RG 389).

Additional information about Stalag XXI D can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 30; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 399; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167. See also the Wartime Memories Project—STALAG 21D POW Camp at www.wartimememories.co.uk/pow/stalag21d.html.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-*

Einrichtun-gen, p. 30.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251; Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 399.

3. Report of the International Red Cross (July 8, 1944), Stalag XXI D, NARA, RG 59, Box 128.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) XXI E

The Wehrmacht established Stalag XXI E (map 4c) from Stalag XXI C/Z on June 21, 1941, in Grätz (today Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XXI. On March 10, 1942, the camp was reorganized as Oflag XXI C.[1] It was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI). The camp was dissolved on March 10, 1942.

Stalag XXI E held British, Polish, and Serbian prisoners. On September 1, 1941, there were 241 British prisoners, and, on April 1, 1942, there were 7 Polish prisoners.[2] The maximum population of the camp was about 1,200.[3] Conditions were generally satisfactory and in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag XXI E is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 451–453; RH 53-21/9) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag XXI E).

Additional information about Stalag XXI E can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986), p. 30; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 193; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), p. 167.

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Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 167; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 30.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 193.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 30.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 1

The Luftwaffe established Stalag Luft 1 in mid-June 1941. The camp was located near Barth, in Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) I (about 51 kilometers/32 miles northeast of Rostock) (map 4b). The camp held primarily American and British officers captured during air raids. A German flak school was located several hundred meters to the south of the camp, and a small patch of forest separated the camp from the Baltic Sea.

When it initially opened in 1941, the camp known as Stalag Luft held captured airmen of all ranks. There were three sections within the camp: the first held officers, the second held noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and the third functioned as a kitchen and recreation facility. As the Allied bombing campaign intensified and the number of captured airmen increased, German authorities began to repurpose the camp. In April 1942, Germans redistributed the existing prisoner population to other camps, and, when it resumed operation in October 1942, Stalag Luft 1 became primarily an officers' camp.[1] Until the early spring of 1943, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) occupied the former NCO camp, with British airmen in the former officers' camp. By May, the Soviet POWs had been transferred out of the camp and Stalag Luft 1 held only captured British and American airmen for the remainder of the war.[2]

The conditions during the early part of the second phase of the camp's existence were generally good. By early 1943, there was some overcrowding in the British prisoners' section of the camp, but, overall, the situation was not bad. The prisoners had access to a library, prepared courses and lectures in 15 subjects, began work on a theater, and enjoyed a large sports field, promptly put to use as a soccer pitch. Once the Germans removed the Soviets from the camp, prisoners had free access to three compounds, only separated at night. Throughout 1943, the canteen remained stocked

and men slept comfortably, with six prisoners to a room. Prisoners regarded the accommodations as "ample" and requested of the German Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) that the population of the camp remain under 900.[3]

By February 1945, the camp's population had increased to 8,939. The dramatic, more than tenfold increase in the camp's size during this two-year span came about in large part because of the correspondingly dramatic increase in the scope of the Allied air campaign over Germany. As Germans shot down and captured more Allied airmen, the Stalag Luft camps expanded both in number and in scale. Few camps demonstrate this expansion as clearly as Stalag Luft 1. The arrival of such large numbers of prisoners required a significant expansion of the camp's facilities. This was accomplished through several waves of construction. By early 1944, a new compound, designated the North Compound, opened across the principal street from the initial camp, now designated as the Vorlager and Southwest Compound. These facilities continued to expand, as the North Compound grew by 1945 into three separate compounds (North I, II, and III) and the Vorlager developed into a camp hospital with a capacity of more than 100.[4]

Stalag Luft 1 at Barth. View of camp buildings, July 1941.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Although the camp was almost constantly being expanded during its last two years of operation, the facilities failed to keep up with the rising camp population, which grew steadily until early 1945. This created a situation of constant need and instability within the camp. At times conditions became so overcrowded that prisoners slept in hallways, on tables, or strewn about the floor.[5] The theater and study rooms were closed so they could be used as barracks. At other points, tents were raised on the sports fields to temporarily alleviate the overcrowding.[6] The focus on expansion of permanent facilities came at the expense of existing facilities. The electric system within the camp never improved, and each room only had a single 40-watt light bulb.[7] Prisoners had few if any supplies on hand to perform basic repairs. A number of the barracks sat on the plain exposed to the harsh winds off the Baltic and others lacked basic weatherproofing. Poor heating and leaky roofs meant that the weather had a large effect on the conditions.[8]

The camp's proximity to the Baltic Sea also limited the facilities. There were no underground air-raid shelters, as were present in most other POW camps, as the high-water table prevented their construction. The high-water table also led to poor drainage on the campgrounds. In April 1945, international observers reported "large lakes of open sewage … under and between the barracks." These could not be drained and only two horse-drawn wagons were on hand for the entire camp to remove waste.[9] Nevertheless, the conditions never deteriorated enough to cause a total breakdown in morale within the camp. There was, it seemed, a consistent level to the mediocrity of camp conditions that proved somewhat bearable in the end.

The flourishing prisoner culture within the camp was vital for maintaining morale. Toward the end of the war, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Greening, who had participated in the Doolittle Raid, began petitioning the American government to "make an exhibition in the United States of the many articles such as model boats and aircraft, paintings, wood carving models of the POW camp, etc., after the war."[10] In addition to their artistic endeavors, the prisoners kept themselves occupied through frequent escape attempts. As one international observer noted, "[The prisoners] keep the German staff very busy as they have developed a great activity in escaping. As the camp is very near the sea shore, successful escapes are particularly tempting."[11] However, successful escapes were exceedingly difficult and the recurrent attempts led to frequent disciplinary actions and a number of restrictions on movement at night and near the perimeter of the camp. On several occasions, prisoners were shot—and on at least one occasion killed—in their efforts to escape.[12]

Although Americans significantly outnumbered British prisoners during the latter years of the war, the Germans did not separate the prisoners by nationality. Instead, prisoners coexisted and shared resources freely. The exception was the decision late in the war to segregate all Jewish officers within the camp. Although these men were still accorded the same rations and access to the rest of the camp, they were housed in separate barracks in the North I compound. The irony of the Germans' efforts to isolate the Jewish prisoners was that, according to international observers, the Germans placed them in "two barracks which incidentally are

much less crowded than all other barracks in the entire camp."[13]

The atmosphere in the camp changed considerably in the early months of 1945 as the end of war approached and liberation seemed a real possibility. Though conditions reached their worst in the camp during those months, international observers noted that the prisoners' morale remained high because "they expect to be liberated soon."[14] Conversely, American lieutenant Raymond Feilbach recalled that by April, the German guards "kept pretty much to themselves … [which] seemed to indicate that the jig was up."[15] On April 30, 1945, the German personnel fled the camp. Feilbach recalled the circumstances and aftermath: "The Germans called in Colonel [Hubert] Zemke and told him they were leaving the Americans behind. That night we took over the camp. It was a great night. We had a victory bond fire [sic], burning up the fences and the watch tower. Then someone set out in a jeep to meet the advancing patrol of the Russians."[16] Soviet forces liberated the camp on May 2, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag Luft 1 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); NARA (RG 389, Box 2147); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag Luft 1).

Additional information about Stalag Luft 1 can be found in the following publications: Martin Albrecht, *Kriegsgefangene der Luftwaffe: Das Stalag Luft I in Barth. In Feindes Hand—Kriegsgefangene der Wehrmacht im Deutschen Reich. Das Beispiel des Wehrkreises II (Mecklenburg und Pommern)* (L. M.-V. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012); Martin Albrecht, "Besonderheiten des Kriegsgefangenenlagers Stalag Luft 1 in Barth während des Zweiten Weltkrieges," *Zeitgeschichte regional: Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 12, no. 1 (2008): 38–45; Martin Albrecht, "Colonel Hubert Zemke. Aus der Biographie des alliierten Lagerkommandanten im deutschen Stalag Luft 1 in Barth 1944/45," *Zeitgeschichte regional: Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 13, no. 1 (2009): 80–84; Martin Albrecht and Helga Radau, *Stalag Luft I in Barth: Britische und amerikanische Kriegsgefangene in Pommern 1940 bis 1945* (Schwerin: Thomas Helms, 2012); Martin Albrecht and Helga Radau, "Wir wachten eines Morgens auf, und

die Wachen waren verschwunden. Aus der Geschichte des Stalag Luft I Barth," *Zeitgeschichte regional: Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 8, no. 1 (2004): 22–30; Sylvia Conradt, *Stalag Luft 1: Ein Kriegsgefangenenlager in Barth als Gedenkstätte* (2009); Mozart Kaufman, *Fighter Pilot: Aleutians to Normandy to Stalag Luft 1* (San Anselmo, CA: M&A, 1993); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966); and John A. Vietor, *Time Out: American Airmen at Stalag Luft I* (Fallbrook, CA: Aero, 1951).

Patrick Tobin

NOTES

1. Report by the International Red Cross (February 8, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
2. Report by the International Red Cross (May 7, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
3. Ibid.
4. Report by the International Red Cross (March 9, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147; Report by the International Red Cross (April 28, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
5. Report by the International Red Cross (April 10, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
6. Report by the International Red Cross (August 8, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (April 10, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.
8. Report by the International Red Cross (April 28, 1944), NARA

II, RG 389, Box 2147.

9. Report by the International Red Cross (April 10, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.

10. Ibid.

11. Report by the International Red Cross (April 28, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.

12. Ibid., and Report by the International Red Cross (April 10, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.

13. Report by the International Red Cross (April 10, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.

14. Ibid.

15. Press Release, Selman Field Public Relations Office, Monroe, Louisiana (July 28, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147.

16. Ibid.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 2

The Luftwaffe established Stalag Luft 2 (maps 4b and 4c) on November 9, 1939, in Barth. In June 1941, the camp moved to the outskirts of Litzmannstadt (today Łódź, Poland). It was located in the southwestern part of Litzmannstadt (the Erzhausen district, today Ruda Pabianicka), within the area demarcated by Wallensteinerstrasse to the southwest (today Odrzańska Street), Parcelsusweg to the northwest (today Retmańska Street), Schwertbrüderstrasse to the northeast (today a segment of Łopianowa Street), and Goldene Pforte to the southeast (today Zuchów Street). At that time, the camp was subordinate to the commander of Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) II.

In Litzmannstadt, Stalag Luft 2 held Soviet airmen. The first prisoners arrived there on June 27. The camp's main purpose was to interrogate the prisoners. By the end of October 1941, 2,669 Soviet prisoners had come and gone through the camp, of which 787 turned out not to have anything to do with the air force and who thus quickly were sent off to other camps. During that time, 1,832 prisoners were interrogated (including 993 who were subject to special interrogations). Of those, 235 were pilots, 110 were soldiers from antiaircraft artillery, 202 were paratroopers, and 264 were ground personnel.

The entire area of the camp was fenced off and was composed basically of two parts. In the first (external) part, a brick-built camp headquarters building was situated, as were three canteens (officers' mess, noncommissioned officers' [NCOs] mess, and canteen for enlisted men, combined with a kitchen, as well as a separate one for civilian personnel), three barracks for guards, a large garage for vehicles, and several smaller warehouses. The canteen buildings, the headquarters, and two barracks still survive today (they are used as residential facilities). The second part of the camp, the prisoner compound, lay behind a double barbed wire

fence, additionally equipped with five tall watchtowers. A road led into the main part of the camp and a guardhouse was located at the gate. Inside the fenced-off area, closed sectors separated prisoners of war (POWs) who were awaiting or were undergoing interrogations (with separate areas for officers, NCOs, and enlisted men); prisoners after interrogations; and those awaiting transport to other camps (here officers, NCOs, and enlisted men occupied a common space), and for the so-called camp police (*Lagerpolizei*). The camp had its own sick room and, separately, the quarantine building, the prisoner detention facility, and a room for delousing, as well as an extensive barrack square situated in the northwestern corner of the prisoner compound.

There are no detailed data concerning the number of POWs in the camp for the period from November 1941 until the end of January 1942. The number of prisoners kept in Stalag Luft 2 Litzmannstadt averaged about 680, with a low figure of 382 and a high of 1,052.

Prisoners placed in the camp were used as labor on a nearby farm, at an airfield, in a textile factory and other industrial sites, on the railroad, and also in the camp itself. There are no known data concerning the prisoner death rate; however, it was not a mass occurrence as in most German camps for Soviet prisoners. Dead prisoners were initially buried nearby (outside the camp perimeter), then at the Orthodox Cemetery in Doły, the Łódź necropolis complex.

Only one case of a successful escape is known: on October 9, 1942, two air force officers, Alexander Kuznietsov and Arkady Voroztsov, managed to escape while working in one of the factories. The former fought in the ranks of the Communist partisans. The latter was arrested and sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau, then Mauthausen-Gusen. Both survived the war.

At the beginning of September 1944, most of prisoners were transported to Stalag Luft 3 Sagan. Only a small group of prisoners who were ill and incapable of work were left in the original camp. Most of them were freed by the Red Army on January 19, 1945. However, the camp headquarters and personnel were transferred to Königsberg in der Neumark. The Germans disbanded Stalag Luft 2 on November 21, 1944.

Polish authorities conducted an investigation in 1948, which was suspended and then resumed between 1967 and 1977, concerning crimes committed by the Germans in Stalag Luft 2. No charges were brought due to the inability to determine perpetrators and to problems in accessing archival materials.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag Luft 2 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453; RL 23: 92–92K), WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag Luft 2), and the Museum of Independence Traditions in Łódź (Radogoszcz Branch).

Additional information about Stalag Luft 2 can be found in the following publications: Tadeusz Bojanowski, *Łódź pod okupacją niemiecką w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1945)* (Łódź: Wydawn, 1992); M. Budziarek, "Obozy jenieckie (w świetle akt Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi)," in *Obozy hitlerowskie w Łodzi*, ed. A. Głowackiego, S. Abramowicza (Łódź, 1998); G. Kobojek, *Łódź—kalendarium XX wieku (1901–2000)* (Łódź, 2013); G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenenund Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 1 (Koblenz: self-published, 1986); M. Nartonowicz-Kot, "Łódź w latach 1918–1989," in *Łódź. Monografia miasta*, ed. S. Liszewki (Łódź, 2009); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 292; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1966), p. 142.

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MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG LUFT 3)

The Luftwaffe created Stalag Luft 3 in May 1942, south of the town of Sagan (today Żagań, Poland) (map 4e) and west of Stalag VIII C, also located in Sagan, which had been in existence since the autumn of 1939. The camp was intended for officers, as well as noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and other ranks, serving mostly in the Royal Air Force and US Army Air Forces. Among those, apart from the British and Americans, there were also Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, Afrikaners, Poles, Norwegians, Greeks, Dutch, Lithuanians, and Belgians.

When the Germans decided to create Stalag Luft 3 in October 1941, they intended it to be a model camp. The increasing number of escapes from prisoner of war (POW) camps influenced its design and location. The authorities placed it on the outskirts of a town deep within the Reich, in a remote and densely forested area with sandy soil, in order to hinder tunneling. They surrounded the camp with a 2.5 meter (8.2 feet) high double fence; the space between the fences was 1.5 meters (4.9 feet) wide and filled with barbed wire. Guard towers with search lights and machine guns stood every 100 meters (328 feet) alongside the fence. In addition, the forest had been cleared from around the camp to allow the guards better visibility. On the inside, a wire ran parallel to the fence, about 10 meters (32.8 feet) from it and about 45 centimeters (17.7 inches) above the ground. This was the "dead line," which the prisoners were forbidden to approach. The barracks stood on pillars, so that the guards could observe the space between the barrack floor and the ground. The Germans also installed special microphones, which were supposed to capture any potential attempts to dig escape tunnels.

Initially, the camp operated under the command of Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) III, and later Air Defense District VIII. The commandants of the camp were Oberst Stephani (March–May

1942), Oberst Friedrich Wilhelm von Lindeiner-Wildau (May 1942–March 1944), Oberst Cordes (briefly), and finally Oberst Franz Braune (March 1944–January 1945). Most of the guards came from antiaircraft units, and later from among soldiers being sent to the rear from the eastern front. The number of guards initially fluctuated between 500 and 600, later rising to about 800.

The first prisoners, British airmen, arrived in the camp in April 1942; the camp itself (i.e., the first compound) had been completed and opened by the end of March. Initially, the camp comprised only two compounds: Eastern (for officers) and Central (for NCOs and other ranks), plus a sector designated for the camp's administration and the German guards. From there, the camp kept expanding. In March 1943, the Northern compound was opened (for officers), and, in the spring of 1944, Southern and Western compounds (for Americans). The compounds constructed between 1943 and 1944 were larger, each with enough capacity for 2,000–3,000 prisoners. At the beginning of 1944, the administration of the camp also included managing the camp of Sagan-Belaria, which for a short time (January–February 1944) operated independently, as Stalag Luft 4 Sagan-Belaria.

The first recorded statistics on the camp population, compiled in May 1942, indicate a total population of 1,084 prisoners, of whom 1,068 were British, 14 were French, and 2 belonged to other nationalities; 69 of the prisoners were officers. The camp population gradually increased throughout the war. The first American prisoners arrived in June 1942 and the first Soviet prisoners arrived in November 1944. The last French prisoners left the camp in October 1943. The final camp population figures, which also represented its maximum population, recorded 10,944 prisoners, of whom 3,948 were British, 6,831 were American, and 165 were Soviet; 5,438 of the prisoners were officers. The maximum number of officers in the camp was 9,384 in December 1944; the maximum proportion of officers among the camp population was recorded in October 1944, when 8,377 of the 9,136 prisoners in the camp were officers (91.7%).[1]

Initially, Stalag Luft 3's prisoners were transferred there from Stalag Luft 1 in Barth, Dulag Luft, and several other camps under army control (Stalag IX C in Bad Sulza, Stalag VIII B in Lamsdorf, and Stalag III E in Kirchhain). The rapidly growing

numbers of captured Allied airmen (mostly from bombers) required transfers of prisoners to other camps and the construction of new camps. Despite that, the numbers of prisoners kept increasing, particularly from the end of 1943 onward. The American prisoners gradually surpassed the British ones in number. The camp was the largest Luftwaffe POW camp during World War II.

Inside the camp, a wide range of activities took place, including cultural, educational, sports, religious, and publishing enterprises. The prisoners did not have to perform labor.

The prisoners undertook a number of escape attempts, the largest and most famous of them being the so-called "great escape" of the night of March 24–25, 1944, which was later depicted in the 1963 film *The Great Escape*. Seventy-six prisoners managed to escape, of whom 73 were quickly recaptured by the Germans. Fifty of these men were shot under the so-called Sagan Order (*Sagan-Befehl*). The British military authorities initiated an inquiry into this incident after the war, which resulted in 18 of the accused being put before a tribunal and found guilty in 1948; 14 of them were executed.

With the Red Army approaching, the Germans evacuated the camp, gradually, between January 27 and January 29, 1945. The prisoners were routed to the west, first on foot toward Spremberg, where, after several days, they then boarded trains. Some were taken north, to Stalag III A in Luckenwalde, and further to Marlag Milag Nord (liberated on May 2), while others were sent south, to Stalag XIII D in Nürnberg-Langwasser and Stalag VII A in Moosburg (liberated on April 29).

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag Luft 3 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453) and TNA (AIR 40/2645).

Additional information is available in these publications: A. A. Durand, *Stalag Luft III: An American Experience in a World War II German Prisoner of War Camp, 2* vols. (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1976); A. A. Durand, *Stalag Luft III: The Secret Story* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1988); Jacek Jakubiak, "Stalag Luft III Sagan," *Zeszyty Żagańskie* 4 (2004): 9–12; P. D. Jones,

"Nazi Atrocities against Allied Airmen: Stalag Luft III and the End of British War Crimes Trials," *Historical Journal* 41, no. 2 (1998): 543–565; Marek Łazarz, "Obóz na wzgórzu," *Zeszyty Żagańskie* 11 (2005): 27–39; Delmar T. Spivey, *POW Odyssey: Recollections of Center Compound, Stalag Luft III and the Secret Mission in World War II* (Attleboro, MA: Colonial Lithograph, 1984); and Marilyn Walton and Michael Eberhardt, *From Commandant to Captive: The Memoirs of Stalag Luft III Commandant Col. Friedrich Wilhelm von Lindeiner genannt von Wildau with Postwar Interviews, Letters and Testimony* (self-published, 2015).

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Trans. Marianna Kajut

NOTE

1. BA-MA, RW 6: 450–453.3

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 4

The Luftwaffe gave the order to establish Stalag Luft 4 on August 31, 1942. The camp was originally located in Sagan (today Żagan, Poland) (map 4e), in Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) III. In 1944, the camp was relocated to Gross Tychow (today Tychowo, Poland) (map 4b). The Germans dissolved Stalag Luft 4 on February 2, 1945, and evacuated the prisoners to the west, due to the approach of Soviet forces.

The camp complex at Gross Tychow consisted of five sections: the forecamp (*Vorlager*) and four prisoner blocks, designated A, B, C, and D, which were designed to hold about 1,600 prisoners each, for a total capacity of 6,400. Two rows of barbed wire surrounded the complex, with guard towers sited around the perimeter. The prisoners lived in wooden barracks that held about 200 men each. The accommodations were rather simple; while the barracks in Blocks A and B had three-tier wooden bunk beds for the prisoners, Blocks C and D had no bunks and the prisoners had to sleep on the floor. Each barrack had a washroom as well as two latrines.[1] The sanitary facilities in the camp were relatively basic. The camp had a small infirmary, but it was unable to treat serious illnesses or injuries due to lack of space and medical supplies; prisoners requiring intensive treatment were instead sent to a local hospital. The hospital facilities were later expanded, and by October had beds for 132 patients.[2]

Stalag Luft 4 held captured American and British airmen; near the end of the war, it also held a small number of prisoners of other nationalities. The first transport of 61 American prisoners arrived at the camp in Gross Tychow on May 14, 1944.[3] At that time, only Block A had been completed. Construction of the camp's facilities continued through October. Blocks A, B, and C held only American prisoners, while Block D held both British and Americans. On June 29, 1944, the camp held only 1,485 prisoners,

well below its capacity.[4] Prisoners continued to arrive throughout 1944, many of them via Dulag Luft in Wetzlar. On July 14, 1944, the Germans began to evacuate prisoners from Stalag Luft 6 in Heydekrug (today Šilutė, Lithuania) to Stalag Luft 4; the first transport arrived at Stalag Luft 4 four days later. In total, 3,200 prisoners (2,400 Americans and 800 British) were brought to the camp from Stalag Luft 6, traveling in harsh conditions with limited food and water.[5] On October 5, there were 7,975 prisoners in the camp, 7,089 of whom were Americans and 886 of whom were British. The camp was, therefore, more than 1,500 prisoners over its nominal capacity of 6,400.[6] By January 1945, the population had swelled even further, to 9,742; 8,708 of the prisoners were Americans, 902 were British, and 132 were Soviet.[7]

The commandant of Stalag Luft 4 was Oberstleutnant Baumbauch and the guards were commanded by Hauptmann Pickhard. The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) officer in the camp was Hauptmann Linderman, but the prisoners reported that he was only a figurehead and that most of the activities of the counterintelligence personnel in the camp were actually controlled by Feldwebel Farnard, who treated the prisoners cruelly.[8]

The Germans treated the Allied prisoners decently while in Stalag Luft 4 (aside from Farnard's counterintelligence men) and generally observed the requirements of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). However, there were isolated incidents of violence, including the shooting of at least one prisoner, Staff Sergeant Teague. Red Cross observers reported that sanitation and hygiene were good in June 1944; however, after the war, prisoner testimony disputed these reports, claiming that the sanitary conditions during their first months in the camp were poor, dysentery was widespread, and the hospital facilities were nonexistent until a camp hospital, with 150 beds, was opened in August.[9] Although the prisoners' ability to engage in recreational and cultural activities was somewhat constrained by their separation into four blocks, they managed to organize courses in a variety of subjects, including English literature, foreign languages, and navigation. The prisoners also had access to a small library in the camp. The YMCA provided sporting equipment for the prisoners. There was a small orchestra, although the prisoners only had a few instruments, and three chaplains conducted

religious services.[10]

As prisoners continued to arrive throughout 1944 and the camp became increasingly crowded, conditions deteriorated. Each room in the barracks was intended to hold 16 men, but, by October 1944, there were as many as 24 prisoners in each room. The camp's food supply was strained by the arrival of prisoners from Stalag Luft 6, and these evacuees lived on reduced rations for most of their first three months in the camp.[11] Only five of the camp's 40 barracks had their own stoves, meaning that most of the prisoners' quarters were unheated. Furthermore, the sanitary situation became much worse, as the camp's latrine and bathing facilities were no longer adequate for the number of prisoners in the camp. Lice and other vermin became common. The Red Cross parcels that supplemented the prisoners' diets and provided them with other needed items, such as warm clothing, were not distributed by prisoner supervisors, as in other camps, but instead by the German guards, who regularly stole from the parcels; these actions led to deep distrust between the prisoners and their captors.[12] By the end of the camp's operation, the prisoners were only receiving one-seventh of a Red Cross parcel each.[13]

The evacuation of the camp began on January 28, 1945, as the Red Army approached from the east. About 3,000 prisoners who were unable to march were evacuated by train: the first transport departed for Stalag Luft 1 in Barth on January 28, while a second left for Stalag XIII D in Nürnberg-Langwasser on February 2.[14] On February 6, prisoners who were capable of walking—about 6,000 in total—were sent westward on foot toward Stalag XI B in Fallingbostel. They traveled a circuitous route around 800 kilometers (500 miles) along the Baltic Sea coast in blizzard conditions and with little food or medical assistance.[15] Some of the prisoners were liberated by British forces at Fallingbostel on April 16, 1945, while others, who were marched out of Stalag XI B back toward the east, were not liberated until May 2. There is substantial variation in the estimates of the number of prisoners who died on the evacuation march from Stalag Luft 4, and the true number remains uncertain.[16]

SOURCES Primary source information about Stalag Luft 4 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450); NARA (RG 389, Boxes 2147,

2147A); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag Luft 4).

Additional information about Stalag Luft 4 can be found in the following publications: Jeff Donaldson, *Men of Honor: American GIs in the Jewish Holocaust* (Central Point, OR: Hell-gate, 2005), pp. 47–55; G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 186; John Nichol and Tony Rennell, *The Last Escape: The Untold Story of Allied Prisoners of War in Europe, 1944–45* (New York: Viking, 2003); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 532, 596; Stanisław Senft and Horst Wiecek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze slaskiego ołregu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972), pp. 13, 74; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1966), p. 274.

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NOTES

1. Report of the International Red Cross (June 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
2. Report of the International Red Cross (October 5, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
3. Report on Stalag Luft IV [*sic*], NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
4. Report of the International Red Cross (June 29, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
5. Report of the International Red Cross (October 5, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A

6. Ibid.

7. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 532.

8. Report on Stalag Luft IV [*sic*], NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.

9. Ibid.

10. Report of the International Red Cross (October 5, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Report on Stalag Luft IV [*sic*], NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.

14. Donaldson, *Men of Honor*, p. 50.

15. Nichol and Rennell, *Last Escape*, p. 114.

16. Ibid., p. 447.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 5

The Wehrmacht established Stalag Luft 5 (map 4e) in March 1943 in Wolfen, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV.[1] The camp was subordinate to Air District Command III (*Luftgau-Kommando* III).

Stalag Luft 5 held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It was a relatively small camp; the prisoner population peaked at 1,357 on June 1, 1943.[2] The conditions in the camp were harsh, as they were in other camps for Soviet POWs. By June 1, 1943, 46 prisoners had died, including 21 who were killed in Allied bombing raids, 5 who died in accidents, 3 who were shot, and 17 who succumbed to starvation or disease.[3] The exact date of the camp's dissolution is unknown; however, it must have closed before April 19, 1945, when Allied forces occupied Wolfen.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag Luft 5 is located in BA-MA (RL 23) and TsAMORF.

Additional information about Stalag Luft 5 can be found in the following publication: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 167.

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NOTES

1. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

2. Ibid.

3. Abgänge des Kriegsgefangenenlagers No. 5 d. Lw., Wolfen Krs. Bitterfeld, Meldung No. 1 v. 19. Mai 1943 an die Wehrmachtsauskunftstelle für Kriegerverluste und Kriegsgefangene, Berlin; Abgänge des Kriegsgefangenenlagers No. 5 d. Lw., Wolfen Krs. Bitterfeld, Meldung No. 2 v. 1. Juni 1943 an die Wehrmachtsauskunftstelle für Kriegerverluste und Kriegsgefangene, Berlin, TsAMORF.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 6

The Luftwaffe established Stalag Luft 6 (map 4c) on March 5, 1943, in Heydekrug (today Šilutė, Lithuania), in Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) I. The camp commandant was Oberst Hermann von Hoerbach.

The camp was located outside Heydekrug in a wide plain dotted with small woods in the vicinity. Though positioned much closer to the eastern front than other Stalag Luft camps, the camp was safely removed from any vital military or industrial targets. The reasonably solid construction of the compound allowed the camp to weather the brief, hot summers and the long, cold winters without undo deprivation.[1] The camp had 10 large brick barracks, each with a capacity of 552 prisoners, and 12 wooden barracks, each of which held 54 prisoners, for a total capacity of 6,168 prisoners.[2]

Stalag Luft 6 held Royal Air Force noncommissioned officers (NCOs), transferred from Stalag Luft 1 Barth. In February 1944, American airmen were brought to the camp. Initially, the camp consisted of administrative and storage facilities (*Vorlager*) and two prisoner compounds. At its peak, the camp had three fenced-in compounds. A fourth enclosure was used as a sports field. Two compounds contained British prisoners of war (POWs), while the other held mostly American POWs. When the first prisoners arrived at the camp in 1943, only the first two compounds were operational.

The greatest challenge to the prisoners' well-being instead came from the overcrowding that became increasingly problematic by mid-1944. In February, American airmen began to arrive at the camp, with regular arrivals of 30–40 men per day.[3] By April, the camp ranks had risen to 4,856, with 2,788 English, 1,280 Americans, 413 Canadians, 21 Irish, 128 Australians, 16 South Africans, 107 New Zealanders, 3 Dutch, 1 Belgian, 2 Norwegians,

91 Poles, and 6 Czechs.[4] The growth required the creation of the third compound and expansion in the two existing ones. Additional bunks were added to old barracks and new tents and wooden barracks were constructed to house more prisoners.[5] Few adjustments were made to the sanitation facilities, however, and the situation grew more serious as the spring turned to summer and the camp swelled to 40 percent above capacity.

Stalag Luft 6 at Heydekrug. General view of the camp with prisoners in the foreground, July 1943. COURTESY OF ICRC.

In the barracks, the prisoners slept on double bunk beds and were provided with tables, stools, and small cupboards. All the barracks were heated. The camp had a laundry, a chapel (which three English clergymen served), seven hospital barracks with 70 total beds, and a theater with small rooms for rehearsing. The hospital beds were frequently fully occupied, and additional sick prisoners had to stay in their regular barracks.

Relations in the camp were at times strained between the POWs and guards. Prisoners occasionally attempted to play upon tensions between the overlapping authority of the various German units stationed in the camp. Similarly, German officers attempted to influence POWs by distributing Nazi and antisemitic propaganda, targeting those POWs with German-sounding names.[6]

Despite overcrowding and occasional tensions with the guards, morale in the camp remained high. Prisoners held an array of classes regularly with materials provided by the YMCA. Subjects ranged from engineering and architecture to music and electricity.[7] Although facilities were lacking for much of 1943, by the spring of 1944 prisoners had a regular sports field and had constructed their own performance theater. They also published their own newsletter, *Barbed Wire News*, which the prisoners considered excellent and essential for morale.[8] An adequate food supply was ensured through Red Cross parcels. The Red Cross also supplied the prisoners with clothing, which was supplemented with additional used clothing provided by the Germans.[9]

In mid-July 1944, the prisoners were evacuated to Stalag Luft 4 as the Red Army approached. The camp staff was transferred to St. Wendel, Germany, where it stayed until September 1944. The first prisoners were brought to St. Wendel from Dulag Luft in Wetzlar in mid-August 1944. In total, 400–450 American NCOs were held in the camp. The treatment of the prisoners was proper, and their conditions of confinement were satisfactory. On September 5, 1944, this camp was also evacuated and the prisoners were moved to Stalag Luft 4. In November 1944, Stalag Luft 6 was redeployed to Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, where it held Soviet POWs.[10] The camp was disbanded in February 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag Luft 6 is located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450–453); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag Luft 6); and NARA (RG 389).

Additional information about Stalag Luft 6 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 167; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1967), p. 44.

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NOTES

1. Report by International Red Cross (September 30, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.
3. Report by International Red Cross (April 26, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
4. Ibid.
5. Report by International Red Cross (July 31, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
6. US Military Report (ca. late 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
7. Report by International Red Cross (September 30, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
8. US Military Report (ca. late 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.
9. Greg Hatton, "American Prisoners of War in Germany: Stalag Luft 6. Prepared by Military Intelligence Service War Department 15 July 1944," *392nd Bomb Group* at www.b24.net/powStalag6.htm.
10. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 167.

MANNSCHAFTSSTAMMLAGER (STALAG) LUFT 7

The Luftwaffe established Stalag Luft 7 (maps 4b and 4e) in May 1943, at the airfield in Moritzfelde (today Morzyczyn, Poland). In 1944, the camp was relocated to Bankau (today Bąków, Poland).[1] The camp was under the control of the commanding officer of Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) I. The commanding officers, in chronological order, were Generalleutnant Richard Putzier (January 21, 1941, to August 4, 1943), General der Flieger Hellmuth Bieneck (August 5, 1943, to August 17, 1944), and General der Flieger Albert Vierling (from August 18, 1944).

Stalag Luft 7 was located in a remote wooded area. It initially consisted of little more than poorly built small huts, barely sufficient for summer but inadequate for winter. The huts held six to seven men each, with beds composed of straw sacks on the ground and no lighting. The camp's water and food supplies were insufficient for the number of prisoners (1,029 as of August 1944). The International Committee of the Red Cross described the overall state of the camp as "deplorable."

By August, prisoners of war were arriving at the camp at a rate of approximately 50 per week. The majority were from the British Isles, but smaller numbers of Commonwealth prisoners were also held in the camp. Of the 1,028 in the camp on August 24, 1944, 738 came from Great Britain, 172 from Canada, 69 from Australia, 19 from New Zealand, 12 from South Africa, and 6 from Rhodesia. There were also 5 American servicemen, 4 French resistance fighters, and 3 Dutch servicemen.

The camp was evacuated on January 19, 1945, although it was officially disbanded on February 5. The prisoners reached Stalag III A in Luckenwalde on February 8.

SOURCES Primary source material about Stalag Luft 7 is

located in BA-MA (RW 6: 450) and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Stalag Luft 7).

Additional information about Stalag Luft 7 can be found in the following publications: G. Mattiello and W. Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 167; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 93; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972), p. 74; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1967), p. 82; and Anna Wickiewicz, *Britische Kriegsgefangene im Stalag Luft 7 Bankau im Licht der neuesten Ermittlungen: In der Gefangenschaft und in der Freiheit. Schicksale der Kriegsgefangenen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und nach seinem Ende* (Łambinowice: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu, 2009).

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 82.

2. Report by the International Red Cross (August 24, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2147A.

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-LAZARETTE

The responsibility for the health services and medical care in the Wehrmacht's prisoner of war (POW) camps* belonged to the Army Health Inspectorate (*Heeressanitätsinspektion*) through the "Health Manager for Prisoner of War Affairs" (*Sanitätsinspizienten für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen*), which underwent several reorganizations during the war.[1] The Military Health Regulations (*Kriegssanitätsvorschrift*), which regulated the entire Army Health Service of the Wehrmacht, were fundamental to the medical care of the prisoners in the Wehrmacht's POW camps. Regulation No. 300, "Health Service in Prisoner of War Camps," stated strictly: "The health care and the medical care in the POW camps is to be carried out according to Articles 13–15 of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War of July 27, 1929."[2] These articles regulated health care in the camps; the belligerent nations were required to provide prophylaxis against epidemics and maintain a certain level of hygiene in the camp as well as clean latrines, bathing facilities, sufficient water for bodily hygiene, and opportunities for physical exercise and to "get fresh air."[3] Patient rooms and isolation rooms for patients with infectious diseases were to be established in every camp. Severely ill prisoners or those requiring emergency surgery were to be treated in nearby military or civilian hospitals. All of the costs of treatment were to be borne by the detaining power, and the patient was to receive treatment according to the type and duration of his illness. The extent to which doctors and health care personnel could be retained in the camps was to be decided through an agreement between the belligerents. Under the Geneva Convention, the prisoners were to receive monthly checkups for their general health and an examination for the presence of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and venereal diseases. These requirements for the rights of POWs were established in the regulations for the administrators of POW affairs and for the commanders of the different types of POW camps and the leaders

of labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), in addition to the requirements of the Geneva Conventions.[4]

The transit camps (*Durchgangslager*, Dulags) had no camp sick bays or hospitals (*Lagerlazarette*), so prisoners with serious illnesses requiring hospital care, or those suspected of having infectious diseases, were not taken to these camps. Preventing the spread of infectious diseases was an important focal point for the German camp doctor (*Lagerarzt*), who was responsible for medical care in the camp. Approximately 20 percent of the housing capacity of every camp was to be reserved as a quarantine area. Newly arrived prisoners were to be taken into the quarantine section, initially, and, " … if necessary, deloused, decontaminated, or, respectively, disinfected," and only transferred into the main camp after passing an examination. Before they could be transferred to another camp or sent to a labor detachment, they would have to undergo another brief examination. In simply equipped infirmaries (*Krankenrevier*), there were to be enough beds for 5 percent of the maximum camp population; these facilities treated only the lightly wounded or mildly sick. The camp doctor was responsible for monitoring hygiene in the Dulag's facilities as well as for determining the causes of any deaths outside of the medical realm and, when necessary, taking steps to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. The doctor was supported in his duties by captured enemy health care personnel in the camp.[5]

In the enlisted men's main camps (*Mannschafts-Stammlager*, Stalags), the responsibilities of the camp doctor were similar; he was also responsible for health care and camp hygiene.[6] In addition, the camp hospital operated under the authority of the camp doctor, who was responsible for the administrative functions and served as the disciplinary superior of both the medical staff and the patients. He could requisition the services of any prisoner with medical training while they were in German captivity. As a central element in the care of the prisoners, there was to be at least one doctor for every 1,000 prisoners in the camp, including personnel to fill the positions in the hospital. The health care of the guard units was handled separately and was not the responsibility of the camp doctor.

As in the Dulags, prisoners arriving in the Stalags were also required to enter quarantine and undergo delousing and disinfection as well as an examination and inoculations. Prisoners suspected of carrying infectious diseases were to remain in the quarantine area throughout the incubation period of the suspected illness to prevent the transmission of the illness to the rest of the prisoner population. As in the Dulag, the doctor was responsible for investigating all deaths to establish the cause of death and take any necessary measures against the spread of disease.

Therapeutic measures in the course of normal office hours—sick call—in the infirmary were limited to the treatment of mild illnesses. In the Stalag, regular dental services were also provided, and a dental clinic was established with regular office hours twice a week, and emergency dental services provided by civilian dentists.

As in the Dulag, in the course of overseeing the camp's hygiene, the facilities that dealt with relevant functions, such as the provision of food and drinking water and the disposal of garbage and sewage as well as the facilities that served for disinfection and delousing, had to be inspected. Further, the Lagerarzt was required to perform a "wellness visit" with the prisoners at least once a month as well as general or individual examinations more often, as needed.

Medical examinations and documentation were also required before a prisoner could be transferred to another camp, repatriated to his home country, or deployed in a labor detachment. Prisoners who became ill while working in the labor detachments were, when possible, to be treated by a doctor on-site or a local civilian doctor; necessary hospital care was to be provided in the main camp, if possible, and only if transport back to the camp was impossible was the prisoner to be transported to a reserve hospital (*Reservelazarett*) or, in exceptional cases, taken to a civilian hospital.

Medical care for the prisoners in the labor detachments was regulated by the "Service Instructions for the Leader of a Prisoner of War Labor Detachment," as were the bureaucratic formalities and accounting for the treatment costs, which were to be borne by the German government via the Stalag.[7] In labor detachments of

more than 250 people, the establishment of an infirmary under the supervision of the doctor in the main camp was required. The regulations for the Stalags also required that severely ill or wounded patients be repatriated to their home countries as long as their condition permitted.[8] The officers' main camps (*Offizierslager*, Oflags) were only required to have small hospitals by the regulations. In severe cases that could not be handled in these facilities, the prisoners were to be transferred to a reserve hospital, a civilian hospital, or the hospital in a Stalag.[9]

The chapters on "medical services" in the regulations for the repatriation camps (*Heimkehrerlager*, Heilags) laid down the tasks and procedures for the "mixed doctors' commission (*gemischten Ärztekommission*)," which was responsible for determining the medical grounds for the prisoners' repatriation as well as the responsibilities of the camp doctor.[10] Additional details on the tasks, subordinate relationships, and authorities of the camp doctors, on the infrastructure and the operation of the camp hospitals, on the reporting system and medical documentation, on the "service of enemy medical personnel," and on other questions were regulated by the "Service Instructions for the Camp Doctor of a Prisoner of War Camp and Chief Doctor of a Prisoner of War Hospital."[11]

The construction and infrastructural requirements for a POW hospital were detailed in part 12 of the "Regulations for Prisoner of War Affairs," the "Service Instructions for the Necessary Space, Construction, and Fitting-out of a Prisoner of War Camp."[12] For example, according to the "Space Requirements," for a camp with 10,000 prisoners, there was to be one infirmary barrack in the reception area (*Vorlager*). This was to contain a waiting room and an examination room as well as a storeroom, a dental office, quarters for medical personnel, 5 to 6 patient rooms for a total of 90 patients with 6 square meters (64.6 square feet) of space per patient, and a 10-square-meter (108-square-feet) "separation room" for the isolation of individual patients, along with separate washrooms for the patients, two showers, and separate latrines for the medical personnel, the regular patients, and the isolation patients.

The requirements for the POW hospital, which for these 10,000

prisoners included 300 beds in total at a distance of at least 400 meters (1,312 feet) from the main camp, were defined in a separate "Space Requirement for a POW hospital of up to 300 Beds." The regulations included separate guard and storehouse barracks, the reception area, and the quarters of the doctors as well as the medical personnel, the barracks for the care and support of the patients, and the facilities for "mentally ill" and isolation patients in "separation barracks." In addition, the treatment barracks with different rooms (e.g., X-rays, sterilization, operation, and dental offices) and the pharmacy as well as disinfection and laundry were to be part of the hospital area. The personnel requirements for such a hospital were also set forth in these regulations: for every 1,000 prisoners, there was to be one doctor, as well as four additional unit doctors (*Abteilungsärzte*), and an orderly for each six patients, for a total of 14 doctors and 50 orderlies.

As noted previously, the health care of the prisoners in the different types of camps was dictated and structured by the relevant humanitarian requirements of the Wehrmacht's instructions. However, these instructions only reflect a theoretical view—the reality of the health care system and the treatment of the prisoners differed from these requirements in many cases. One factor was the high number of POWs, to which one can add bottlenecks in the supply chain and in equipment as well as a lack of available (captured) medical personnel, especially doctors, such that it was impossible to provide health care for the prisoners at the planned level.

We cannot comprehensively and conclusively judge the degree to which the Germans implemented the regulations because of the variations in the local conditions and the circumstances in the individual camps, and especially because of problems with the sources and the current state of research. Thematically relevant historical studies and investigations exist only for individual camps and reflect only impressions and facts from certain points in time.[13] Many of the vital questions about day-to-day medical care and the actual situation of wounded and sick prisoners, such as the process of their repatriation, their chances of being healed, and so forth, can be answered only on the basis of a few reliable individual examples. Alexander Neumann notes in his study that "because of the incomplete source base, creating a complete

picture of the medical care for prisoners of war is difficult. It is clear that the regulations were applied differently in each camp and that the unique local conditions influenced the level of medical care that was available."[14]

Fundamentally, one can assume that the Wehrmacht actually strove to provide at least somewhat sufficient medical care, because it was placing the POWs in work details, and the foremost goal was to maintain their ability to work. Neumann confirmed this in regard to the mission of the duty post of camp doctor, described above: "The camp doctors had to make decisions as to the POWs' fitness to work. In that, they were supposed to apply the strictest standards so that, in light of the shortage of labor in the German economy, they could select prisoners for at least light labor, instead of declaring them unfit, which would have necessitated sending them home."[15]

An additional important factor in the treatment of the prisoners was their ethnicity and national origin. Because of Nazi racial ideology and their antisemitic and anti-Bolshevist worldview and beliefs, prisoners from Slavic countries and, particularly, Soviet POWs were deemed to be primitive "subhumans" (*Untermenschen*) and were, therefore, treated poorly. In addition, the Soviet Union had not ratified the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1929. Although the convention required all signatories to treat POWs according to its terms even if the enemy was not a signatory, Germany nonetheless used the fact that the USSR had not signed as an excuse to abuse Soviet prisoners. Even though the Soviet Union had not signed that agreement, it had signed other humanitarian agreements, such as the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 and the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, updated in 1929, and Germany should have observed them.[16] It is clear from the existing scholarship that there was a "hierarchy" in the treatment of POWs, including medical care; at the top were British and American prisoners, followed by prisoners from other Western European countries, then by Southeastern European prisoners, then Poles, and, at the bottom, Soviet prisoners (especially those of Russian ethnicity).[17]

In addition to nationality, the treatment of different groups of

POWs was influenced by the desired reciprocal treatment of German prisoners by their countries; the Germans provided better care for prisoners from countries that held large numbers of German prisoners, in hope that those countries would reciprocate. In particular, American and British prisoners were generally treated in strict accordance with the Geneva Conventions. In addition to the medical care they were required to provide for these prisoners under the Geneva Conventions, the Germans afforded them access to X-ray facilities and special infirmaries (*Sonderlazarette*) that provided services such as eye care and orthopedic surgery for injured limbs and supplied them with equipment like prostheses.[18]

This treatment stands in stark contrast to the shocking conditions that Soviet prisoners experienced.[19] Their camps were overcrowded, often far above the prescribed capacity, resulting in particularly bad hygienic conditions. The prisoners suffered from exposure to the elements, due to being quartered under the open sky or in holes in the ground, as well as malnutrition, which also had a medical-ethical dimension: these living conditions had catastrophic consequences for the health of the prisoners. In addition to infectious diseases, parasites, wounds, and exhaustion, it was above all insufficient nutrition that led to mass death among the Soviet prisoners. Neither the troop commanders nor the medical personnel in the camps, in the Army Health Inspectorate, or in the Armed Forces Health Affairs (*Wehrmachtssanitätswesen*) attempted to prevent these conditions from developing or to ameliorate them. Adequate medical care for the wounded, sick, or malnourished prisoners was almost never provided. Far more often, their mass death was accepted, and, frequently, prisoners who were sick, wounded, or invalids were released and left to certain death. Deliberate killing of wounded or sick Soviet prisoners was also not uncommon.

Medical experimentation, primarily on Soviet POWs, constituted an additional dimension of crimes against humanity in the context of the medical care of POWs. Often the Army Health Inspectorate arranged for criminal human experimentation on Soviet prisoners, although Wehrmacht medical personnel also undertook such experiments on their own initiative. The most common forms of experimentation consisted of trials of vaccines

against typhus, cholera, and dysentery, as well as starvation experiments. A further, particularly repulsive, kind of experimentation consisted of shooting Soviet prisoners with dumdum bullets, which took place in the summer of 1941.[20] Medical experiments on Western Allied prisoners have also been documented. For example, hepatitis experiments were performed on British prisoners captured on Crete in the summer of 1941.[21]

SOURCES Primary source information about Kriegsgefangenen-Lazaretten can be found in the multivolume *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen* (H.Dv. 38; M.Dv. Nr. 38; L.Dv. 78); especially relevant is the *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 9: Dienstanweisung für den Lagerarzt eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers und Chefarzt des Kriegsgefangenenlagerlazaretts*, 3.8.1940 (= H.Dv. 38/9; M.Dv. Nr. 38/9; L.Dv. 78/9) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940).

Various sources can be found in Markus Scholz, *Zur gesundheitlichen Lage und medizinischen Betreuung der im Zweiten Weltkrieg in deutschem Gewahrsam befindlichen Kriegsgefangenen der westlichen Alliierten* (med. dent. Diss. Leipzig, 1998), pp. 2–3; BA-MA: RH 12–23 (previously H 20), RW 6, RH 49, RW 4, RW 19, RM 7, und RHD 4. The following document collection also contains relevant material: Rüdiger Overmans, Andreas Hilger, and Pavel Polian, eds., *Rotarmisten in deutscher Hand: Dokumente zu Gefangenschaft, Repatriierung und Rehabilitierung sowjetischer Soldaten des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012), pp. 497–606.

Personal records (such as, for example, hospital reports and medical records) of foreign POWs in German captivity are in the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) ("Übertragung der Aufgaben der Deutschen Dienststelle [WASt] an das Bundesarchiv," www.dd-wast.de/de/unterlagen/kriegsgefangenenunterlagen.html) and in the Datenbank sowjetische Kriegsgefangene of the Dokumentationsstelle der Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten Dresden ("Informationen zur Datenbank sowjetische Kriegsgefangene," March 2014, www.dokst.de/main/content/auskuenfte/sowjetische-buerger/kriegsgefangene/kriegsgefangene-

ehemalige-sowjetische-buerger).

Although there are a few studies on the subject of health care in the Wehrmacht POW camps, there remains a significant gap in the literature, in particular of a specific, primary-sourcebased description of the actual day-to-day implementation of the Wehrmacht's instructions. However, due to the problem of available sources, it is uncertain to what extent this type of study can be done.

Additional information about Kriegsgefangenen-Lazarette can be found in the following publications: K. Bringmann, *Kriegsgefangenen-Sanitätsdienst: Ärztliche Versorgung in deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlazaretten und Kriegsgefangenenaustausch während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Beiträge Wehrmedizin und Wehrpharmazie, vol. 6) (Bonn: Beta, 1992); Wolfgang Uwe Eckart, *Medizin in der NS-Diktatur: Ideologie, Praxis, Folgen* (Vienna; Böhlau, 2012), pp. 326–334; Hubert Fischer, *Der deutsche Sanitätsdienst 1921–1945: Organisation, Dokumente und persönliche Erfahrungen. Vol. 4: Teil C: Der Sanitätsdienst der Wehrmacht im 2. Weltkrieg (1939–1945)* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1985), pp. 3161–3173; Ernst Klee, *Auschwitz, die NS-Medizin und ihre Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997), esp. pp. 197–198, 255–259; Fridolf Kudlien, "Begingen Wehrmachtsärzte im Russlandkrieg: Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit?" in *Der Wert des Menschen: Medizin in Deutschland 1918–1945*, ed. Ärztekammer Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bundesärztekammer (Berlin: Hentrich, 1989), pp. 333–352; Brigitte Leyendecker and Burghard F. Klapp, "Deutsche Hepatitisforschung im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Der Wert des Menschen: Medizin in Deutschland 1918–1945*, ed. Ärztekammer Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bundesärztekammer (Berlin: Hentrich, 1989), pp. 261–315; Alexander Neumann, *"Arzttum ist immer Kämpfertum": Die Heeressanitätsinspektion und das Amt "Chef des Wehrmachtsanitätswesens" im Zweiten Weltkrieg (1939–1945)* (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, vol. 64) (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2005), pp. 307– 335; Jörg Osterloh, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene

in deutscher Hand: Die Lebensbedingungen in den Lagern am Beispiel Zeithain," in *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft in Deutschland und in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Müller, Konstantin Nikischkin, and Günther Wagenlehner (Schriften des Hannah-Arendt-Instituts für Totalitarismusforschung, vol. 5) (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), pp. 291–313; Rüdiger Stein, "Die medizinische Versorgung der Kriegsgefangenen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges," in *Frankenthal unterm Hakenkreuz: Eine pfälzische Stadt in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Gerhard Nestler (Ludwigshafen: pro MESSAGE, 2004), pp. 419–426; Alfred Streim, *Sowjetische Gefangene in Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg: Berichte und Dokumente 1941–1945* (Heidelberg: C. F. Müller Juristischer, 1982), esp. pp. 75–81, 111–138; Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941–1945* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1991), esp. pp. 128–190; and Christian Streit, "Das Schicksal der verwundeten sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen," in *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger, 1995), pp. 78–91.

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NOTES

* The original intent was to include separate entries on those clinics and hospitals that treated POWs in German hands, and which were separate from the POW camps themselves. Failing that, we hoped to include a list of such sites. However, neither solution proved practical, given the incomplete nature of the sources and the current state of research. We found, first of all, that information on hospitals in the occupied territories was almost completely lacking. We estimate that there were over 300 such facilities, so a list without them would be inaccurate. As for the hospitals in Germany, confusion abounds. Without research that would be extensive at best, and impossible at worst—because of a lack of records— sorting out the organization and subordination of the hundreds of hospitals,

reserve hospitals, civilian hospitals, and infirmaries, and separating those that treated POWs from those that did not, would simply not be feasible. Therefore, we were forced to abandon the idea of appending a list of hospitals. We hope that future researchers will be able to achieve more clarity.

1. Neumann, "*Arzttum ist immer Kämpfertum*," pp. 98– 103, 313–314.

2. *Kriegssanitätsvorschrift (Heer)–K.S.V. (H.)–. Entwurf. I. Teil*, (= H.Dv. 21) (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1938), p. 104, Nr. 300.

3. Ibid., and Anhang: *Abkommen über die Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen. Vom 27. Juli 1929*, pp. 141–142, "Gesundheitspflege in den Lagern."

4. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 2: I. Abkommen über die Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen. Vom 27. Juli 1929. II. Genfer Abkommen zur Verbesserung des Loses der Verwundeten und Kranken der Heere im Felde. Vom 27. Juli 1929*, 22.2.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/2; M.Dv. Nr. 38/2; L.Dv. 78/2) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940).

5. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 4: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Durchgangslagers*, 22.5.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/4; M.Dv. Nr. 38/4; L.Dv. 78/4) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1939), 23–26, V. Abschnitt, Nr. 1 "Gesundheitsdienst" and Nr. 3 "Todesfälle und Begräbnisse."

6. With respect to the following regarding the medical services in the stalags, see: *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 5: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines "Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlagers,"* 16.2.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/5; M.Dv. Nr. 38/5; L.Dv. 78/5) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1939), pp. 22–24, III. Abschnitt Nr. 1 "Gesundheitsdienst" and 26, Nr. 3 "Todesfälle und Begräbnisse."

7. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 11: Dienstanweisung für den Führer eines Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitskommandos*, 2.8.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/11; M.Dv. Nr. 38/11; L.Dv. 78/11) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940), pp. 26–28, IV. Abschnitt, 1. "Gesundheitsdienst."

8. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 5: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines "Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlagers,"* 16.2.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/5; M.Dv. Nr. 38/5; L.Dv. 78/5) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1939), 42, VII. Abschnitt "Beendigung der Kriegsgefangenschaft."

9. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 6: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Kriegsgefangenen-Offizierlagers*, 12.11.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/6; M.Dv. Nr. 38/6; L.Dv. 78/6) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940), 20, III. Abschnitt, 1. "Gesundheitsdienst," and 12, II. Abschnitt, 5b. "Meldungen an die Wehrmachtauskunftstelle."

10. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 8a: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers während der Feindseligkeiten. Teil 8b: Dienstanweisung für den Kommandanten eines Heimkehrlagers nach den Feindseligkeiten,* 26.7.1940 (= H.Dv. 38/8; M.Dv. Nr. 38/8; L.Dv. 78/8) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940; BArch, RHD 4/256), pp. 12–14, 52–53.

11. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 9: Dienstanweisung für den Lagerarzt eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers und Chefarzt des Kriegsgefangenenlagerlazaretts,* 3.8.1940 (= H.Dv. 38/9; M.Dv. Nr. 38/9; L.Dv. 78/9) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1940).

12. *Vorschrift für das Kriegsgefangenenwesen. Teil 12: Dienstanweisung über Raumbedarf, Bau und Einrichtung eines Kriegsgefangenenlagers,* 14.3.1939 (= H.Dv. 38/12; M.Dv. Nr. 38/12; L.Dv. 78/12) (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei,

1939), pp. 43, 49–58.

13. See Stein, *Die medizinische Versorgung der Kriegsgefangenen*, pp. 419–426.

14. Neumann, "*Arzttum ist immer Kämpfertum*," p. 308.

15. Ibid., p. 315.

16. Ibid., pp. 323–324, 333.

17. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, pp. 69–72.

18. cf. Neumann, "*Arzttum ist immer Kämpfertum*," pp. 319–320; Scholz, *Zur gesundheitlichen Lage und medizinischen Betreuung*, pp. 21–23, 66–74, 79–82.

19. Streit, *Keine Kameraden*, pp. 128–190; cf. Streit, "Das Schicksal der verwundeten sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen," pp. 78–91; Neumann, "*Arzttum ist immer Kämpfertum*," pp. 323–335; Osterloh, "Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in deutscher Hand," pp. 291–313; Stein, "Die medizinische Versorgung der Kriegsgefangenen," pp. 425–426; and Eckart, *Medizin in der NS-Diktatur*, pp. 328–334.

20. Streit, "Das Schicksal der verwundeten sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen," pp. 81–82; Kudlien, "Begingen Wehrmachtsärzte," pp. 333–352.

21. Leyendecker and Klapp, "Deutsche Hepatitisforschung im Zweiten Weltkrieg," p. 272.

KRIEGSGEFANGENEN-ARBEITSVERBÄNDE AND NACHSCHUB-VERBÄNDE

In addition to utilizing labor units that were organizationally subordinate to camps, the most common of which being the work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), the Wehrmacht also deployed mobile prisoner of war (POW) labor battalions (*Kriegsgefangenen-arbeitsbataillone,* KrGefArbEin). Relative to the entire system of forced labor employed by the Nazis, these units occupied but a small corner of the wartime economy. For instance, only some 46,000 of the total 2.17 million POWs deployed by the Wehrmacht in July 1944 were in these mobile units, which the Germans often lumped together with the term "Construction and Labor Battalions (*Bau- und Arbeitsbataillone*, BAB)."[1] Their limited scale and usage makes these units a unique and less familiar chapter in the greater story of POW forced labor. The use of BABs and other POW mobile labor units began in late 1940 and continued until the end of the war in Europe. Since they used forced laborers held against their will for extended periods of time but do not fall into the category of a "camp" as defined in this encyclopedia, these units have all been treated in this one essay. This is also a necessity, as there were innumerable work sites and deployments and, because the surviving documentation is limited, only a small number can be described with any detail.

Before delving into the types of POW mobile labor battalions, some basic generalizations about these units can be described. They were most often divided into battalions numbering between 500 and 800 prisoners each and then into companies 100–200 people strong. Prisoners from many of these units—such as BABs—were rarely deployed in small teams but instead kept as entire companies or even battalions. The units were accommodated in a variety of facilities, ranging from actual POW or work camps to

schools. They were kept behind barbed wire fences, guarded, and administered by the Wehrmacht. If they were to travel to a work site, they were escorted by Wehrmacht guards and returned to their lodgings at night.

The chief category of POW mobile labor units was the Prisoner of War Construction and Labor Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenenbau- und Arbeitsbataillon*, often abbreviated KrGefBau- u. ArbBtl, or, alternately, BAB). Other POW forced labor units were sometimes mistaken for these units due to the erroneous usage of the acronym BAB, making research into these units even more difficult. Many, but not all, units bore an abbreviation indicating that either Italians (it.) or Soviets (sowj.) made up the prisoner population.[2] These battalions were deployed starting in 1940, subordinate to German Defense Districts (*Wehrkreise*), and even specific POW camps—though for organizational purposes only. While the prisoners may have been transferred from POW camps, these labor battalions traveled to sites for work and were thus not billeted at a centralized detainment location. The Wehrmacht used any facilities on hand to quarter the POWs—in the case of Mannheim and many other locales, this often meant using schools. Only one company of each battalion was generally billeted in each location in these cases. There were also numerous examples of a school holding two companies at a time, but only rarely did the Wehrmacht billet three or more companies of POW mobile labor battalions in the same location.[3] The accommodations for BABs (and most other POW mobile labor battalions) were fenced in with barbed wire. For battalions held in actual camps with fenced in barracks, the Wehrmacht tended to keep the entire battalion together, as in the case of BABs 2 and 22 deployed near Bremen.[4] BABs were deployed across the Reich and occupied territories.

On average, BABs deployed between 500 and 700 men per battalion.[5] This practice was based on a series of directives from the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) in 1940; one in November, for instance, ordered the creation of 24 BABs to be made up of 420 French and Polish workers and 180 “assisting” workers (*Zuarbeiter*) each.[6] Work deployments varied for BABs. Unlike many of the other types of POW mobile labor battalions discussed later, BABs were

rarely deployed in small numbers but instead kept as entire companies or battalions. They often worked on larger Wehrmacht work projects. On occasion they were deployed to serve other areas of the wartime economy. For example, a postwar investigation by the Bremen State Office of Criminal Investigations (*Landeskriminalamt Bremen*) listed that BAB 2 was billeted in a camp operated by the German Labor Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*), and the battalion probably also conducted labor at this site as well.[7]

Since detailed documentation on the BABs did not survive the war, the paths of persecution for the POWs in these camps are difficult to reconstruct. However, postwar investigations, especially by the French and Belgian governments, shed light on specific units and specific victim groups. These reports give us an idea of how often these units were likely transferred to other sectors and what kind of work deployments they received. An investigation by the French Ministère des Prisonniers, Déportés et Réfugiés in September 1945 found that there had been approximately 560 POWs in BAB 4, split up among three companies of between 180 and 190 men. When the BAB was established (some sources indicate this was in May 1940), it was deployed to Zeithain to construct the Stalag IV B subcamp (*Zweiglager*), Stalag IV B/Z. Later, in February 1942, these companies were regrouped in the Brux area, in the Sudetenland, in the vicinity of Stalag IV C, to construct a synthetic fuel plant. The French investigation reported that afterward, from September 1943 until September 1944, BAB 4 was set to clearing rubble in Hamburg. Starting in September 1944, BAB 4 was deployed to clear out a synthetic fuel plant in Rositz. Due to Allied bombing raids, BAB 4 ostensibly suffered heavy casualties at this deployment, after which the remnants of the battalion were resupplied with donations from the Red Cross via nearby Stalag IV F.[8] An earlier Ministère des Prisonniers, Déportés et Réfugiés in May 1945 placed BAB 4 at Hamburg (specifically the barracks at Barmbeck, a nearby locality) in January 1945 with a strength of some 549 men, indicating that the battalion was either regrouped or filled out with replacement workers following the bombings at Rositz.[9]

A different category of mobile POW labor units bore a basically

generic designation as a construction and engineering unit: the Prisoner of War Labor Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen Arbeitsbataillon*, KrGefArbBtl). These units were different from the BABs, despite their names being so similar. KrGef-ArbBtls were created for somewhat specialized purposes in two main waves. The first wave, in September and October 1942, established units numbering 180 through 191. These were deployed to German-occupied Norway.[10] An additional unit, KrGefArbBtl 192 appears to have been deployed to the southeastern theater in mid-1943.[11] Some wartime labor deployment records indicate that another series of these battalions was later established, numbered 202 through 206. These were also deployed to Norway alongside 180 through 190, beginning in August 1944.[12] These units likely performed labor in support of various attempts to prepare the coast for invasion by the Western Allies, such as building defensive positions as a part of the Atlantic Wall, digging roads, or (perhaps) extending the Norwegian rail network. The number of prisoners working in these KrGefArbBtls in Norway increased drastically starting in January 1943, from a deployment strength of some 4,700 to more than 27,000 by the end of the year, and then to 37,000 by the end of 1944. Most of these prisoners were Soviet soldiers, but there were a smaller number of Serbs—generally between 1,000 and 2,000. A curious detail about these units is that, when they originated in early 1943, they were only somewhat larger than the other POW mobile labor units, with some 6,200 men split between four battalions—roughly 1,550 men per unit. However, the 37,000 POWs deployed by the end of 1944 were then only divided among 14 battalions—more than 2,600 men per unit. It is likely for this reason that these battalions were consistently denoted as *verstärkt* (reinforced) in wartime documents; for example: "Verstärkte Kgf.-Arb.-Btle. Nr. 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190."[13]

The second large-scale establishment of KrGefArbBtls came in April 1945. These units were created in order to strengthen the rapidly collapsing eastern front, but they saw very brief deployment due to the Nazis' surrender in May. These KrGefArbBtls were numbered 1–10 and were deployed to locations including Neubrandenburg, Altengrabow, Teterow, Upper Silesia, and Waidhofen an der Thaya. Only a few

KrGefArbBtls were created in other instances, as the BABs had been, on a seemingly more ad hoc basis. Again, these units were deployed to build defensive positions and for road work.[14]

The next category of POW mobile work units was the Prisoner of War Construction Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen-Baubataillon*, BauBtl[K], or KrGefBauBtl). In most cases these units were composed solely of POWs, but, in a few exceptional cases, there were one to three POW companies added to a regular Wehrmacht Baubataillon—that is, companies of POWs were intermingled with companies of German soldiers. The majority of these units seem to have been deployed close to the fighting on the eastern front; as such, some were destroyed along with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) in the summer of 1944. Several KrGef-BauBtls were also deployed to Norway in the winter of 1942–1943.[15]

Yet another category of POW mobile labor units was the Prisoner of War Construction Engineer Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen-Baupionierbataillon*, BauPiBtl(K), or KrGef-BauPiBtl). Though, there was a difference, in principle, between a construction and an engineering unit, these units bore both titles in their designations and seem to have been deployed for many of the same work assignments as the abovementioned labor units: general building and rubble clearance work in fighting sectors as well as building roads and defensive positions. KrGefBauPiBtls were established as early as August 1943 and as late as early 1945 and seem to have been deployed nearly exclusively to the Reich and Norway.[16] Further complicating the task of researching the KrGefBau-PiBtls is the fact that many of them existed under this designation starting only at the end of 1944. For example, the units that had been referred to as Polish BABs 28, 30, and 41 from January 1943 were redesignated BauPiBtle(K) 28, 30, and 41 between October and November 1944. This nomenclature issue was more complex for Soviet Pioneer Battalions 1, 2, and 3, which were called such from January 1943 until September 1944, at which point they were lumped in with the abovementioned Soviet units as BABs. All six of these units were redesignated BauPiBtl(K)s between October and November 1944. As with many other POW mobile labor battalions, these generally deployed between 500 and 800

prisoners.[17]

Another category of POW mobile labor units was the Prisoner of War-Engineer Unit (*Kriegsgefangenen-Pioniereinheit*, KrGefPiKp, or PiBtl). Only one unit consisting exclusively of POWs seems to have been created—that of Legionowo, in present-day Poland—while the remaining three were regular Wehrmacht engineer battalions that incorporated individual companies of POWs.[18]

A small and limited group of POW mobile labor units was the Prisoner of War Labor Battalion (Engineers) (*Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitsbataillon [Pioniere]*, KrGefArb[Pi] Btl), a designation that was only given to three units. The first two were created on December 10, 1941, and deployed to Norway. The third and final KrGefArbBtl(Pi) was created on January 12, 1942, and was also deployed to Norway. All three units consisted of Soviet POWs.[19]

On June 14, 1943, the Wehrmacht established five Prisoner of War Harbor Labor Units (*Kriegsgefangenen-Hafenarbeitsabteilung*, KrGefHafenArbAbt), in Defense District VII, which were then assigned to the Commander of Construction Troops (*Kommandeur der Bautruppen*) 112 in Rome. In Italy, these units performed tasks in harbors such as the unloading and loading of supplies and general labor as needed. As of September 1, 1943, there were a total of 1,250 POWs assigned to the five KrGefHafenArbAbt, all of whom were British.[20] It seems that most, if not all, of these units were disbanded in early 1944.[21]

Some POW mobile labor units were composed of specialized laborers, such as the Prisoner of War Glazier Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen-Glaserbataillon*, KrGefGlaserBtl). These units were created as early as the beginning of 1941 and were deployed primarily within the Reich, to repair windows in buildings after Allied air raids.[22] These units generally deployed between 500 and 800 men, split into four companies.[23] Many of the POWs were French, but British, Polish, and Serbian prisoners were also part of these units. A postwar investigation concerning the use of a KrGefGlaserBtl by a single company revealed that it utilized 11 POWs from the 2nd Company of Battalion VI between October 1943 and April 1944. If it is correct to assume that this is almost certainly too few men to have made up an entire company,

or even platoon, it seems that relatively small fractions of these battalions could be split off for work deployments that did not require an entire company. This report also provides some indication of standard deployment procedures for POW glaziers. It states that "the prisoners of war were brought by a supervisory post in the morning and retrieved again in the evening."[24]

The mission of the Prisoner of War Roofing Battalion (*Kriegsgefangenen-Dachdeckerbataillon*, KrGefDachdeckerBtl) was much like that of the Glazier Battalion: repair (in this case, of the roofs) of buildings that Allied bombing had damaged, mostly in the Reich. These units were also meant to be composed of specialized laborers of various nationalities drawn from POW camps. Establishment of KrGefDachdeckerBtls began in mid-1941.[25] As was the case with the glazier units, the POW roofing battalions numbered some 700–800 prisoners on average —again more numerous than the typical BAB unit.[26] They were also housed in whatever accommodations were available—schools or barracks, for instance—and guarded by the Wehrmacht. According to a 1947 investigation of KrGefDackdeckerBtl V by the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the battalion was deployed in groups of 2–10 men. The employers or businesses paid between three and five Reichsmarks per worker per day, but this payment was remitted from the business to the local administration and then to the Wehrmacht. The report does not specify whether the POWs received payment for their labor, or if the Wehrmacht retained the funds.[27]

The German Air Corps also used POWs in mobile labor units, called Prisoner of War Construction Unit of the Air Force *(Kriegsgefangenen-Baueinheit der Luftwaffe*). These were divided into two main categories. By far the most common of these was the Air Corps Construction Battalion for Prisoners of War (*Luftwaffen-Baubataillon für Kriegsgefangene*, LwBauBtl[K]). These units were created from existing construction labor battalions within the Luftwaffe itself, and the German soldiers were then replaced with POWs. For organizational purposes, these units were each assigned to an Air Command District (*Luftgau*), which is reflected in each designation.[28] The second type of Air Corps mobile labor unit was the Air Force Main Construction Unit (*Luftwaffen-*

Baustammabteilung, LwBauStammAbt), a designation that seems to have been established for a specific purpose and saw limited usage. Only four of these units were created in the winter of 1941–1942. They were deployed to Norway, and each consisted of Soviet POWs. The units were not created from an existing Luftwaffe construction unit, as the LwBauBtl(K) units had been, and were assigned to a guard detail indicated in the unit's designation.[29]

The use of POW labor by supply battalions was split into two categories. The Prisoner of War Supply Unit (*Kriegsgefangenen-Nachschubeinheit*, KrGefNschBtl/Kp, or NschBtl) was a regular army supply battalion that incorporated individual companies of POWs. Generally trying to keep each NschBtl at a strength of six companies, as many as four could have been made up of POWs. Supply units manned entirely by POWs did exist, but these were far less common.[30] These units performed labor surrounding the loading, unloading, distribution, and transportation of supplies for the Wehrmacht.

SOURCES Primary source material concerning the various types of POW mobile labor units is scattered throughout wartime city, state, and federal German municipal records; wartime Wehrmacht records; and postwar investigations conducted by German, Dutch, Belgian, French, and American authorities as well as international organizations such as the IRC, the IRO, UNRRA, and ITS.

Additional information about the Wehrmacht's use of POW labor can be found in Rüdiger Overmans, "German Policy on Prisoners of War, 1939–1945," in *Germany and the Second World War*, vols. IX/II, ed. Jörg Echternkamp (Oxford: Clarendon, 2014), pp. 733–879. Additional information about German POW administration in World War II can be found in Stefan Geck, "Das deutsche Kriegsgefangenenwesen, 1939–1945" (MA thesis, Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 1998). A list of these units compiled in 1987, though it contains some errors, is helpful for getting a sense of the dates and locations of deployment for most individual units: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published,

1987), pp. 95–165. On the Serbian prisoners in Norway, see Ljubo Mlađenović, *Pod šifrom viking: Život, borba i stradanja jugoslovenskih interniraca u logorima u Norveškoj 1942–1945. Studijsko-dokumentarna monografija* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1991); and Knut Flovik Thoresen, *Til Norge for å dø: Serberfangene i nazistenes dødsleirer i Nord-Norge. Basert på fangehistorien ti Nikola Rokic* (Oslo: Kristiansen, 2013).

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NOTES

1. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0237. This OKW report is titled "Summary of prisoners of war in the OKW sphere, incl. Air Corps and Navy," meaning that it presumably includes all POWs deployed for labor by the Reich. However, it should be noted that the report makes a distinction between "normal" POW forced labor and mobile units denoted as "Bau- u. Arb.-Btl" (i.e., BABs). It is unclear whether this somewhat problematic umbrella term refers to all 11 major categories of POW mobile labor units discussed in this essay. However, it is clear in the report that the types of units with the most prisoners—the BABs, the *Dachdeckerbataillone*, the *Glaserbataillone*, etc.—are represented. Whether the smaller units that saw limited usage are included in this count is probably statistically insignificant.

2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 95.

3. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0069/0020–0025.

4. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0018/0275.

5. ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.6/0010/0059–0067.

6. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0004/0022.

7. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0018/0275.

8. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.3/0001/0126–0127.

9. ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.6/0010/0062.
10. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 120–124.
11. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0157, 0166.
12. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0243–0280.
13. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0175.
14. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 120–124.
15. Ibid., pp. 125–131.
16. Ibid., pp. 131–133.
17. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0112–0280.
18. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 134.
19. Ibid., p. 135.
20. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.5.1/0001/0175.
21. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 136–137.
22. Ibid., pp. 137–139.
23. ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.6/0010/0067–0068
24. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0076/0203.
25. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 139–141.
26. ITS Digital Archive, 1.1.0.6/0059/0065–0066.
27. ITS Digital Archive, 2.2.0.1/0055/0312–0315.
28. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 142–149.

29. Ibid., pp. 142–149.

30. Ibid., pp. 150–165.

PRISONER OF WAR SPECIAL CAMPS INTRODUCTION

The Wehrmacht operated several types of camps outside the main prisoner of war (POW) camp system (*Kriegsgefangenenwesen*). These included temporary collection camps, which were referred to as transit camps (*Durchgangslager*, Dulags), although they were not part of the formal class of Dulags under the main system; a variety of camps that were simply called POW camps (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*, KGL); two camps that held Serbian civilians taken hostage in retaliation for partisan attacks, which were called concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*, KL), even though they were not part of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office (*SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt*, SS-WVHA) concentration camp system; and the "special camps" (*Sonderlager*), which mainly held Soviet POWs who were selected for training as propagandists and counterintelligence agents. The nature of these camps and the conditions experienced by the prisoners were as diverse as their functions, and they should not be thought of as a cohesive class of camps—their only unifying feature is that they were not part of the main POW camp system.

There were at least 20 camps designated Dulags that were not part of the formal system of transit camps. Rather than proper transit camps, these were ad hoc facilities, usually organized by individual military units for the temporary confinement of prisoners. Ten of these camps were established during the invasion of Poland, located in Blon (Błonie), Bochnia, Kielce, Krakau (Kraków), Öhringen (Gliwice-Sośnica), Reichshof (Rzeszów), Schildberg (Ostrzeszów), Soldau (Działdowo), Tarnów, and Wadowice. These camps were established hastily, and the conditions were quite primitive. Most of them had been closed by December 1939, as the prisoners had been transferred to permanent camps.[1]

A Dulag of this type was established in Corinth in May 1941 to hold British and Commonwealth prisoners captured during the fighting in Greece. This camp only operated for a few weeks before the prisoners were transferred to Dulag 183 in Thessaloniki (which was part of the main system of Dulags).[2]

Three of these informal Dulags were established in the occupied Soviet Union, located at Achtyrka (today Okhtyrka, Ukraine), Borispol (today Boryspil', Ukraine), and Kurbatovo, near Voronezh. The camps at Achtyrka and Borispol held Soviet POWs. The conditions in these camps were atrocious, as they were in almost all camps for Soviet prisoners. The camp at Borispol also held some civilian prisoners. The camp at Kurbatovo held civilian prisoners exclusively. These civilians were residents of Voronezh who were evacuated from the frontline area. The conditions in this camp were also poor, with insufficient food and inadequate medical care leading to malnutrition and disease. All three of these camps had been dissolved by the end of 1942.[3]

Five such Dulags were created on the western front after the Allied landings in Normandy in 1944. Two were located within the Reich, in Lollar and Neubreisach (today Neuf-Brisach, France); two were in France, in Châlons-sur-Marne and Morancez (Dulag West); and one in Belgium, in Mecheln (Mechelen/Malines). These camps held Allied POWs in transit to permanent POW camps.[4]

Finally, one other Dulag was established in Sassnitz, in Pomerania. Little is known about this camp, including its exact dates of operation and the number or nationality of its prisoners.

The second category of camps outside the main POW camp system was for those simply called POW camps, or KGLs. Thirty of these camps were in northern Italy and the formerly Italian-occupied areas of southeastern Europe. These camps held Italian military prisoners who were interned by the Germans after the Italian capitulation to the Allies in September 1943. Most of these camps were short lived, operating for only a few weeks while their prisoners were gradually transferred to permanent camps. Conditions in these camps were generally poor; the Germans viewed the interned Italians as traitors and often treated their former allies badly.[5]

There were also four camps in Western Europe that received this designation: three in France, located in Dunkirk (Dünkirchen), Lorient, and Saint-Nazaire, and one on the occupied island of Jersey. The camps in France were established in the weeks after the Allied landings in Normandy and continued to operate until the end of the war. Little is known about these camps or the conditions in them. The camp on Jersey was established in 1943 and held a diverse group of prisoners, including French North African soldiers, as well as some American and British troops and potentially some Soviet prisoners as well. Conditions in this camp were reportedly decent, and it received a positive assessment from a Red Cross delegate that visited the camp in February 1945.[6]

Two camps in Eastern Europe were designated as KGLs: one in Poland, located in Kielce, and one at Rogavka, in northwestern Russia. The camp in Kielce operated from 1942 to 1944, and held Soviet prisoners who were being assessed as potential collaborators and propagandists; in this sense, it was more similar to the Sonderlager, discussed below, than to the other camps designated as KGLs.[7] The camp in Rogavka was also atypical—it was essentially a forced labor camp for Soviet POWs. A group of about 800 Soviet prisoners, mainly from Dulag 110 in Staraia Russa, were brought to Rogavka in the summer of 1942 to extract peat. By the following year, the need for laborers at the site had grown significantly and civilian laborers were also brought to the camp. On September 1, 1943, control of the camp was transferred to the civilian police forces in northwestern Russia, namely the Commander of the Security Police and SD (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, BdS) Ostland, and converted into a Sipo camp.[8]

Finally, there was one camp at Hövik, in Norway, which was also designated as a KGL. Little is known about this camp, as no significant documentation is currently available about it.

The third category of Wehrmacht camp that operated outside of the main POW camp system consisted of two so-called concentration camps, which, despite their names, were not part of the SS-WVHA concentration camp system. These two camps were located at Jarak and Šabac in Germanoccupied Serbia. Both camps were created by the 342nd Infantry Division and held Serbian civilians; the camps were later turned over to the German military

administration in Serbia. The camp at Jarak was established in late September 1941 and held Serbian men from Šabac and Sremska Mitrovica who were interned after Chetniks and partisans attacked German soldiers in Šabac. This camp held between 6,000 and 7,000 people in terrible conditions. The Jarak camp was short lived: in early October, the prisoners were transferred to the new camp at Šabac. Here, they were joined by other civilian prisoners, including a group of 1,000 Austrian Jews as well as some Roma from the surrounding area. Conditions in the Šabac camp were likewise poor. The Germans frequently executed hostages from this camp in reprisal for partisan attacks on German forces. The camp in Šabac operated until March 31, 1942, when the prisoners were transferred to other camps, such as the Sajmište concentration camp in Semlin (Zemun).[9]

The final type of camps outside of the main POW camp system were the 10 special camps (*Sonderlager*). Eight of these camps—Sonderlager Boyen (Lötzen/Giżycko), Dabendorf, Fremde Heere Ost (Berlin), Ibbenbüren, Wuhlheide, Wustrau, Wutzetz, and Ziethenhorst—were operated by the Army High Command, Foreign Armies East Branch (*Oberkommando des Heeres, Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost*). Seven of these camps held Soviet POWs who had been identified as potential collaborators, either as propagandists and counterintelligence agents or as volunteers for the collaborationist Russian Liberation Army, commanded by Andrei Vlasov. Sonderlager Boyen held Soviet officers who were interrogated (and frequently tortured) by the Germans. Unsurprisingly, those who cooperated with the Germans, whether through collaborating or by providing them with information, received much better treatment than those who refused.[10]

One Sonderlager, located in Komotau in the Sudetenland (today Chomutov, Czech Republic), held captured French intelligence officers who had been arrested by the Germans during the occupation of Vichy France in 1942. The camp operated from 1943 to 1945. Conditions in this camp were generally good.[11]

Finally, one Sonderlager, Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost, held Soviet Air Force officers captured by the Luftwaffe. This camp, which was located in Sudauen, in East Prussia (today Suwałki, Poland), operated from 1942 to 1943. Little information is

available on the conditions in this camp, although they are believed to have been acceptable.[12]

The special camps operated by the Wehrmacht served a variety of purposes and held a diverse group of prisoners in a wide range of conditions. It should be emphasized that these camps were not a coherent class of camps—their only unifying feature is that they were not part of the main POW camp system. However, they do demonstrate the degree of autonomy and initiative that individual units of the Wehrmacht possessed and the decision-making process of the lower levels of the Wehrmacht command structure. These idiosyncratic, improvised camps further demonstrate the diverse nature of Wehrmacht captivity during World War II.

SOURCES Additional information about POW Special Camps can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg, 2003); Yves Durand, *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français, 1939–1945* (Paris: Fédération nationale des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, 1982); Stanoje Filipovič, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata, 1967); Venceslav Glišič, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Rad, 1970); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 1996); Walter Manoschek, *Die Wehrmacht im Rassenkrieg: Der Vernichtungskrieg hinter der Front* (Vienna: Picus, 1996); Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei:" militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na*

ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979); Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, verachtet, vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); and Jürgen Thorwald, *Die Illusion: Rotarmisten in Hitlers Heeren* (Zürich: Droemer-Knaur, 1974).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, pp. 63–67.
2. Ibid., p. 63.
3. Ibid., pp. 62–63.
4. See BA-MA, RW 59/20; NARA II, RG 389; and PAAA, R 40820.
5. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, pp. 252–281.
6. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 178.
7. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, pp. 231–232.
8. See BA-MA, RH 22, RW 31.
9. Manoschek, *Die Wehrmacht im Rassenkrieg*, pp. 147– 167; Manoschek, "*Serbien ist judenfrei*," pp. 56–79.
10. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, pp. 232–236; Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 177.
11. Ministère de la Guerre, p. 114.

12. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich*, p. 482.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) ACHTYRKA

Dulag Achtyrka operated in 1941 and 1942 in the city of Achtyrka (today Okhtyrka, Ukraine) (map 9f).[1] The camp was under the authority of the Sixth Army. It was administered by a subunit assigned by the Sixth Army rather than a separate Dulag headquarters, and, for this reason, the camp was officially referred to as a prisoner of war (POW) camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) or prisoner camp (*Gefangenenlager*). Nonetheless, the camp functioned as a Dulag, or transit camp.

The conditions in Dulag Achtyrka were similar to those in other camps for Soviet POWs. The camp was severely overcrowded, and the prisoners received little food or medical care. These conditions led to a high mortality rate. It is believed that 130 prisoners died in the camp.[2]

In April 1942, 1,400 prisoners were transferred from Achtyrka to Stalag 329 in Vinnytsia. The camp was still located in Achtyrka as of April 28, 1942.[3]

SOURCES Primary source information about Dulag Achtyrka is located in GARF (file 7021-74-487) and DASuO (file 2191-1-103).

Additional information about Dulag Achtyrka can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 62.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Achtyrka was occupied by German troops on October 14, 1941; therefore, the camp must have been established after that date.

2. GARF (file 7021-74-487).

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 62.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) BŁONIE

Dulag Błonie, actually a temporary collection camp, existed briefly in the fall of 1939 in the town of Błonie, 27 kilometers (16.8 miles) west of Warsaw, in Poland (see map 5). The Germans disbanded the camp in late 1939 by transferring the prisoners to camps in Germany. This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular prisoner of war camp system, and was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail.

The camp was subordinate first to the commander of the Tenth Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 540) and then to the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Polen*). No information is available on the conditions in this camp, although they are likely to have been primitive.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Błonie is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Warsaw.

Additional information about Dulag Błonie can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 63; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 109; and Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986).

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DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) BOCHNIA

The Wehrmacht created Dulag Bochnia on October 2, 1939, in Bochnia, Poland, about 22.5 kilometers (10 miles) east-southeast of Kraków (see map 5). This was not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system but actually an ad hoc collection camp, guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. It was eliminated in late November 1939 by transferring the prisoners to other camps in Germany.[1]

Dulag Bochnia was first subordinate to the commander of the Fourteenth Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 520) and then to the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Polen*). The Germans used the camp to hold about 1,000 Polish officers captured by the Wehrmacht during the invasion of September 1939. The prisoners were accommodated in former Polish army barracks. Local residents, as well as the Polish Red Cross, supplied the prisoners with food.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Bochnia is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Kraków.

Additional information about Dulag Bochnia can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 63; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 110; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Stanisław Senft and Horst

Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1972); Tadeusz Sztumberk-Rychter, *Artylerzysta piechurem* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1967), pp. 77–84.

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NOTES

1. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 110.

2. Ibid., p. 110; Sztumberk-Rychter, *Artylerzysta piechurem*, pp. 77–84.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) BORISPOL

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Borispol at the end of September 1941, in the city of Borispol (today Boryspil', Ukraine), 35 kilometers (21.7 miles) northeast of Kiev (map 9e). The camp was used to hold Red Army soldiers who had been taken prisoner in the encirclement east of Kiev.[1] The camp was subordinate at first to the 113th Infantry Division and then to Security Division (*Sicherungsdivision*) 454. The camp was operated by German subunits assigned by these divisions rather than a separate Dulag headquarters; therefore, the camp was officially referred to as a prisoner of war (POW) camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*) or prisoner camp (*Gefangenenlager*), although it functioned as a Dulag, or transit camp. As of October 9, 1941, the camp held 28,000 prisoners who were guarded by 300 German soldiers.[2]

Gefreiter Eugen Seibold, an artilleryman who was one of the soldiers guarding the camp, wrote in his diary on September 23, 1941:

> In Borispol. Along the same route where we were firing last time, we are now advancing southward, to the Kiev-Khar'kov railroad line, with which we are already acquainted. Along the way are a great many abandoned trucks, transport vehicles, saddlebags scattered here and there, dead horses, [firing] batteries, which, along with the [artillery] tractors, had been abandoned at the firing position. The first trains carrying prisoners are being sent northward. There was no work at all for us, since the town had been abandoned, everyone had run away. On the other hand, we had to process several captured trains. By September 21, I already had an opportunity to take a look at Borispol. The town presents an unforgettable picture of the war. The Russians' routes of

retreat had been attacked by German dive-bombers, and here we see terrible devastation: hundreds of trucks, some half-destroyed by fire, others completely blown up. Body parts of horses are lying all over the ground, and between the craters made by the bomb explosions there are heaps of corpses. We sleep in former barracks for paratroopers; the buildings are very well equipped. The night of September 23–24 we spend at an airfield and guard prisoners, of whom there were 18,000. The Russians slept in the hangar, while we slept out in the open. They presented a diverse picture: all kinds of troops, ranging from infantrymen, combat engineers, and artillerymen to people dressed in a summer uniform and the black uniform of railroad troops and even including sailors, who had come, most likely, from Kiev. One could even find civilians among them. Women who are partisans and nurses supply them with water, which they drink greedily. Although many Russian prisoners were in combat for a protracted period, the uniforms they wore were in good condition. In most cases, the uniforms were even new. The cleanliness of their underwear was especially striking. They were all in boots, made of fine leather besides, and with high boot-tops. The Russian greatcoats are thicker, with warm padding, they give good protection against the cold, with which we tried to cope by means of bonfires. The headgear is extremely diverse. One can see caps with earflaps, peaked service caps, flat-topped round hats made of karakul lambskin, and field caps. The women, by and large, are dressed in the same uniform as the men, and only the bust indicates that they belong to the female gender. The majority of them are young, inspired by their work. Incidentally, most of them make the same impression as the women of Montmartre. With undisguised pleasure, they tormented the Jews. A part of the prisoners had been chosen and, by highly effective means, had to prove their Aryan origin. They undress the manager of a Kiev factory down to his shirt, he takes out a packet of money and surrenders it in despair, but to no avail. He tears off even his shirt and is left in a yellow-and-blue bathing suit and a woolen blanket. Egoism in its crudest form. Many unnecessary things are done purely out of stupidity or animal instinct. We accompany this crowd of people (10 of us for

> 3,500 Russians) to Brovary, not far from Kiev. A dreadful march. We go through endless plains and tiny hamlets. Everyone rushes to drink water from stinking puddles. Such is the lot of prisoners. We hope that we won't have to experience similar things.[3]

As in other camps for Soviet POWs, new arrivals were screened to separate out undesirables, such as Jews and political commissars, who were subsequently shot by the camp guards or Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) personnel. For example, "at the request of the camp commandant," a "platoon of Sonderkommando 4a shot 752 Jewish POWs on October 14, 1941, and 357 on October 18, 1941, among whom there were several [political] commissars and 78 wounded Jews, handed over by the camp doctor."[4]

Dulag Borispol was liquidated in late October 1941 by transferring the prisoners to other camps. For example, on October 16, 1941, Security Division 454 ordered the 375th Infantry Regiment to transport 8,000 prisoners (including 80 staff officers and around 300 other officers) under guard to Dulag 205 in Poltava on October 18. Based on the same order, the camp in Borispol, which at that time was run by the headquarters of Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 987, was supposed to hand over 10,000 prisoners to the 62nd Infantry Division for transport to Dulag 205 and from there to Stalag 339, in Kiev-Darnitsa, beginning on October 20.[5]

On April 13, 2011, during excavation work in Borispol, a ditch 30 meters long and 3 meters wide (98.4 by 9.8 feet) was uncovered, which held the remains of Red Army soldiers (killed with shots to the back of the head), some bearing the traces of serious predeath injuries. During the exhumation, the remains of 493 people (including women) were discovered, in addition to 26 personal identification cards. It was possible to identify nine of the bodies (all but one of whom were Jews).[6]

SOURCES Primary source information about Dulag Borispol is located in NARA (T 136, Roll 2216).

Additional information about Dulag Borispol can be found in

the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 63.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 63.
2. 113. Inf. Division, 1a, an 454. Sicherung-Division v. 9.10.1941, NARA, T 315, roll 2216.
3. "Dnevnik nemetskogo artillerista. 1941–1942 gg.," reproduced in *Otechestvennye arkhivy. Nauchno-prakticheskii zhurnal*, no. 3 (2008).
4. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 132, 12.11.1941, BArch B 162/441, fol. 51.
5. 454. Sich. Division, Abt. 1a, Divisionsbefehl, No. 81 v. 16.10.1941, NARA, T 315, roll 2216.
6. *Moskovskii komsomolets v Ukraine* (May 11–17, 2011).

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE

The city of Châlons-sur-Marne (today Châlons-en-Champagne) lies about 148 kilometers (92 miles) east of Paris (map 2). It was a hub of major transportation arteries in the rear of the pre-1914 French fortress system, and it offered vast military encampments that served as prisoner of war (POW) camps and also as reception centers for French prisoners released or on leave from captivity in Germany from 1940 to 1944.

In June 1944, the German army installed a transit camp in the city to handle the influx of Allied POWs coming from the Normandy front—without housing them with French African soldiers. The administrative arrangements were somewhat unconventional. The camp and its guards were subordinate to Commander-in-Chief West (*Oberbefehlshaber West*, OB West), but the camp commandant was simultaneously the commandant for Frontstalag 194 in Nancy, and, in practical terms, the Frontstalag controlled the Dulag's administration. The field post number for all the camps in Châlons-sur-Marne was 19 375 A.

Dulag Châlons-sur-Marne. General view of the camp, July 1944.
COURTESY OF ICRC.

Dulag Châlons-sur-Marne (also called Dulag OB West) occupied a complex of three-story French barracks called Quartier Fargeot, dating from 1877. Each facility had its own washrooms and the buildings opened onto a common courtyard for recreation.[1]

The Dulag served as a major transit camp not only for the Allied prisoners coming from the Normandy front but also for Frontstalag prisoners being evacuated to Germany. The Allied prisoners from Normandy usually arrived in Châlons from Dulag West in Morancez near Chartres and usually left Dulag Châlons-sur-Marne after about ten days, being sent to Frontstalag 194 or directly to Germany.[2]

When the International Committee of the Red Cross inspector Dr. J. de Morsier visited the Dulag on July 26, 1944, its morning strength report showed 1,037 prisoners (576 British enlisted men and 20 officers, 395 American enlisted men and 24 officers, and 4 Free French noncommissioned officers and 18 privates). The Germans did not separate the prisoners by nationality, contrary to the usual practice, but the inspector did not consider this to be a problem, in light of the rapid turnover of prisoners. (As a matter of fact, 230 prisoners left on a transport for Germany just before de Morsier arrived.)[3]

The British and American prisoners complained that the food rations were too small for them, given their exhaustion after hard fighting. The German commander retorted, however, that the prisoners received exactly the same rations as the German army, leading the inspector to wonder whether the British and Americans had higher standards than the Germans. Prisoners also argued that they did not have enough cooking fuel. Apparently, they had burned some of the camp furniture to heat the cooking stoves. The camp lacked recreation facilities, but this was again not a major problem in light of the fact that prisoners stayed such a short time. The hygienic conditions and medical care in the camp were excellent.[4] The Germans closed Dulag Châlons-sur-Marne in September 1944, as the Allied armies approached.

SOURCES The best source of information on Dulag Châlonssur-Marne consists of the reports of the International Red Cross, dated July 19 and 26, 1944, which are available in NARA II and TNA.

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NOTES

1. Report by the International Red Cross (July 26, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
2. Report by the International Red Cross (July 19, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
3. Report by the International Red Cross (July 26, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2143.
4. Ibid.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) CORINTH

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Corinth in May 1941 in Corinth, Greece (map 8). The camp was dissolved at the end of June 1941, when the last prisoners were moved to Dulag 183 in Salonika (today Thessaloniki). The camp was subordinate to the Twelfth Army (*Feldkommandantur*) 569.

Dulag Corinth was used to hold British, Australian, New Zealander, and Serbian prisoners of war (POWs). On May 2, 1941, there were 6,121 British servicemen, including 198 officers, in the camp. Soon thereafter, the number of prisoners in the camp grew to 11,110. Among the prisoners were 1,909 "Palestinians" (Jews and Arabs) who were serving in the British army. On May 18, 1941, Oberstleutnant Hanstein from Twelfth Army headquarters inspected the camp. German journalists and journalists from neutral countries accompanied him. The journalists interviewed prisoners and subsequently published their impressions in the German press.[1] It is possible that Heinrich Himmler visited the camp between May 6 and May 10, 1941, as he was in Corinth during a trip to Greece.[2] Red Cross delegates visited the camp in early June.

The conditions in the camp were unsatisfactory. The first prisoners to arrive in the camp slept in the open air. The camp was constantly short of water and food; Jewish Palestinian prisoner Ralf Bogo recalls that they were fed a single inch-thick slice of bread a day, along with ersatz coffee and watery soup.[3] Initially, there was almost no medical assistance, and infectious diseases, particularly dysentery, were common. Later, a hospital barrack with 120 beds, operated by British doctors and medical orderlies, was opened for sick and wounded prisoners.[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Corinth is located in BA-MA (AOK 12) and TNA (WO 224).

Additional information about Dulag Corinth can be found in the following publications: Yoav Gelber, "Palestinian POWs in German Captivity," *Yad Vashem Studies* 14 (1981): 95–98; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 63; Thomas Duncan MacGregor Stout, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45. Medical Services in New Zealand and the Pacific. In Royal New Zealand Navy, Royal New Zealand Air Force and with Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1958), pp. 105–106, 116–117; and Peter Witte, Michael Wildt, and Martina Volgt, et al., eds, *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (Hamburg, Hamburger, 1999)

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NOTES

1. Gelber, "Palestinian POWs in German Captivity," pp. 95–98.
2. Witte, et al., *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers*, p. 156.
3. Bogo, Ralf. Interview 10562. Visual History Archive. USC Shoah Foundation Institute. Accessed online at USHMM.
4. Stout, *Official History*, pp. 105–106.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) KIELCE

Dulag Kielce, actually a temporary collection camp, existed for about two months, starting in early September 1939. Kielce is 100 kilometers (62 miles) north-northeast of Kraków, in Poland (map 5).[1] This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system, and guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp was subordinate first to the Tenth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 540) and then to the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Polen*). The Germans used the camp to hold Polish POWs whom the Wehrmacht captured during the German–Polish conflict in September 1939. The prisoners were housed in four places: a prison building, a barracks near the city, a building at 30 Prosta Street, and the "castle." In the prison, prisoners (on average, 2,000 people) were present from September 6 to October 15, 1939. In all, 3,000 prisoners passed through the prison. There were cases of dysentery and typhoid fever, and 18 prisoners were executed by shooting. Prisoners were in the barracks near the city from September 8 until November 15, 1939; some of them, too, suffered from dysentery. In the building on Prosta Street, imprisoned officers were housed from October 8 until October 20, 1939 (on average, 300–600 people; in all, 1,200 prisoners passed through). Finally, about 800 prisoners were held in the castle in October 1939. The Polish Red Cross and local residents helped the prisoners by providing food and medicine. From October to November 1939, the Germans transferred the prisoners to camps in Germany.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Kielce is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Kielce.

Additional information about Dulag Kielce can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 64; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 228–229; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 64.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 228–229.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) KRAKAU

Dulag Krakau (map 5) went through two phases. At first, it was a temporary prisoner of war (POW) collection camp, which existed from September until the end of October 1939. This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular POW camp system, and guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. On November 1, 1939, the POW system took over the camp. It closed in July 1940. At least some of the prisoners were transferred to Oflag VIII A in May and June 1940.[1]

In September 1939, the camp operated under the authority of the Fourteenth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 520). Later, it was transferred to the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Polen*).

The camp held Polish army servicemen taken prisoner by the Germans in the course of the German–Polish conflict in September 1939. No specific information on conditions in the camp is available. However, conditions in most camps for Polish POWs were primitive, especially at this early point in the war.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Krakau is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Wrocław. Additional information is available through the Central Museum for Prisoners of War in Łambinowice.

More information about Dulag Krakau can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 65; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek,

Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

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NOTE

1. Transport lists of Polish POWs (arrived in V and VI 1940 from Dulag Krakau) from Oflag VIIIA. WASt, ref. 5228 and 5230.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) KURBATOVO

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Kurbatovo in July 1942, in the rear area of the Second Army, and deployed it in the village of Kurbatovo, 49 kilometers (30 miles) west of the city of Voronezh (Russia) (map 9d). The camp was disbanded no later than early October 1942 by moving the civilians confined there to other localities for settlement or by sending them to work in Germany.

The camp was under the command of the 57th Infantry Division. The division commander from April 10, 1942, was Generalleutnant Oskar Blümm (1884–1951); he was replaced on October 10, 1942, by General der Infanterie Friedrich Siebert (1888–1950).

The camp was intended for temporary confinement of the civilian population of Voronezh, which, by order of the headquarters of the Second Army (AOK 2), was subject to evacuation to the west because Voronezh was in the zone of combat operations.[1] By mid-August 1942, 55,000 inhabitants[2] were forcibly evacuated from Voronezh, and approximately 25,000 of them were relocated through the division's Dulag Kurbatovo.[3]

The treatment of the inhabitants of the city who were placed in the camp as well as the conditions of their confinement in the camp were unsatisfactory. The food and medical assistance were inadequate, and infectious diseases and fatalities occurred as a result. In December 1942, 200 civilians were newly brought to Dulag Kurbatovo from the rear area of the 57th Infantry Division to build tank hangars (sheds).[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Kurbatovo can be found in BA-MA (RH 20-2: 2. Armee; RH 23/177–180: Korück 580, Kriegstagebuch, No. 14-17: August–November 1942; RH 26-57: 57. Infanterie-Division); and DAVoO.

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NOTES

1. Eidesstattliche Erklärung v. 20.3.1948 ehem. Oberstleutnant Friedrich Seizinger (1942: Quartiermeister des Korück 580), in BArch B 162/19209, fols. 8851–8852.

2. AOK 2/Armeewirtschaftsführer v. 16.8.1942, Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, NOKW 2913.

3. 57.I.D./Ib, Tätigkeitsbericht für die Zeit v. 1.10. - 31.12.1942, in Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, NOKW 3072.

4. Ibid.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) LOLLAR

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Lollar in Lollar (map 4d) in February 1945. On March 21, a group of British and Commonwealth prisoners from Oflag XII B in Mainz was transferred to the camp, with the intention of moving them farther north; however, the nearby rail yard was struck by Allied bombers, preventing this transfer.[1] The camp guards attempted to flee on the night of March 27 but were captured by the advancing American 7th Armored Division the following day, when the camp was liberated.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about Dulag Lollar can be found in the following publications: Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War. Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954), pp. 463–464; David Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich: Germany's Captives, 1939–1945* (London: Leo Cooper, 1989), pp. 163, 170, 181; and the only other source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

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NOTES

1. Rolf, *Prisoners of the Reich*, p. 163.

2. Mason, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 463–464.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) MECHELN

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Mecheln in Mechelen, Belgium (known as Mecheln in German), in June 1940 (map 2). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 33 488 between April 28 and September 19, 1940. Dulag Mecheln closed in mid-1941, and the number was struck between February 28 and July 29, 1941.

SOURCES Primary sources exist in BA-MA, RW 59/20 and PAAA R 40820.

The only other source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

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DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) NEUBREISACH

Dulag Neubreisach existed from June until August 1940, in the eighteenth-century fortified town of Neubreisach (German)/Neuf Brisach (French), just west of the Rhine River in Alsace, France, which Germany annexed after its victory (map 4f).[1] The camp was under the control of the Twelfth Army headquarters (AOK 12) and was not part of the normal prisoner of war camp system.

Dulag Neubreisach held French prisoners. The maximum number of prisoners was as high as 70,000.[2] The treatment of the prisoners and the conditions of their confinement in the camp were satisfactory, by and large, and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929).

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Neubreisach is located in BA-MA (RH 49) and WASt Berlin.

Additional information about Dulag Neubreisach can be found in the following publications: Yves Durand, *La captivité: Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français, 1939–1945* (Paris: Fédération nationale des combattants prisonniers de guerre et combattants d'Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc, 1982); and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 65.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und*

Internierten-Einrichtungen, p. 65.

2. Ibid.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) ÖHRINGEN

The Germans established Dulag Öhringen in late 1939 in Öhringen (today Gliwice-Sośnica, Poland), about 23 kilometers (14 miles) west-northwest of Katowice (map 4e), within Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] This was an ad hoc camp, not one of the regular prisoner of war camps. It was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).

The Germans used Dulag Öhringen to hold Polish army servicemen taken prisoner in the course of the German invasion in September 1939. Information on the conditions in the camp is not available, but such camps were usually primitive at that point in the war.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Öhringen is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Wrocław.

Additional information about Dulag Öhringen can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 66; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939– 1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

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NOTE

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 66.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) REICHSHOF

Dulag Reichshof, actually a temporary prisoner of war (POW) collection camp, existed briefly in the fall of 1939 in the town of Reichshof (today Rzeszów, Poland), about 147 kilometers (91.5 miles) east of Kraków (map 5). This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular POW camp system and guarded by regular troops on temporary detail.[1]

Initially, the camp operated under the authority of the Commander of the Fourteenth Army Rear Area (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 520). Later, it came under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Polen*).

The Germans used Dulag Reichshof to hold Polish army personnel taken prisoner by the Wehrmacht during the German–Polish conflict in September 1939. The prisoners lived in a school building that had previously housed a POW collection point.[2] The conditions in which the prisoners lived during their confinement were unsatisfactory. Local residents and the Polish Red Cross provided help to the prisoners. The camp was closed, and the prisoners were transferred to other camps in Germany.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Reichshof is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Rzeszów.

Additional information about Dulag Reichshof can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 66; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator*

encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 441; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 66.

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 441.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) SASSNITZ

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Sassnitz in Sassnitz, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II (map 4b). Its exact opening and closing dates are unknown, but it was in operation in May 1942.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

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DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) SCHILDBERG

The facts surrounding Dulag Schildberg are uncertain. It is believed that the Wehrmacht established the camp in September 1939 in the town of Schildberg (today Ostrzeszów, Poland) about 72 kilometers (44.5 miles) northeast of Wrocław (map 4c). Dulag Schildberg was probably a short-term collection camp, organized on an ad hoc basis and guarded by regular troops on temporary duty. It was also called a "prisoners' camp" (*Gefangenenlager*). On January 6, 1940, the Germans may have converted the camp into Stalag XXI A Schildberg.

In the fall of 1939, the camp was under the control of the Eighth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 558); later, it came under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XXI (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XXI).

The camp held Polish army prisoners of war (POWs) captured by the Germans in September 1939 as well as civilians interned by the Germans because of their participation in the defense of their towns. In total, 22,000 Polish POWs and 12,000 members of the civilian population passed through the camp. The conditions in which the prisoners lived during their confinement were harsh, especially at the beginning of the camp's existence. Because of overcrowding in the camp and an acute shortage of accommodations, newly arriving prisoners had to live in cellars or tents or even remain outdoors. The food was scanty, and medical aid was practically nonexistent (organization of a hospital did not begin until November 1939). Later on, the prisoners' conditions of confinement improved somewhat.

In the camp, there was a constant effort to recruit civilians and POWs for work in Germany. At the same time, Polish Jewish officers were sent to special Jewish camps, while "suspicious"

Poles were sent to concentration camps.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Schildberg is located in the Archive of the Instytut Zachodni–Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy im. Zygmunta Wojciechowskiego, Poznań, and the Archive of the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej– Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Warsaw.

Additional information about Dulag Schildberg can be found in the following publications: Stanisław Goebel, "Oboz jeńcow wojennych w Ostrzeszowie (1939–1945)," *Instytut Zachodni–Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy im. Zygmunta Wojciechowskiego w Poznaniu* (sygn. I. Z. Dok. III-81); Stanisław Rusak, "Obozy Wehrmachtu w okupowanym Ostrzeszowie i polsko-norweska pamięć o nich," *Łambinowicki rocznik muzealny. Jeńcy wojenni w latach II wojny światowej* 34 (2011): 68–69; Stanisław Rusak and Edmund Serwański, "Ostrzeszow i jego mieszkańcy w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in *Dzieje Ostrzeszowa*, ed. Stanisław Nawrocki (Kalisz: Kaliskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1990); and Edmund Serwański, *Obóz jeniecki w Ostrzeszowie 1939–1945* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1960).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) SOLDAU

Dulag Soldau, actually a temporary prisoner of war (POW) collection camp, was in existence from the end of September until the beginning of December 1939. This was an ad hoc camp, not a regular POW camp unit. The guards were regular troops on temporary detail. It was located in Soldau (today Działdowo, Poland), about 124 kilometers (77 miles) north-northwest of Warsaw (map 4c). The Germans dissolved the camp on December 2, 1939, by transferring the prisoners to camps in Germany.

The camp was first under the control of the Third Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 501). Later, it was under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District I (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* I).

The camp held Polish army personnel taken captive during the German invasion in September 1939, especially Polish soldiers who were captured during the defense of the city of Modlin. The Germans housed the prisoners in former barracks of the Polish 32nd Infantry Regiment. Detailed information on conditions in the camp is not available, but they are likely to have been primitive at that early stage in the war.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Soldau is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; the *Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu* (Warsaw); and the State Archive Olsztyn.

Additional information about Dulag Soldau can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p.

66; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 164; and Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) TARNÓW

The Wehrmacht established Dulag Tarnów, actually a temporary prisoner of war (POW) collection camp, on September 12, 1939, in Tarnów, Poland, about 74 kilometers (46 miles) east of Kraków (map 5). This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular POW camp system, and guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The Germans dissolved the camp at the end of October, by transferring the prisoners to camps in Germany.[1]

In September 1939, the camp was under the control of the Fourteenth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 520). Later, it was under the authority of the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Polen*).

The Germans used the camp to hold Polish army personnel taken prisoner during the German invasion in September 1939. The prisoners (around 4,000 people) were housed in a school building. Hunger and starvation were rampant in the camp. Local residents and the Polish Red Cross provided assistance to the prisoners.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Tarnów is located in BA-MA (RH 49); WASt Berlin; and the State Archive Kraków.

Additional information about Dulag Tarnów can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 67; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), pp. 515–516; Juliusz

Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972).

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTES

1. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 516.
2. Ibid.

DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) WADOWICE

Dulag Wadowice, actually a temporary prisoner of war (POW) collection camp, existed briefly in the fall of 1939 in the town of Wadowice, 37 kilometers (23 miles) southwest of Kraków, Poland (map 5). This was an ad hoc camp, not part of the regular POW camp system, and guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The Germans disbanded the camp at the end of 1939 and transferred the prisoners to camps in Germany.

Initially, the camp was under the authority of the Fourteenth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 520), and then the Armed Forces Commander Poland (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Polen*).

The camp was intended for confinement of Polish army personnel taken prisoner during the German invasion of September 1939. No details on conditions in the camp are available, but conditions were probably primitive, especially at this early stage of the war. The prisoners made numerous attempts to escape.

SOURCES Primary source material about Dulag Wadowice is located in BA-MA (RH 49), in Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) Berlin, and the State Archive in Kraków (Poland).

Additional information about Dulag Wadowice can also be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 67; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich. 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 536; Juliusz Pollack, *Jeńcy polscy w hitlerowskiej niewoli* (Warsaw: MON, 1986); and

Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław; Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1972).

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DURCHGANGSLAGER (DULAG) WEST

In July 1944, the German army reserved two large halls belonging to Frontstalag 133, sited in Morancez, just south of Chartres (map 2), for prisoners arriving from the Normandy front. These prisoners, who spent only a few days in this camp, were housed completely separately from the regular Frontstalag prisoners. Most of the Dulag prisoners were sent on to Dulag Châlons-sur-Marne and later to Germany.

An International Committee of the Red Cross inspector found that Dulag West held 1,554 prisoners on July 18, 1944, including 617 Americans, 516 British, and 1 Free French soldier (the remaining 420 prisoners had just arrived the night before the visit and had not yet been registered by nationality). The Dulag had an inadequate water supply because a water pipe had been damaged during an air raid. The German commander explained that the Dulag should have been installed in a different location offering better accommodations, and he apologized for the shortcomings of the camp. Yet, overall, the conditions in Dulag West were good. A French physician, Dr. Malaspina, provided good medical care for the prisoners. The prisoners asked only for more cigarettes, arguing that they needed to smoke after hard fighting and long, arduous marches. The camp commander, at the suggestion of the inspector, agreed to distribute stockpiled cigarettes to the prisoners. The food supply was good at the time of the visit because some packages sent to Morancez for distribution to other camps could not be delivered because of transport difficulties and, therefore, were opened and distributed in Morancez.[1]

Dulag West likely was closed in early August 1944. The first Allied troops arrived in the area on August 15, and Chartres was liberated four days later.

SOURCES Primary source information about Dulag West can be found in TNA (WO 224/57).

NOTE

1. Camp inspection, Dulag West, Chartres-Morancez, by Dr. de Morsier, July 18, 1944, TNA, WO 224/57.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) ATHEN

KGL Athen existed in September and October 1943 and deployed in the city of Athens, Greece, in the Gudikaserne (map 8).[1] The camp was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

The Germans created the camp to confine Italian military prisoners temporarily. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Athen is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Athen can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Qu., 17. und 30.9.1943 (BA-MA, RH 31 X/7)..

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) CESENA

KGL Cesena existed in September and October 1943 and was deployed in Cesena, a city in the Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy, about 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Bologna (map 6).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Military Commander of Upper Italy (*Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien*)/ General Commander (*Generalkommando*) Witthöft, under Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) B.

The Germans intended to use the camp to confine Italian military prisoners temporarily. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Cesena is located in BA-MA (Heeresgruppe B; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien; RH 24-73).

Additional information about KGL Cesena can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 240; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien (Generalkommando Witthöft) Qu/Qu 1 No. 41/43 g.Kdos., H.Qu., 5.10.1943, Betr.: Sicherstellung von Auffanglagern (BA-MA, RH 24-73/14).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) CORFU

Despite its designation, KGL Corfu was an ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system, and it was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp existed in the fall of 1943 on the Greek island of Corfu/Kérkyra in the Ionian Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Corfu/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German troops of the 1st Gebirgs-Division/Einsatzgruppe Corfu occupied the island on September 27, 1943. They immediately shot 30 Italian officers from the *Acqui* and *Parmi* divisions, and, over the days that followed, they shot an unknown number of other officers from those divisions. By order of the commander of the XXII Army Corps (General Hubert Lanz), their bodies were not buried but thrown into the sea.[1]

The remaining Italian prisoners (more than 9,000) were confined in a specially created camp until they could be taken to the Greek mainland. The conditions in which the prisoners were kept were satisfactory, by and large, and mainly in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The camp administration and guards treated the prisoners properly.

In the fall of 1943, the prisoners were transferred in groups to the Greek mainland. For example, on September 30, 1,588 POWs were transferred,[2] and, on October 14, 2,000 were taken to the mainland.[3] On October 20, 1,200 POWs still remained on the island,[4] and they soon were transported to the mainland as well.

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Corfu can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich*

1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); and Mario Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane nel settembre–ottobre 1943* (Rome: l'Ufficio, 1975).

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NOTES

1. Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane*, pp. 521–522.
2. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.
3. Ibid., p. 282.
4. Ibid.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) DÜNKIRCHEN

The Wehrmacht established KGL Dünkirchen in Dunkirk on September 4, 1944 (map 2). The unit was officially disbanded on the date of Dunkirk's capitulation, May 8, 1945. It was apparently not part of the normal prisoner of war camp system but was run on an ad hoc basis and guarded by regular troops.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) EUBÖA

Despite its designation, KGL Euböa was an ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system, and it was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. It existed from September to October 1943 on the Greek island of Euboea (German: Euböa) in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Euboea/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German troops occupied the island in early September 1943 and created a temporary camp, into which they placed the approximately 6,000 Italian military personnel who were stationed there, pending their transfer to the Greek mainland in late October. Details on conditions in the camp are not available, but given German attitudes toward their erstwhile allies, life in the camp is likely to have been harsh.

On September 12, 1943, 3,000 POWs were taken to Saloniki (today Thessaloniki, Greece) by ship,[1] and, on October 28 and 30, 1943, respectively, 501 prisoners were transported to Saloniki and 2,500 to Piraeus.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Euböa can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 282.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) FLORENZ

KGL Florenz existed in September and October 1943 and was deployed in Florence, the capital of the province of Tuscany, Italy (map 6). In October 1943, the Germans converted the camp into a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) of Stalag 337 in Mantua.[1] The camp was subordinate to the Military Commander of Upper Italy (*Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien*)/General Command (*Generalkommando*) Witthöft, in Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) B.

The Germans designated KGL Florenz for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Florenz is located in BA-MA (Heeresgruppe B; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien) (BA-MA, RH 24-73/14).

Additional information about KGL Florenz can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 240; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien (Generalkommando Witthöft) Qu/Qu 1 No. 41/43 g.Kdos., H.Qu., 5.10.1943, Betr.: Sicherstellung von Auffanglagern (BA-MA, RH 24-73/14).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) FORLI

KGL Forli existed in September and October 1943 and was deployed in Forli, a city in the Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy (the capital of the province of Forli-Cesena, about 64 kilometers [40 miles] southeast of Bologna) (map 6).[1] It was subordinate to the Military Commander of Upper Italy (*Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien*)/General Command (*Generalkommando*) Witthöft, which was part of Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) B.

KGL Forli was designated for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. No details regarding conditions in the camp have come to light, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Forli is located in BA-MA (Heeresgruppe B; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien, RH 24-73/14).

Additional information about KGL Forli can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 240; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien (Generalkommando Witthöft) Qu/Qu 1 No. 41/43 g.Kdos., H.Qu., 5.10.1943, Betr.: Sicherstellung von Auffanglagern (BA-MA, RH 24-73/14).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) HÖVIK

The Wehrmacht established KGL Hövik at Hövik (Norwegian: Høvik, today part of Bærum, Oslo) (map 3). Little information on the camp is available, including its opening and closing dates.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) JERSEY

The Wehrmacht established KGL Jersey on August 15, 1943, on the island of Jersey, on Pier Road (map 1).[1] Jersey is one of several islands in the English Channel, close to the coast of Normandy, that are British possessions (known collectively as the Channel Islands). From 1940 to 1945, however, German forces occupied it. British troops liberated the island on May 9, 1945. The camp was subordinate to the Commander, Jersey/Field Command (*Feldkommandantur*) 515, and, above that, to the Commander, Channel Islands (*Befehlshaber Kanalinseln*), whose headquarters was deployed on the island of Jersey, initially, but, from 1943 on, was based on the island of Guernsey.

The first prisoners in the camp were 115 French North African soldiers, who were brought to Jersey from France and the island of Alderney (also part of the Channel Islands). Then, 16 American servicemen (mainly naval personnel) were placed in the camp; this number later increased to 21.[2] Also in the camp were British and, possibly, some Soviet prisoners. The maximum number of prisoners in the camp was 300.[3] The prisoners' conditions of confinement were satisfactory, on the whole. A Red Cross inspector visited the camp on February 15, 1945. He reported that the living conditions in the camp were decent: the barracks were well ventilated and heated, the prisoners had sufficient bedding, and the kitchen and sanitary facilities were adequate. The prisoners received the same food rations as the Wehrmacht soldiers stationed on the island, and medical care was provided by a Wehrmacht doctor. However, many of the prisoners no longer had the clothes they were wearing at the time of their capture, and the inspector noted that it would be prudent to send them additional clothes. The inspector concluded that his impression of the camp was "not unfavorable."[4]

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Jersey is located in NARA (RG 389: Records of World War II Prisoners of War, Box 2145).

Additional information about KGL Jersey can be found in the following publications: Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands under German Rule, 1940–45* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996); Audrey Falle, *Slaves of the Third Reich: Jersey 1940–1945* (self-published, 1994); Michael Ginns, *Jersey Occupied: The German Armed Forces in Jersey 1940–1945* (Jersey: Channel Island, 2009); Sonia Hillsdon, *Jersey Occupation Remembered* (Seaflower Books, 2004); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 178; Ralph Mollet, *The German Occupation of Jersey, 1940–1945—Notes on the General Conditions. How the Population Fared* (St. Helier: Societé Jersiaise, 1954); Nan Le Ruez, *Jersey Occupation Diary: Her Story of the German Occupation, 1940–45* (Seaflower Books, 2003); Paul Sanders, *The British Channel Islands under German Occupation, 1940–1945* (Jersey Heritage Trust, 2005); *The Occupation of Jersey Day by Day—The Personal Diary of Deputy Edward Lee Quesne* (Jersey: La Haule Books, 1999); Barry Turner, *Outpost of Occupation: The Nazi Occupation of the Channel Islands 1940–45* (London: Aurum, 2010); and Horace Wyatt, *Jersey in Jail, 1940–1945* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 1991).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 178.

2. Report of the International Red Cross (February 15, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2145.

3. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 178.

4. Report of the International Red Cross (February 15, 1945), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2145.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KALAMATA

KGL Kalamata was an ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system, and it was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp existed in late April and early May 1941,[1] and again in September and October 1943.[2] It was deployed in southern Greece, in the town of Kalamata (map 8).

In 1941, KGL Kalamata was subordinate to the XL Army Corps of the Twelfth Army. In 1943, the camp was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

In the spring of 1941, the camp held English, Australian, and New Zealander soldiers captured by the Germans in late April 1941 in southern Greece; their number reached 10,000. The prisoners' conditions of confinement in the camp were unsatisfactory. A shortage of water and food was constantly felt in the camp, and there was practically no medical aid. As a result, infectious diseases sprang up.[3]

In the fall of 1943, the Germans used the camp to confine Italian military prisoners temporarily.[4] The prisoners' conditions of confinement were satisfactory, by and large, and basically in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The camp administration and guards treated the prisoners properly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Kalamata is located in BA-MA (AOK 12, Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Kalamata can be found in the following publications: Yoav Gelber, "Palestinian POWs in German Captivity," *Yad Vashem Studies* 14 (1981); and Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen*

Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Verges-sen (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Gelber, "Palestinian POWs in German Captivity," pp. 93–94.
2. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Abt. 1a-01, No. 1282/43 geh., 22. 9.1943, an Heeresgruppe E 1a/01, BAMA, RH 31 X/2.
3. Gelber, "Palestinan POWs in German Captivity."
4. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KARPATHOS

KGL Karpathos was one of several ad hoc collection camps in Greece and was not part of the regular prisoner of war camp system. The guards were regular army troops on temporary detail. The camp existed from the fall of 1943 until the spring of 1944 and was deployed on the Greek island of Karpathos in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Karpathos/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

The Germans used the camp to confine Italian military personnel temporarily. No details on conditions in the camp are available. In the fall of 1943 and in the winter of 1943– 1944, the prisoners were transferred in groups to the Greek mainland.

SOURCES Additional information on KGL Karpathos can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KEFALLENIA

KGL Kefallenia existed from the end of September 1943 until January 1944; it was deployed on the Greek island of Kefallenia (Kephallonia, Kefalonia, or Cephalonia) in the Ionian Sea (map 8). It was subordinated to the German commandant of the island of Kefallenia/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

The German 1st Mountain Division/Task Group Hirschfeld (*1. Gebirgs-Division/Einsatzgruppe Hirschfeld*) occupied the island in the second half of September 1943. There were around 11,000 Italian troops on the island at that time. Of that number, about 2,500 were killed in action or shot and killed as "traitors." The Italians who were taken prisoner (around 8,000 in all) were held in this specially created camp until their transfer to the Greek mainland. Of that number, 6,703 men (according to official German reports) were taken by ship. Approximately 1,564 drowned when ships were blown up by mines; 476 were rescued and sent off again, so the number of prisoners actually taken to the mainland was approximately 5,139. In addition, approximately 300 others were taken off the island in small groups. About 1,286 more remained on the island as forced laborers, and the Germans used around 300 to form four construction companies (*Baukompanien*). Finally, around 200 prisoners went into hiding with the help of Greeks and then joined the resistance.[1]

As early as September 28, 1943, 840 prisoners departed by ship for the Greek mainland: the ship struck a mine and sank, and 120 were rescued.[2] On October 13, 1943, two ships carried 1,500 prisoners: one of these vessels (*Marguerita*), with 900 prisoners on board, also sank, and 356 were rescued.[3] On October 17 and 20, 1943, respectively, the Germans sent 2,000 and 1,150 prisoners to the mainland.[4] On November 2, 1943, 724 were sent, and, on December 30, 1943, 102.[5] Finally, on January 6, 1944, the *Alma* carried another small number of prisoners; the ship sank, and no

rescues or number of prisoners drowned were recorded.[6]

SOURCES Primary source information about KGL Kefallenia is located in BA-MA (RH 28-1/11) and BArch B 162/20797– 20800.

Additional information about KGL Kefallenia and the occupation of the island can be found in the following publications: Nicholas Farrell, *Mussolini: A New Life* (Phoenix, 2004), pp. 423–428; G. Fricke, "Das Unternehmen des XXII. Gebirgsarmeekorps gegen die Inseln Kefalonia und Korfu im Rahmen des Falles 'Achse' (September 1943)," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, I/1967; Ralph Klein, Regina Mentner, and Stephan Stracke, eds., *Mörder unterm Edelweiss. Dokumentation des Hearings zu den Kriegsverbrechen der Gebirgsjäger* (Köln: PapyRossa, 2004); Hermann Frank Meyer, *Blutiges Edelweiss. 1. Gebirgs-Division im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2008); and Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Meyer, *Blutiges Edelweiss*, pp. 417–423. According to other data (G. Fricke, "Das Unternehmen des XXII. Gebirgsarmeekorps"; Farrell, *Mussolini*; Klein, Mentner, and Stracke, eds., *Mörder unterm Edelweiss*), around 1,300 Italian troops died in action; 189 officers and about 5,000 noncommissioned officers and men were shot on the spot; and 280 additional officers were executed later. According to a wireless message from the XXII. A.K. to Armeegruppe E on September 24, 1943, approximately 4,000 Italians were killed in action or executed, and approximately 5,000 Italians were taken prisoner (BA-MA, RH 28-1/11). See also Tötung kriegsgefangener italienischer Offiziere und Mannschaften der Division "Aqui" auf der Insel Kefalonia (Griechenland) im

September 1943 durch deutsche Truppen, BArch B 162/20797–20800.

2. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.

3. Ibid., p. 282.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 283–284.

6. Ibid., p. 285..

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KIELCE

KGL Kielce, a collection camp (*Sammellager*), existed from the spring of 1942 until the end of 1944. The camp was deployed in former army barracks on the outskirts of the town of Kielce, about 100 kilometers (63 miles) north-northeast of Krakau (today Kraków, Poland), in the Generalgouvernement Poland (map 5).

In terms of administration and management, the camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander in the Generalgouvernement Poland (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement Polen*)/Commander of Prisoners of War (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen*), but it also answered to the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (*Ostministerium*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were identified by Germans in other POW camps as potential collaborators. In KGL Kielce, the Germans tested the prisoners' suitability as propagandists and as various kinds of administrative and managerial workers in organizations that the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories created in occupied Soviet territory and in Germany itself. After careful testing, the prisoners selected for further training were released from captivity and transferred to appropriate training camps of the occupied eastern territories.[1]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Kielce can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2003), pp. 231–232; and A. V. Okorokov, *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkii put'," 2007).

Alexander Kruglov

NOTE

1. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, pp. 231–232.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KOS

KGL Kos was not part of the regular prisoner of war (POW) camp system but rather an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp existed from October 1943 until March 1944, on the Greek island of Kos in the Aegean Sea (map 8). The camp was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Kos/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

The Germans (22nd Infantry Division/Kampfgruppe Müller) occupied Kos on October 3, 1943. They took more than 1,000 British troops and more than 3,000 Italian troops prisoner. They separated the British from the Italians and placed them in a separate camp, in which their treatment was strictly in keeping with the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). As for the Italians, the Germans immediately separated the officers from the enlisted men and placed them in a barracks near the village of Linopotis. The following day, the Germans shot the officers in the nearest field, where they had been forced to dig their own grave; there were approximately 100 victims.[1] Between October 1943 and March 1944, the Germans transferred the remaining prisoners in groups to the Greek mainland by ship.

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Kos can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); and Mario Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane nel settembre–ottobre 1943* (Rome: l'Ufficio, 1975).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane*, p. 552.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) KRETA

In June 1941, the Germans established a complex of five camps on the island of Crete, near Galatas and Canea (map 8), to hold Allied prisoners of war (POWs) until they could be transferred to the Greek mainland and from there sent to Germany.[1] They dissolved the camps in early 1942, with the departure of the last of the prisoners. The camps were subordinate to *Armeeoberkommando* (AOK) 12, at first, and then to the Commander South Greece (*Befehlshaber Südgriechenland*) and Commandant of Fortress Crete (*Kommandant der Festung Kreta*). The camp's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) was 46 234. KGL Kreta was also referred to in some documents as Dulag Kreta.

The camps held British, Australian, New Zealander, and Greek POWs. The prisoners' conditions of confinement were unsatisfactory. There was a constant shortage of water and food, and, initially, there was practically no medical aid. Most of the prisoners lived outdoors, with no overcoats or proper clothing. The Red Cross was not granted access to the camps until early 1942. The Germans separated the prisoners according to nationality. There was a resistance movement, which primarily took the form of attempted escapes, many of which were successful: with the help of the local populace, escapees used stolen boats to get to the Greek mainland.[2]

As early as June 1941, the Germans moved the first group of prisoners to Dulag Corinth, and 6,500 prisoners remained on Crete. In early July 1941, 2,300 of them were transferred through Dulag Saloniki to Germany, and, one week later, 1,900 others followed. Then, an epidemic interrupted the shipment of prisoners to Germany, which did not resume until early October 1941. At the end of 1941, only 100 prisoners remained in the camps.[3]

The Germans reactivated the camp complex in December 1944,

and it remained open until Germany capitulated in May 1945. As part of the complex, the Germans established a hospital camp (*Lazarett*) on June 9, 1941. They liquidated it at the end of September.[4] The hospital camp was under the authority of the commandant of the island of Crete, the commander of the German forces on the island. This was the commander of the XI Fliegerkorps, General Kurt Student, who also—on his own initiative—called himself the "governor" of the island of Crete.[5]

The hospital camp held wounded and sick British, Australian, New Zealander, and Greek military personnel. There were up to 220 beds in the hospital camp, and the sick and wounded prisoners were tended by British doctors and medical orderlies. More than 1,200 prisoners passed through the hospital, 23 of whom died. In July–September 1941, all the prisoners were evacuated in batches to the camp in the city of Saloniki (Thessaloniki).[6]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL/Dulag Kreta can be found in the following publications: Yoav Gelber, "Palestinian POWs in German Captivity," *Yad Vashem Studies* XIV (1981), 100–101, Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 178.

Additional information about the camp hospital can be found in the following publication: Thomas Duncan Mac-Gregor Stout, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45. Medical Services in New Zealand and the Pacific. In Royal New Zealand Navy, Royal New Zealand Air Force and with Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1958), pp. 112–115.

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NOTES

1. Gelber, "Palestinian POWs," p. 100.

2. Ibid., pp. 100–101.

3. Ibid.

4. Stout, *Official History*, pp. 112, 115.

5. Franz Halder, *Kriegstagebuch. Tägliche Aufzeichnungen des Chefs des Generalstabes des Heeres 1939–1942. Bd. 2. Von der geplanten Landung in England bis zum Beginn des Ostfeldzuges* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1963), entry for June 10, 1941.

6. Stout, *Official History*, pp. 113–115.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) LEIANOKLADION

KGL Leianokladion existed in September 1943 and was deployed in Greece, in the town of Leianokladion (Lianokladi, Leianokladi), 180 kilometers (112 miles) northwest of Athens, near the town of Lamia (map 8).[1] It was subordinate to Army Group South Greece/ Army Group (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland/Heeresgruppe*) E.

The Germans used the camp to temporarily confine Italian military prisoners from the area of Lamia. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Leianokladion is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Leianokladion can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Qu., 12. 9.1943 (BA-MA, RH 31 X/7).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) LEROS

KGL Leros existed from November 1943 to April 1945 on the Greek island of Leros, in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was an ad hoc prisoner of war (POW) collection camp. For part of its existence, it was not part of the regular POW camp system, and the guard force consisted of regular troops on temporary detail.

Initially, KGL Leros was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Leros/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E. Then, on December 2, 1943, it became a subcamp of Dulag 185.[1] It remained in that status until March 23, 1944. What happened in the following months is unclear (the camp may well have shut down), but, in January 1945, there was again an independent POW collection camp (*Kriegsgefangene-Sammellager*) in Leros, which ceased operation in April.[2]

Troops of the German 22nd Infantry Division/Kampfgruppe Müller occupied the island on November 16, 1943. They captured 201 British and 351 Italian officers and approximately 2,000 British and 5,000 Italian enlisted men. During the fighting for the island and immediately after its conclusion, the Germans shot 12 Italian officers.[3]

Between November 1943 and March 1944, the Germans shipped many of the prisoners to the Greek mainland, while bringing in new prisoners from other islands. The purpose of KGL Leros was to house these prisoners while they awaited transport. Detailed information about the conditions in KGL Leros is not available, but, generally speaking, the Germans treated Italian military prisoners poorly.

SOURCES Primary source information on KGL Leros as a subcamp of Dulag 185 is located in BA-MA (RW 40/185 and RH

26-1007/20).

Additional information about KGL Leros can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943– 1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); and Mario Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane nel settembre–ottobre 1943* (Rome, 1975).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RW 40/185.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-1007/20.
3. Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane*, p. 569; Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 184.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) LORIENT

The Wehrmacht established KGL Lorient in Lorient, France, on August 5, 1944 (map 1). The unit was dissolved on May 7, 1945, just before the military forces in the city capitulated.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) MEGALOPOLIS

KGL Megalopolis existed in September and October 1943 and was located in southern Greece, in the town of Megalopolis, about 154 kilometers (96 miles) southwest of Athens (map 8).[1] The camp was subordinated to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

The Germans designated the camp for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Megalopolis is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/2: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Megalopolis can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Abt. 1a-01 No. 1282/43 geh., 22. 9.1943, an Heeresgruppe E 1a/01 (BAMA, RH 31 X/2).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) MESSOLONGION

KGL Messolongion was not part of the regular German prisoner of war (POW) camp system but rather an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp opened in October 1943 in the town of Messolongion (also known as Mesolongion and Missolonghi) (map 8).[1] It closed down later that year, then opened again from the spring of 1944 until October 1944, at the latest.[2] It was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

KGL Messolongion received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 13 347 on April 14, 1944. The number was struck on January 23, 1945.

The Germans used the camp to temporarily hold Italian military prisoners. No detailed information on conditions in the camp is available, but, generally speaking, the Germans did not treat their former allies well.

In the fall of 1943, the Germans transferred the prisoners in groups to Piraeus. No information is available on the prisoners who occupied the camp during its second period of existence.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Messolongion is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Messolongion can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 178; and Gerhard Schreiber, *Die*

italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 282.
2. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 178.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) NAXOS

KGL Naxos was an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers rather than part of the regular prisoner of war camp system. The guards were regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp existed in the second half of October 1943 on the Greek island of Naxos, in the Aegean Sea (map 8). The camp was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Naxos/ Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German forces occupied Naxos on October 12, 1943. They imprisoned the Italian military personnel (approximately 500) in a specially created camp, for about two weeks, before transporting them to the Greek mainland. No details on conditions in the camp are available, but they were probably primitive at best.

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Naxos can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) NEA-KOKKINIA

KGL Nea-Kokkinia existed in September and October 1943 in the town of Nea-Kokkinia (Attika region, today Nikaia, a suburb of Athens), Greece (map 8).[1] It was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

The camp was designated for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Nea-Kokkinia is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Nea-Kokkinia can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Qu., 17. und 30. 9.1943 (BA-MA, RH 31 X/7).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) NEA-PSYCHIKON

KGL Nea-Psychikon was not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system but rather an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp existed in the fall of 1943, until September 30, in the town of Nea-Psychikon (today Neo Psychiko, part of Athens) (map 8).[1] The camp was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

No information on conditions in the camp is available. However, the Germans were not generally kind toward their former allies.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Nea-Psychikon is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Nea-Psychikon can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 253; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Qu., 17.9.1943, BA-MA, RH 31 X/7.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) NOVI PAZAR

KGL Novi Pazar was an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. As such, it was not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system. The camp existed in September 1943 and was deployed in Serbia (Sandžak region), in the town of Novi Pazar (map 7).[1] It was subordinated to the Second Armored Army (Pz. AOK 2) in Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) F.

The Germans created the camp to confine Italian military prisoners temporarily.[2] No information on conditions in the camp has emerged, but most such camps were primitive, even harsh.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Novi Pazar is located in BA-MA (Pz. AOK 2) and NARA (T-313, roll 484: Pz. AOK).

Additional information about KGL Novi Pazar can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 246.

2. Ibid.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) PATRAS

KGL Patras was not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system. Rather, it was an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp existed from September to December 1943. It was deployed in Greece, in the port city of Patras (in the northern Peloponnese), 176 kilometers (109 miles) west of Athens (map 8). The camp was subordinate to the German commandant of the town of Patras/Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German troops occupied the town in early September 1943. Pending transport to camps in Germany, the Italian military prisoners were held in the KGL. No record of conditions in the camp is available, but, generally speaking, such temporary camps for Italians tended to be spartan, at best.

By September 13, 1943, 1,000 prisoners (other sources give the number as 700) already had been taken by ship to Piraeus.[1] On November 2, 1943, 496 additional prisoners were taken by ship to Piraeus,[2] and, on December 20, 1943, the last 96 prisoners were taken there.[3]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Patras can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 283.

3. Ibid., p. 284.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) PISTOIA

KGL Pistoia existed in September and October 1943, in Pistoia, in the Tuscany region of northern Italy (map 6).[1] It was subordinated to the Military Commander Upper Italy/General Command Witthöft/Army Group (*Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien/ Generalkommando Witthöft/Heeresgruppe*) B.

The camp was intended for temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Pistoia is located in BA-MA (Heeresgruppe B; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien; RH 24-73/14).

Additional information about KGL Pistoia can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 240; Militärbefehlshaber Oberitalien (Generalkommando Witthöft) Qu/Qu 1 No. 41/43 g.Kdos., H.Qu., 5.10.1943, Betr.: Sicherstellung von Auffanglagern (BA-MA, RH 24-73/14).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) RHODOS

KGL Rhodos was not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system but rather an ad hoc collection camp for interned Italian soldiers, guarded by regular German troops on temporary detail. The camp existed on the Greek island of Rhodos (Rhodes) in the Aegean Sea from mid-September 1943 until March 1944 and again from November 2, 1944, until the end of the war (map 8). The camp was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Rhodos/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German troops (Sturmdivision Rhodos, Generalleutnant Kleemann) occupied the island on September 11, 1943. Italian service members (approximately 37,000) were held prisoner, pending transport to the Greek mainland, in the KGL, parts of which were located at several inhabited localities (Calato/Kalathos and Campochiaro/Eleousa, among others) (map 8).[1] Fifty of the Italian military prisoners were shot as a result of sentencing by a field court-martial, and 40 others were shot without a trial or inquiry.[2]

On September 22, 1943, the military prisoners (whom the Germans, in a moment of euphemism, termed "military internees" [*Militärinternierte*]) began the transfer to the Greek mainland, both by air and by sea. Thus, on that day, 709 prisoners departed for the mainland by air and 1,584 by sea. The ship carrying that latter group of prisoners foundered, and all the prisoners perished. On December 3, 1943, 23,092 internees, including 400 officers, still remained on the island. In all, from January 1 to March 5, 1944, more than 10,000 prisoners were moved to the mainland by sea.[3]

No details on conditions in the camp are available, but, in general, the Germans did not take good care of Italian prisoners, so conditions in KGL Rhodos are likely to have been harsh. There

was a resistance movement among the prisoners, which primarily took the form of attempts to escape. For example, from September 11 to December 31, 1943, 1,210 prisoners, including approximately 200 officers, managed to escape. Of the escaped prisoners, 96 were arrested by the Geheime Feldpolizei, and an undetermined number of escapees were arrested by the German Feldgendarmerie and Italian Carabinieri. Recaptured prisoners, if they showed no resistance and were not shot upon capture, were placed in a special camp at Calato/Kalathos pending transport to the mainland.[4]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Rhodos can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990); and Mario Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane nel settembre–ottobre 1943* (Rome: l'Uffizio, 1975).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, pp. 168–170.

2. Torsiello, *Le operazioni delle unita italiane*, p. 544.

3. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, pp. 277 (air transport), 281, 284–286 (sea transport).

4. Ibid., p. 169.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) ROGAVKA

The peat mining area of Rogavka, roughly 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northwest of Novgorod, was occupied by the Wehrmacht almost without interruption from the fall of 1941 to January 1944 (map 9a).[1] There, next to the plant for the extraction of peat, which the local Soviet administration had mostly demolished, lay about half a million tons of this raw material, which was important for energy and heating. Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) soon became interested in reestablishing extraction of the peat, such that its Economic Inspectorate (*Wirtschaftsinspektion*) soon declared "the exploitation of the peat supplies at Rogawka" to be its "greatest plan" in the Russian northwest.[2]

In the late summer of 1942, a camp for about 800 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) came into being in the immediate vicinity of the extraction facility; in all probability, this was a subcamp (*Aussenstelle*) of Dulag 110.[3] The prisoners, for whom the Germans provided only minimal supplies from the very beginning, had to load the available supply of peat onto railroad cars, mostly without any kind of machine assistance. The daily average work performance reached 20–30 cars loaded, that is, up to 500 tons. In July 1943, it would reach 1,000 tons.[4] The results of this lasting physical overexertion showed up not least in an increase in typhus in the camp and in a high death rate, which reached somewhat more than 10 percent per month in the summer of 1942.[5] By the summer of 1943, the living conditions had worsened. For example, during the loading work at the train station, some desperate inmates tried to secretly steal bread from Wehrmacht supplies, an offense that brought draconian punishments.[6] As a result, even the headquarters of the XXXVIII Corps, which was nearby, held that an "immediate change in the working conditions" in Rogavka was necessary.[7]

In the face of the increasingly unfavorable situation on the front, Soviet POWs were being brought to the camp more and more rarely, and, at the same time, the occupiers registered a "growing aversion to the labor recruiting for the peat patches" among the local inhabitants, so civilians were forcibly deported to KGL Rogavka.[8] Soon, through the presence of about 600 native inhabitants working there, what had been a POW camp was taking on the character of a civilian facility, supervised by the paramilitary economic organization.[9]

In the second half of 1943, the Economic Inspectorate's increasing demands for workers (the estimate was up to 2,500) finally led to a formal reorganization of the camp.[10] Responsible parties from Army Group North and the Economic Inspectorate entered into an agreement with the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service of the SS (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, BdS) Ostland on August 5, 1943, concerning a conversion of the complex into a "Security Police Prison Camp" for about 2,300 inmates. The official transfer of responsibility to the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*) took place on September 1, 1943.

SOURCES Primary sources on KGL Rogavka are mostly in BA-MA, in RW 31 and RH 22.

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NOTES

1. The Red Army liberated KGL Rogavka temporarily in January 1942, but the Wehrmacht retook it that summer. BAMA, RW 31/934, Wirtschaftskommando Dno, Kriegstagebuch (31.1.1942); Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Zwei Jahre Kriegswirtschaft im russischen Nordraum (Pleskau, 1943), p. 85.

2. BA-MA, RW 31/585, Bl. 12, Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord vom 18.12.1941, Lagebericht (1.-15.12.1941); BA-MA, RH 22/289, S. 5, Fü/M/Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Nr. 836/42 g., vom 6.8.1942, Monatsbericht (cited).

3. BA-MA, RH 22/289, Fü/M/Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Nr. 504/42, vom 6.9.1942, Monatsbericht.

4. BA-MA, RW 31/588, Bl. 55, Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Kriegstagebuch (17.2.1943); vgl. Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Zwei Jahre Kriegswirtschaft (Pleskau, 1943), p. 85.

5. BA-MA, RW 31/588, Bl. 86, Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Kriegstagebuch (25.3.1943). BA-MA, RH 22/283, Bl. 15-17, Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandant C vom 29.6.1942, Monatsbericht.

6. BA-B R 70-SU/15, Bl. 114f., Einsatzkommando 1 vom 29.6.1943, Lage- und Tätigkeitsbericht.

7. BA-MA, RH 24-38/279, IVa/XXXVIII. Armeekorps, Tätigkeitsbericht Nr. 9 (16.7.1943).

8. BA-MA, RH 22/289, S. 22, Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Nr. 637/42 g., vom 6.6.1942, Monatsbericht; BA-MA, RW 31/904, Bl. 14f., Wirtschaftskommando Opotschka, Kriegstagebuch (5.3.1943, 9.3.1943).

9. On the number of civilian workers (July 1943): Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord, Zwei Jahre Kriegswirtschaft (Pleskau, 1943), p. 113.

10. BA-MA, RW 31/1039, Wirtschaftsinspektion Nord vom 11.8.1942, Personalanforderung für Torfwerk Rogawka.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) SAMOS

Despite its designation, KGL Samos was not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system but rather an ad hoc collection camp. Regular troops on temporary detail provided the guard force. The camp was in existence from late November until mid-December 1943 on the Greek island of Samos in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Samos/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe)* E.

German forces (Battle Group—*Kampfgruppe*—Müller) occupied the island in late November 1943. At the same time, during the clearing of the island on November 27, 1943, one Italian officer and 26 men were shot as "partisans."[1] The Germans placed the remaining Italian military prisoners from the Infantry Division Cuneo (about 4,000 people) into a purpose-built camp, pending transport to the Greek mainland.[2] Details on conditions are not available, but the Germans were generally hostile toward their erstwhile allies (as the shootings indicate), so treatment in the camp was most likely to have been harsh. On December 7 and 13, 1943, respectively, 2,400 and 1,620 prisoners were taken by ship to Piraeus.[3]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Samos can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 186.

2. Ibid., pp. 186–187.

3. Ibid., p. 284.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) SANTORIN

KGL Santorin, despite its designation, was an ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system. Regular troops on temporary detail provided the guard force. The camp existed in the second half of November 1943 on the Greek island of Santorini (officially known as Thira; German: Santorin) in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Santorin/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German forces occupied the island in November 1943. They held Italian military prisoners (approximately 1,000 people) for about two weeks in a specially created camp before transferring them to the Greek mainland. Details on conditions in the camp are not available, although, in general, the Germans did not treat their erstwhile allies well. On November 27 and 30, 1943, respectively, 643 and 350 prisoners from KGL Santorin were taken by ship to Piraeus.[1]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Santorin can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 283.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) SPLIT

Despite its designation, KGL Split was a temporary, ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular German prisoner of war (POW) camp system. Regular troops on temporary detail comprised the guard force. The camp existed for several weeks, beginning in late September 1943, in the port city of Split (Italian: Spalato), in present-day Croatia (Dalmatia) (map 7). It was subordinate to the German commandant of Split, under the Second Armored Army (Pz. AOK 2) in Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) F.

The camp was intended for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners. German forces of the SS-Division "Prinz Eugen" captured Split on September 27, 1943. At this time, the Germans captured 300 officers and 9,000 men from the Italian Infantry Division Bergamo. Pending transfer to POW camps in Germany, the Italian prisoners (enlisted ranks) were confined in the camp, which was actually located in several places in the city and its environs, while the officers were moved to Sinj (Italian: Signo; German: Zein), where 49 of them, including three general officers, were shot for "treason." Details on conditions for the prisoners are not available, but, as the shootings indicate, the Germans were not inclined to be humane with their erstwhile allies.

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Split can be found in the following publication: Menachem Shelah, "Die Ermordung italienischer Kriegsgefangener, September– November 1943," in *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944*, ed. Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger, 1995).

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KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) SAINT-NAZAIRE

The Wehrmacht established KGL Saint-Nazaire in Saint-Nazaire, France, on August 5, 1944 (map 1). The unit was dissolved on May 10, 1945, when Allied forces occupied Saint-Nazaire.

SOURCES The only source available on this camp is to be found in Rüdiger Overmans, Reinhard Otto, and Wolfgang Vogt (eds.), *Das Kriegsgefangenenwesen der Wehrmacht* (forthcoming).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) SYROS

Its designation notwithstanding, KGL Syros was a temporary, ad hoc collection camp, rather than a part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system, and regular troops on temporary detail provided the guard force. The camp existed from mid-September to mid-October 1943 on the Greek island of Syros (also known as Siros or Syra) in the Aegean Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Syros/Admiral Aegean (*Admiral Ägäis*)/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German forces occupied the island in mid-September 1943. They took the Italian military personnel prisoner and held them in the specially created camp for about one month. Details on conditions are not available, but the Germans generally treated their erstwhile allies poorly. As early as September 18 and 30, 1943, respectively, 1,100 and 200 prisoners were taken by ship to Piraeus,[1] and, by October 15, 1943, the number of prisoners transferred totaled 3,176.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Syros can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 282.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) THEBEN

KGL Theben existed in September 1943 in the town of Thebes, about 67 kilometers (42 miles) northwest of Athens (map 8).[1] It was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

The camp was intended for the temporary confinement of Italian military prisoners from the area of Thebes and the island of Euboea. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Theben is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/7: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Theben can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Qu., 12. 9.1943 (BA-MA, RH 31 X/7).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) TRIPOLIS

KGL Tripolis existed in September and October 1943 in southern Greece, in the town of Tripolis (Tripoli, Tripolitsa), about 130 kilometers (81 miles) southwest of Athens (map 8).[1] The camp was subordinate to Army Group South Greece (*Armeegruppe Südgriechenland*).

The camp was intended for the temporary confinement of Italian military internees. No details regarding conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans generally treated Italian military prisoners harshly.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Tripolis is located in BA-MA (RH 31 X/2: Bestand Armeegruppe Südgriechenland).

Additional information about KGL Tripolis can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTE

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 252; Tätigkeitsbericht Armeegruppe Südgriechenland, Abt. 1a-01 No. 1282/43 geh., 22. 9.1943, an Heeresgruppe E 1a/01 (BAMA, RH 31 X/2).

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) UROŠEVAC

Despite its designation, KGL Uroševac was a temporary, ad hoc collection camp, rather than part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system, and it was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp existed in November 1943, in present-day Kosovo, in the town of Uroševac (Albanian: Ferizaj), 38 kilometers (23.6 miles) south of Priština (map 7).[1] The camp was subordinate to the Second Armored Army (Pz. AOK 2) in Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) F.

The Germans created KGL Uroševac to confine Italian military prisoners temporarily.[2] No record of conditions in the camp is available, but the Germans generally did not treat their former allies well.

SOURCES Primary source material about KGL Uroševac is located in BA-MA (Pz. AOK 2) and NARA (T-313, roll 484: Pz. AOK 2 records).

Additional information about KGL Uroševac can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 246.

2. Ibid.

KRIEGSGEFANGENENLAGER (KGL) ZAKYNTHOS

KGL Zakynthos was a temporary ad hoc collection camp, not part of the regular German prisoner of war camp system, and it was guarded by regular troops on temporary detail. The camp existed from mid-September to mid-October 1943 on the Greek island of Zakynthos (also known as Zante) in the Ionian Sea (map 8). It was subordinate to the German commandant of the island of Zakynthos/Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) E.

German forces occupied the island on September 12, 1943. They held over 4,000 Italian military prisoners in the specially created camp for about one month, pending transfer to the Greek mainland. No records of conditions in the camp are available, but the Germans were not inclined to treat their former allies according to the normal standards of international law. As early as September 15, 1943, 1,700 prisoners went by ship to Piraeus,[1] and, by October 15, 1943, the Germans had transported 4,250 prisoners to the mainland.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about KGL Zakynthos can be found in the following publication: Gerhard Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten im deutschen Machtbereich 1943–1945: Verraten, Verachtet, Vergessen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).

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NOTES

1. Schreiber, *Die italienischen Militärinternierten*, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 282.

KONZENTRATIONSLAGER (KL) JARAK

The Wehrmacht established a concentration camp at the end of September 1941 in the Serbian village of Jarak (community of Sremska Mitrovica) (map 7), as the result of an order of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia (*Bevollmächtigter kommandierender General in Serbien*) dated September 23, 1941. The occasion for the creation of the camp was the firing of a machine gun and rifles at German patrols in the town of Šabac on September 23, 1941. In retribution, on September 24, 1941, the Plenipotentiary Commanding General ordered the 342nd Infantry Division to arrest all the male residents of Šabac between the ages of 14 and 70 and put them in the newly created camp north of the River Sava[1] (that is, in the village of Jarak).

Initially, the camp was under the command of the 342nd Infantry Division, and then, in accordance with orders of the Quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*) of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General dated September 25 and 27, 1941,[2] it was under the Chief of Military Administration with the Commander Serbia (*Chef der Militärverwaltung beim Befehlshaber Serbien*), General der Flieger Heinrich Danckelmann. In accordance with this order, the 64th Reserve Police Battalion took over responsibility for guarding the camp.[3]

The first prisoners in the camp were male inhabitants of the Serbian towns of Šabac and Sremska Mitrovica (6,000– 7,000 people), who were put in the camp in retaliation for an attack by partisans. Dozens of those arrested were killed while on the way to the camp.

The conditions of those held in the camp were inhumane: the food was lacking in both quantity and quality, there was no medical services, and the prisoners were constantly subjected to

humiliating treatment and beatings by the German guards and camp administrators.[4] For example, by order of the Quartermaster of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General dated September 27, 1941, the food of the prisoners, which was supposed to be provided by the 342nd Infantry Division, was to consist of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day and 200 grams of meat per week.[5] The camp was closed at the beginning of October 1941 by transferring all the prisoners to a newly created camp in the town of Šabac.

SOURCES Primary source material about KL Jarak is located in BA-MA (RH 24-18 and RH 26-342) and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv (MA 686/1).

Additional information about KL Jarak can also be found in the following publications: Venceslav Glišič, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Rad, 1970); and Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei": Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg), 1995.

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NOTES

1. Der Bevollmächtigte Kommandierende General in Serbien v. 23.9.1941, betr. Räumung von Sabac (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 194).

2. Der Bevollmächtigte Kommandierende General in Serbien, Abt. Qu, v. 25.9.1941 (BArch B 162/29101); Der Bevollmächtigte Kommandierende General in Serbien, Abt. Qu, v. 27.9.1941 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 193).

3. Der Bevollmächtigte Kommandierende General in Serbien, Abt. Qu, v. 27.9.1941 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 193).

4. On the treatment of the prisoners, see the testimony of the witness Nikolija Vičentiš on February 16, 1945, in Šabac (BArch B 162/948, pp. 65ff).

5. Der Bevollmächtigte Kommandierende General in Serbien, Abt. Qu, v. 27.9.1941 (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 193).

KONZENTRATIONSLAGER (KL) ŠABAC

The Wehrmacht established a concentration camp on September 30, 1941, in the town of Šabac (German: Schabatz), 60 kilo-meters (37.5 miles) west of Belgrade, Serbia (map 7). Despite its designation as a concentration camp, this camp was operated by the Wehrmacht and was not part of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office—*SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt*, SS-WVHA, concentration camp system.

At first, the camp was under the control of the 342nd Infantry Division (commanded by Generalleutnant Dr. Walter Hinghofer; then, from November 19, 1941, by Generalmajor Paul Hoffmann) and then of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia (*Bevollmächtigter kommandierender General in Serbien*), his Quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*), and the head of the military administration (*Militärverwaltungschef*) in Serbia, Harald Turner. The camp was guarded by a company of the 64th Reserve Police Battalion as well as Companies 4 and 6 of the 750th Infantry Regiment of the 718th Infantry Division.

Barracks located in the town were used for the camp, but in the beginning the majority of the prisoners were out in the open in an area surrounded by barbed wire. The first prisoners in the camp were male residents of Šabac, Sremska Mitrovica, and other populated areas in western Serbia, who had been arrested in retaliation for a partisan attack.

The newly created camp also received a transfer of more than 1,000 mainly Austrian Jews from an internment camp. These Jews, en route to Palestine, had been forced to stay first in the small Serbian town of Kladovo in December 1939, but, in September 1940, they managed to move to Šabac. During 1940 and 1941, around 200 of them succeeded in leaving the town, and 1,107 Jews remained there. In addition, there were 63 local Jews in the town.

After the occupation of Serbia by German troops, the foreign Jews were put in a camp for internees, while the local Jews remained free.[1] Finally, several hundred Roma ("Gypsies") were put in the camp; the occupiers also suspected them of helping the partisans. According to a report of the 342nd Infantry Division, during operations to clear the Sava-Drina river bend between September 26 and October 9, 1941, 88 partisans were killed in the fighting, 1,127 other people were shot, and 21,440 were arrested and placed in the camp.[2] To screen the civilians forced into the camp, a Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) squad headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Paul was sent there.[3] According to an SD incident report (*Ereignismeldung UdSSR* No. 119, October 20, 1941), during the first half of October, the SD examined around 8,000 persons in the camp, of whom the Wehrmacht shot 910.[4] Some of the prisoners were released. For example, according to a 10-day report of the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia dated October 20, 1941, 5,004 of the 22,658 prisoners in the camp were released after being checked.[5]

The Germans regularly selected hostages, from among the civilians in the camp, to be shot in retribution for partisan attacks on German units. The first execution of prisoners in the camp as hostages was carried out on the basis of an order from the Plenipotentiary Commanding General dated October 4, 1941. In accordance with this order, 2,100 hostages from the Šabac and Belgrade camps were to be shot for the death of 21 German soldiers near Topola on October 2, 1941 (in accordance with the OKW's 100-to-1 rule).[6] The Šabac camp was supposed to select 805 Jews and Roma to be shot.[7] However, in reality, around 400 Jews and approximately 160 Roma were shot on October 12 and 13, 1941.[8]

Up to October 24, 1941, approximately 1,000 people in total had been shot, including 90 between October 18 and 24, 1941. During this period, 891 additional people were screened in the camp, 727 were released, and 721 new prisoners were brought in. As of October 17, 1941, there were 15,724 prisoners in the camp, and, as of October 24, 1941, there were 16,445.[9]

Shootings of camp inmates as hostages also took place subsequently. For example, on November 11, 1941, the 342nd Infantry Division reported on the shooting of 129 prisoners from

the camp,[10] and, on November 20, 1941, the Plenipotentiary Commanding General ordered 385 hostages to be shot in retaliation for the losses of the 3rd Battalion of the 697th Infantry Regiment.[11]

On March 18, 1942, the Commanding General and Commander in Serbia (*Kommandierender General und Befehlshaber in Serbien*), General Paul Bader, citing an order from the Plenipotentiary Commanding General in Serbia dated February 2, 1942, gave instructions that henceforth "insurgents" (partisans) were not to be shot but rather sent to the "[Š]abac concentration camp, later Semlin [Serbian: Zemun]."[12] This order no longer had any significance for the camp, however, as it closed on March 31, 1942; the prisoners were transferred to another camp.[13]

SOURCES Primary source material about KL Šabac is located in BA-MA (RH 24-18 and RH 26-342).

Additional information about KL Šabac can also be found in the following publications: Gabriele Anderl and Walter Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht: Der jüdische "Kladovo-Transport" auf dem Weg nach Palästina 1939–1942* (Vienna: Gesellschaftskritik, 1993); Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Dis-tel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), pp. 348–349; Stanoje Filipovič, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata, 1967); Venceslav Glišič, *Teror i zločini nacističke Nemačke u Srbiji 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Rad, 1970); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 1996), pp. 38–47; Walter Manoschek, *Die Wehrmacht im Rassenkrieg: Der Vernichtungskrieg hinter der Front* (Vienna: Picus, 1996), pp. 147–167; Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei:" Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 56–79; *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933–1945): Konzentrationslager und deren*

Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten (Bad Arolsen: International Tracing Service, 1979), p. 2185; and *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština FNR Jugoslavije, 1952), pp. 40–42.

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NOTES

1. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora*, p. 40; Anderl and Manoschek, *Gescheiterte Flucht*; Manoschek, *Die Wehrmacht im Rassenkrieg*, pp. 147–167.

2. 342. I. D., Ia-Meldung v. 15.10.1941 (BA-MA, RH 26-342/11); Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 1415. According to *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* No. 108, dated October 9, 1941, "the German Wehrmacht's cleansing action in the Sabac area has thus far led to the capture of 22,000 males," who were placed in a "temporary camp" (BArch B 162/439, fol. 104).

3. Manoschek, "*Serbien ist judenfrei*," pp. 66–67.

4. BArch B 162/440, fol. 233.

5. BA-MA, RH 24-18/87.

6. Bevollmächtigter Kommandierender General in Serbien an Quartiermeisterabteilung v. 4.10.1941 (BA-MA, RH 24-18/213).

7. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 108, dated October 9, 1941.

8. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora*, p. 42.

9. Gruppe II, Stand des Lagers in Sabac (Zeit vom 18.-24.10.1941), Beograd, den 25.10.1941 (Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 561); Quartiermeister beim Bevollm. Kommandierenden General in Serbien, Beitrag für die 10-tägige Meldung, v. 30.10.1941

(Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 199).

10. Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 1415.
11. Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 191.
12. Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Archiv, Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 897.
13. *Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS*, p. 2185.

LUFTWAFFE SONDERLAGER OST

The Wehrmacht established Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost with an order on October 22, 1943, and it remained in operation until December 1944. It was located in Sudauen (today Suwałki, Poland), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) I (map 4c).

The camp was subordinated to the commander of Air District (*Luftgau*) I.

The table below shows the number of prisoners in the camp on selected dates in 1943 and 1944:[1]

Date	Officers	Enlisted men
December 1, 1943	16	16
January 1, 1944	30	30
February 1, 1944	18	18
April 1, 1944	16	16
May 1, 1944	18	18
June 1, 1944	11	11
July 1, 1944	11	11

The camp held Soviet Air Force officers. On January 1, 1944, there were 30 prisoners in the camp.[2] Specific information on conditions in the camp is not available, but indications are that they were generally good.

SOURCES Primary source material about Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost is located in BA-MA (RL 23); and BArch B 162/18251.

Additional information about Luftwaffe Sonderlager Ost can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987); Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy*

hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 482.

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NOTES

1. The table is based on the following source: OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, in BArch B 162/18251 (Bestandsmeldungen Kriegsgefangenen/Oflag-Stalag).

2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 482.

SONDERLAGER ABTEILUNG FREMDE HEERE OST

The special camp (*Sonderlager*) Foreign Armies East (a.k.a. Sonderlager FHO) existed between 1942 and 1944, or possibly until the end of the war. The prisoners were technically under the control of the Army High Command, Army General Staff, Foreign Armies East Branch (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, *Generalstab des Heeres*, *Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost*), which handled intelligence on the eastern front, since they had originally come from FHO interrogation camps. However, the camp (or, more accurately perhaps, facility) was run by the Armed Forces High Command, Armed Forces Propaganda Branch (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, *Abteilung Wehrmacht Propaganda*), Section IV, which dealt with foreign propaganda: in this context, propaganda aimed at the Soviets. The camp was located in Berlin, in a villa at Victoriastrasse 10 (map 4b).

The Germans used the camp to hold prominent Soviet prisoners of war (POWs; maximum number: 50), who were prepared and trained for use as propagandists.[1] In the fall of 1942, the famous (or infamous) Lieutenant General Andrei Vlasov was placed in this camp. Besides Vlasov, the camp also held Colonel Vladimir Boiarskii, General Vasilii Malyshkin, General Georgii Zhilenkov, and Major General Ivan Blagoveshchenskii, among others.[2]

Because the Germans wanted to elicit and maintain the prisoners' cooperation, the conditions in the camp were generally good, especially compared to those for normal Soviet POWs. The camp administration and guards behaved correctly toward the prisoners, and the food and housing were satisfactory. Unfortunately, no further information on the camp's operation is available.

SOURCES Primary source material about Sonderlager Abteilung

Fremde Heere Ost is located in BA-MA (RW 6).

Additional information about Sonderlager Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 177; and Matthias Schröder, "Deutschbaltische Offiziere im Zweiten Weltkrieg und ihre politischen Initiativen für General Vlasov," in *Deutschbalten, Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich*, vol. 2, ed. Michael Garleff (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), p. 339.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 177.

2. Schröder, "Deutschbaltische Offiziere," p. 339.

SONDERLAGER BOYEN

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) existed from 1942 to 1944 in the Boyen Fortress near the town of Lötzen (today Giżycko, Poland) (map 4c). The camp was subordinate to the Army High Command, Foreign Armies East Branch (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, *Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost*) as well as to the commander of the eastern volunteer units of the Wehrmacht, General der Kavallerie Ernst-August Köstring.

Sonderlager Boyen held captured Soviet officers (maximum number: around 100), whom the Germans subjected to interrogation for the purpose of obtaining important information about the Red Army.[1] Not infrequently, torture was a central element of these interrogations. The Germans also used a carrot-and-stick method to recruit captured officers for collaboration. Those who refused to collaborate were sent to a prison in the town of Rhein (today Ryn, Poland). The prisoners who agreed to collaborate were placed in a separate sector of the fortress, where a dining room, a movie theater, and a library were available. From July 16 until September 4, 1942, the former commander of the Second Shock Army (*2-aia udarnaia armiia*), Lieutenant General (*general-leitenant*) Andrei Vlasov—the future commander of the Russian Army of Liberation—was in the camp.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about Sonderlager Boyen can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 177; and Jürgen Thorwald, *Die Illusion: Rotarmisten in Hitlers Heeren* (Zürich: Droemer-Knaur, 1974).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 177.

2. For details, see Thorwald, *Die Illusion*.

SONDERLAGER DABENDORF

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) was in existence from March 1, 1943, until February 28, 1945. The camp was deployed near the village of Dabendorf, 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of Berlin, on the site of a former camp for French prisoners of war (POWs) (map 4b). It was administratively subordinate to the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but, with regard to its special purpose, it was subordinate to several organizations simultaneously: the Armed Forces High Command, Armed Forces Propaganda Branch (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, *Abteilung Wehrmacht Propaganda*), Section IV, responsible for foreign propaganda; the Eastern Propaganda Branch for Special Purposes (*Ostpropagandaabteilung zur besonderern Verwendung*); the Army High Command, Foreign Armies East Branch (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, *Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost*), and the commander of the eastern volunteer units of the Wehrmacht, General der Kavallerie Ernst-August Köstring.

The German head of the camp was Hauptmann Wilfried Strik-Strikfeldt (1897–1977). The Russian heads of the camp, in turn, were Major General Ivan Blagoveshchenskii (February to August 1943), Major General Fedor Trukhin (August 1943 to October 1944), and Podpolkovnik of the Russian Army of Liberation (ROA) G. A. Pshenichnyi (October 1944 to April 1945). The permanent camp personnel included 54 officers, 11 noncommissioned officers, and 44 enlisted men.

The camp's main contingent was made up of Red Army officers and men; these POWs had been specially selected in POW camps and were being trained as propagandists for units of the ROA and for the eastern units of the Wehrmacht. They filled out special questionnaires and took an oath of loyalty to Germany. During the training, they received money, clothing, and food allowances, just as German army soldiers did. The main ideological task of the training was reeducation of Red Army POWs, to turn them into

convinced opponents of Stalin's regime. The instructional program included: methods and practices of propagandistic activity; political exercises on these topics—"Germany," "Russia and Bolshevism," and "The Russian Liberation Movement"; drill and physical training; and weapons training (from the end of 1943). The course of lectures amounted to criticizing the existing system in the USSR and convincing the trainees of the good prospects of the Vlasov movement. On the grounds of the camp were located two ROA newspapers: *Zaria* (*Dawn*) and *Dobrovolets* (*The volunteer*). On April 12, 1943, at the initiative of Major M. A. Zykov, a conference was held at the camp: the First Anti-Bolshevist Conference of Former Red Army Men and Officers, in which more than 600 people participated. In total, between 1943 and 1945, as many as 5,000 POWs passed through Dabendorf, and 12 graduations were held.

SOURCES Additional information about Sonderlager Dabendorf can be found in the following publications: K. M. Aleksandrov, "K istorii Dabendorfskoi shkoly ROA," in *Russkie soldaty Vermakhta: Geroi ili predateli* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2005), pp. 143–168; S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2003), pp. 242–248; and Wilfried Strik-Strikfeldt, *Against Stalin and Hitler: Memoir of the Russian Liberation Movement, 1941–1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

SONDERLAGER IBBENBÜREN

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) existed from the end of 1941 until March 1945. The camp was deployed 0.5 kilometers (0.3 miles) from the town of Ibbenbüren (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] west of Osnabrück) in a specially built barracks installation (map 4a). Officially, the name of the camp was Sonderlager 1750.

Administratively and managerially, the camp was subordinate to the commanding officer of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VI, but, for its special purpose, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces High Command/Office of Counterintelligence (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht/Amt Abwehr*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) who were natives of Ukraine and whom the Germans had specially selected in POW camps as potential collaborators. In Sonderlager Ibbenbüren, the Germans evaluated the prisoners' worth as propagandists and counterintelligence agents, for use in the occupied territory of Ukraine and in Germany itself, in POW work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*), and in camps for eastern workers (*Ostarbeiter*).

SOURCES Additional information about the Sonderlager Ibbenbüren can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2003), pp. 248–249; and A. V. Okorokov, *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkii put'," 2007).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

SONDERLAGER KOMOTAU

Information on this special camp (*Sonderlager*) is sparse. It existed between 1943 and 1945 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV, in the town of Komotau (today Chomutov, Czech Republic) (map 4e). The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV).

The camp held French officers whose names were found on the rolls of the Deuxième Bureau (French military intelligence service) and who were arrested after German troops occupied the southern part of France in November 1942. The number of officers in the camp reached 300. The ranking officer was General Altmeyer. Among the officers were Pierre de Gaulle (the brother of General Charles de Gaulle), seven prefects, Michel Clemenceau, Colonel François de la Roque, and Leon Jouhaux. The camp also held a number of senior civil servants as internees.

The treatment of the prisoners and the conditions of their confinement in the camp were satisfactory, by and large, and in compliance with the main provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929). The exact number of prisoners who passed through the camp is not known.

SOURCES Primary source information about Sonderlager Komotau can be found in TsAMO.

Additional information about the Sonderlager Komotau can be found in the following publication: Ministère de la Guerre, État-Major de l'Armee, 5ème Bureau, *Documentation sur les Camps de Prisonniers de Guerre* (Paris, 1945), p. 114.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

SONDERLAGER WUHLHEIDE

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) existed from February 1942 until March 1943. The camp was deployed near the Wuhlheide railroad station, a little more than 10 kilometers (6 miles) southeast of the center of Berlin (map 4b). At the end of February 1943, the Germans disbanded the camp, and all the camp personnel were transferred to the newly created Sonderlager Dabendorf.

Administratively, the camp was subordinate to the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but, in connection with its own special purpose, it was subordinate to the Armed Forces High Command, Armed Forces Propaganda Branch (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, *Abteilung Wehrmacht Propaganda*), Section IV, which was in charge of foreign propaganda.

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), former Red Army officers, whom the Germans specially selected in POW camps as potential collaborators. In the camp, the Germans evaluated the prisoners for training and use as propagandists in POW camps and for units of the Russian Army of Liberation and the Eastern Battalion (*Ostbataillone*) of the Wehrmacht. Prisoners selected by the Germans for testing and training were regarded as POWs, as before, were kept behind barbed wire, were guarded by German sentries, and received POW rations, albeit in more generous quantities than most of their compatriots in other camps. Besides the German guards, there was a Russian order guard within the camp, subordinate to the Russian commandant, former colonel G. I. Antonov. In the camp, the administration subjected the prisoners to systematic and goal-oriented ideological sessions in the Nazi spirit, for the purpose of turning the prisoners into determined opponents of the Bolshevist regime. The prisoners also were used to perform various types of labor inside and outside the camp.[1]

The camp commandant was former Rittmeister Weissbeck of the army of Austria-Hungary, and the head of training was

Sonderführer Baron von der Ropp. The instructors were mainly former generals and officers of the Red Army.

Among the prisoners in the camp was the former chief of staff of the Thirty-Second Army, Colonel Nikolai Bushmanov, who had been captured as early as October 1941. Bushmanov was used as an instructor, but he also created an underground anti-Nazi organization in the camp. By the summer of 1943, when Bushmanov was already in the Sonderlager Dabendorf, this organization turned into an international underground organization by the name of the "Berlin Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," which did active work all over Germany. The organization, through Soviet POWs and forced laborers (*Ostarbeiter*), engaged in sabotage and diversion in German factories.[2]

SOURCES Additional information about the Sonderlager Wuhlheide can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2003), pp. 239–242; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 27; A. V. Okorokov, *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russki put'," 2007); *Russkie soldaty Vermakhta: Geroi ili predateli* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2005), pp. 161–167; and Wilfried Strik-Strikfeldt, *Gegen Stalin und Hitler* (Mainz: Hase-Koehler, 1970).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. For details, see Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, pp. 240–241.

2. *Russkie soldaty Vermakhta*, pp. 161–167.

SONDERLAGER WUSTRAU

This special camp[1] (*Sonderlager*) existed from early 1942 until the end of 1944. The camp was deployed in a forest roughly 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from the town of Wustrau (about 51.5 kilometers [32 miles] northwest of Berlin) (map 4b). In terms of administration, the camp was subordinate to the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but it had a special relationship with the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (*Ostministerium*).

The prisoners in the camp were Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) whom the Germans had specially selected in POW camps as potential collaborators. In the camp, the administration evaluated the prisoners' suitability for training as propagandists and various kinds of administrative personnel in organizations created by the Ostministerium in occupied Soviet territory and in Germany itself. The prisoners the Germans chose for testing were people who on the whole were educated—who had university degrees or some university education—and who were senior officers in the Red Army. The prisoners in the camp were mainly natives of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, and they were divided up into blocks on the basis of national affiliation. Each block consisted of several groups, with 15–20 prisoners in each group. In all, there were as many as 500 prisoners in the camp at a time.

The evaluation, as a rule, took two to six months. The testing took place in the course of lessons, which were held twice a week for four hours per day. During the lessons, the prisoners had to lead discussions and ask questions on the topic under study for the purpose of revealing, in this way, individuals who had a negative attitude toward Nazi Germany. The prisoners also were divided up according to their progress, into Groups A and B. The more capable prisoners were placed in the former group, while those who were insufficiently reliable and were not making progress were put into the latter group.

Free time, when no lessons were under way, was devoted to independent studies, excursions, sports, and work around the camp.[2] The prisoners were under guard and did not have the right to go outside the confines of the camp grounds without a pass.

A participant in the selection committee, V. D. Poremskii, recalls the following regarding the selection procedure: "The selection was based on several categories—from 0 to 5. People with an intellectual level below 3 were of no interest. On the whole, we selected people with scores from 3 to 4.5. Someone who scored 5, was talented, and was capable of doing a great many things but was not selected either. It was dangerous. Del'vig [the head of the selection committee] characterized such people in this way: 'cunning, clever, and may be an agent.' We didn't take a risk with such people, we moved them to the 0 category on our lists." The POWs who passed the test were taken to the training camp site at Wustrau (*Ausbildungslager*, Wustrau), which was located 1 kilometer from Sonderlager Wustrau. In the training camp, people who had passed the test no longer had POW status. "They were given civilian clothes and lived relatively freely. After some time they were allowed to travel freely to Berlin, go to restaurants, see the city, and the like; that is, we created conditions that would allow an individual to feel that he was a free, equal inhabitant, as the Nazis said, of the future territory to be ruled by Adolf Hitler. And we retrained them along those very lines."[3]

SOURCES Additional information about Sonderlager Wustrau can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg, 2003), pp. 232– 234; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 26; A. V. Okorokov, "Kursy podgotovki admnistrativnogo personala dlia okkupirovannykh territorii v Vustrau," in *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkii put'," 2007); and V. D. Poremskii, "Vustrau," in *Memuary "vlasovtsev,"* ed. A. V. Okorokov (Moscow: Veche, 2011).

NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt erroneously refer to the camp as Ulustrau (an Oflag for Russian generals) rather than Wustrau.

2. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha*, p. 233.

3. Poremskii, "Vustrau."

SONDERLAGER WUTZETZ

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) existed from the beginning of 1942 until the end of 1944. The camp was deployed in Wutzetz, near the town of Friesack, Brandenburg, about 64 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Berlin (map 4b). Administratively, the camp was subordinate to the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but it had a special relationship to the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (*Ostministerium*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), specially selected by the Germans in POW camps, to test their suitability for training as propagandists and various types of administrative personnel in organizations that the Ostministerium created in occupied Soviet territory and in Germany itself. Prisoners who passed the test and preliminary training were sent for further training to the training camp (*Ausbildungslager*) at Wustrau.

SOURCES Additional information about Sonderlager Wutzetz can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg, 2003), p. 236; and A. V. Okorokov, *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkii put'," 2007).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft.

SONDERLAGER ZIETHENHORST

This special camp (*Sonderlager*) came into existence in March 1942. The camp was located at a former peat-processing site at Ziethenhorst, about 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Berlin, in seven barracks that a labor service camp had occupied previously (map 4b). At the end of 1942, the Germans disbanded the camp, and the personnel were transferred to Sonderlager Wustrau. Administratively, the camp was subordinate to the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) III, but, in connection with its special mission, it was subordinate to the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (*Ostministerium*).

The camp held Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) (generals and lower ranking officers) specially selected by the Germans in POW camps to test for their suitability for training as propagandists and various kinds of top administrative personnel in organizations that the Ostministerium created in occupied Soviet territory and in Germany itself. Prisoners who passed the testing and preliminary training were sent for further training to the training camp (*Ausbildungslager*) at Wustrau.

The Russian leader in the camp was former Red Army major general Fedor Trukhin, who, following his release from captivity on September 1, 1942, became an instructor in this camp (as of November 1942, he was a senior instructor). Among the prisoners whom the Germans held in the camp was former Red Army major general Dmitrii Zakutnyi.

SOURCES Additional information about Sonderlager Ziethenhorst can be found in the following publications: S. G. Chuev, *Spetssluzhby Tret'ego reikha: Kniga II* (St. Petersburg, 2003), pp. 234–235; and A. V. Okorokov, *Osobyi front: Nemetskaia propaganda na Vostochnom fronte v gody Vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Russkii put'," 2007).

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CAMPS AND OTHER FACILITIES FOR CIVILIANS INTRODUCTION

In addition to operating camps for prisoners of war and German military prisoners, the Wehrmacht operated a number of camps which interned enemy civilians. The camps treated in this section were not part of a centralized system of civilian internment, with the exception of the internment camps for Allied civilians (*Internierungslager* or Ilags). Rather, most of them were created on an ad hoc basis through the initiative of local military commanders, and as a result, they are quite diverse in nature. Also included in this section are general essays on labor camps for civilians which were operated by the Wehrmacht and brothels in which women were forced into prostitution by German military personnel.

The only category of camps for civilians which were part of the formal Wehrmacht camp system were the nine Ilags, which held civilians of Allied nations who were caught in German-occupied parts of continental Europe when the war broke out. Four of these camps were located in Western Europe: three in France (in Giromagny, St. Denis, and Vittel) and one in Belgium (Dongelberg). The other four were located within the Reich, and are numbered based on the Defense Districts (*Wehrkreise*) in which they were located: Ilag IV in Schloss Eisenberg (now Jezeří Castle, in the Czech Republic), Ilag VII in Tittmoning (later relocated to Laufen), Ilag VIII in Tost (now Toszek, Poland), Ilag XIII in Wülzburg, and Ilag XVIII in Spittal an der Drau, Austria. By far the largest group of prisoners in these camps were British civilians, although there were also large numbers of Americans, as well as citizens of various other countries in the Americas. Smaller numbers of civilians from combatant nations in continental Europe were also present, although in much smaller numbers. Conditions in these camps were generally relatively good. They were usually located in large, well-constructed buildings, such as castles or

fortresses, and most of them had electricity, running water, and good food and medical care available to the prisoners.

On the contrary, conditions in some of the ad hoc civilian internment camps established by the Wehrmacht near the front line in the Soviet Union were among the worst anywhere in the German camp system. Many of these camps were hastily organized and lacked basic infrastructure. The prisoners received very little, if any, food, and there was essentially no medical care. Although most of these camps are poorly documented and there is little statistical information available, it is clear that the death rates in these camps were very high.

Since they were not centrally organized, these camps were given a variety of designations. At least four known camps were classified as "refugee camps" (*Flüchtlingslager*), which held Soviet civilians in front line areas during the German campaigns in southern Russia in 1942; these camps were located in Kalatsch (now Kalach-na-Donu, Russia), Pogodinskoje (now Pogodin, Russia), Tschir (now Chir, Russia), and the "main refugee camp" (*Hauptflüchtlingslager*) in Belaja Kalitwa (now Belaia Kalitva, Russia). Another camp in this category is the "collection camp" (*Sammellager*) at Chochol (now Khokhol, Russia), which held Soviet civilians from Voronezh who were later transferred westward for forced labor. There were at least two other camps designated as concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager*) despite the fact that they were run by the Wehrmacht and were not part of the SS-WVHA concentration camp system. These camps, which held Jewish civilians (including some accused of being partisans), were located at Charkow (now Khar'kiv, Ukraine) and Kramatorskaia (now Kramatorsk, Ukraine).

There were other camps with specific purposes which were unique among the civilian camps. One of these was the "youth education camp" (*Jugenderziehungslager*) in Skobrovka, in present-day Belarus, where children between eight and 14 years old were subjected to German indoctrination. Another unique group of camps were the special detention camps (*Endlager*) which were established at Ozarichi (now Azarychy, Belarus) in March 1944. These camps held Belarusian civilians who were unable to work and whom the Germans simply wished to get rid

of. They were located in no-man's-land between the German and Soviet troops. The Germans established the camps (which were little more than barbed wire enclosures), surrounded them with land mines, and then left the prisoners to die.

In addition to these camps, there were also forced labor units for civilians (*Zivilarbeitsdienstabteilungen*, ZADA) which were established by Army Group Center in the occupied Soviet Union in late 1943 and operated until the end of the war (temporarily interrupted by the German withdrawal toward Poland in 1944). They performed forced labor for military purposes (e.g., building defensive works) and lived in makeshift villages, rather than proper forced labor camps, in which conditions were poor. However, they did receive more food and other provisions than most of the Eastern European forced laborers working in the Reich (*Ostarbeiter*).

Finally, there were brothels which were established by the Wehrmacht for use by its troops during the German occupation of various parts of Europe, including France, Poland, and the Soviet Union. The purpose of these institutions was to allow the soldiers an outlet in a controlled environment where the military authorities could prevent the spread of venereal diseases and restrain their men from having unauthorized relations with local women. Where possible, the Germans utilized already existing brothels and previous registries of prostitutes, creating their own where such pre-existing facilities were not available. The behavior of the soldiers who visited the brothels was strictly regulated in order to protect their health. Some of the women who worked in these brothels had been prostitutes before the war who were forced to continue that work. Although some had ostensibly "volunteered" to work in the brothels to help support their families, they had very little actual choice in the matter, and there are reports that in some cases (particularly in Eastern Europe), the Germans simply grabbed women off the street and forced them to work as prostitutes.

While these camps for civilians do not form a cohesive category of camps per se, they do serve to illustrate the variety of civilian experiences under German military occupation. The differences between the treatment of British and American "aliens" and the treatment of civilians in the occupied Soviet Union demonstrate

how Nazi racial ideology trickled down and was practiced even at the lowest echelons. Documenting these camps is essential because they provide vital insights into the role the Wehrmacht played in the oppression and killing of civilians during the Second World War.

SOURCES: Primary source information about the Wehrmacht's Camps and Other Facilities for Civilians is located in BA-MA (H 20 5 8; Msg 109/946; RH 20/6; RH 20 9 197; RH 20-17/276; RH 24-18; RH 24 55; RH 26 45; RH 26-57/39; RH 26 253 G; RH 26-342; and RW 6: v. 450); BArch B 162/3793 and B 162/26377 (Ermittlungen StA Nürnberg 13 Js 7/66 gg. J. Lasareff wg. des Verdachts, dieser könnte als Internierter im Ilag XIII auf der Wülzburg bei Weissenburg (Mfr.) in den Jahren 1941 bis 1945 zu Bewachungsaufgaben herangezogen worden sein); BHSta-(N); DADO (r1838-1-1, 6); DAKhO (Fond p-3066 and Fond p-3079); Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv (MA 686/1); GARF (7021-72-9, 21, 32); GAVolO; ITS; NARA (RG 289; RG 389; and T-314); NARBSAFPRSR; PAAA (R 41654 and R 41656); TsAKGBRB; TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps); and USHMMA (RG-68.096M); and WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Ilag VIII).

Additional information about the Wehrmacht's Camps and Other Facilities for Civilians can be found in the following publications: Andrej Angrick, "Das Beispiel Charkow: Massenmord unter deutscher Besatzung," *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Bilanz einer Debatte*, Christian Hartmann, et al., eds. (München, 2005); Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009); A.S. Chuianov, ed., *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v raionakh Stalingradskoi oblasti, podvergshikhsia nemetskoi okkupatsii. Dokumenty* (Stalingrad: Oblastnoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1945); Alexander Dalhouski, "Belorussische Zwangsarbeiter: Ihre Typen und Rekrutierungsmethoden," in *Hitlers Sklaven: Lebensgeschichtliche Analysen zur Zwangsarbeit im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2008); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und*

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Dallas Michelbacher

ZIVILARBEITSDIENSTABTEILUNGEN (ZADA)

Alongside the extensive use of forced labor from the vast pools of foreign prisoners of war (POWs), court-martialed members of the Wehrmacht, and work detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) originating in nearby POW and other camps, the German military in Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) exploited the local civilian populations in so-called Civilian Labor Service Units (*Zivilarbeitsdienstabteilungen*, ZADA). The Germans created these units in late 1943, in the area of Army Group Center, under Generalfeldmarschall Ernst Busch. They suspended the policy during the retreat back to Poland but redeployed ZADA from the summer of 1944 until the war's end. This was the first instance of Army Group Center deploying civilian forced laborers, thus affecting Soviet citizens in its corresponding sector of the eastern front.[1] Though ZADA constituted far from the largest category of forced labor under Nazi rule, a sizable number of civilians, some 60,000–90,000, were made to work in these units.[2]

The implementation of the ZADA system in Army Group Center came during a rapidly deteriorating campaign. Just a few days after the Germans initiated Operation Citadel to destroy Soviet forces in the Kursk salient, the Soviets launched a counteroffensive against Army Group Center, in the area around Orël, which broadened into a general offensive. By the fall, the Soviets had pushed Army Group Center back into Belarus. The shifting battle lines and the continued draining of workers from Eastern Europe for work deployments in the Reich led to both a military and a labor crisis for Army Group Center. Among other measures, on November 27, 1943, Busch, who had taken command less than a month before, issued the order to establish permanent civilian labor units.[3] Creating civilian work units such as ZADA was a way to get heavy, nonspecialized work done and simultaneously make more troops available for combat. By this

point in the campaign, local German military commanders could hardly select the fittest civilians for manual labor, because most had already been removed for labor elsewhere. The initial call for workers was, therefore, quite broad: men aged 15–55 and women aged 16–45 were to be conscripted.

In terms of military organization, ZADA were different from the work details, which were subordinate to the camps from which they derived. In other words, the prisoners in work details were still inmates in a certain POW camp and left these camps only for forced labor deployments. ZADA, on the other hand, were mobile civilian units subordinate directly to Wehrmacht divisions and to nondivisional engineering and construction units at the corps and army level. As such, Army Group Center effectively created duplicates of its construction, engineering, and railway military battalions with ZADA, which German personnel from those battalions directed.[4]

Orders to form ZADA went out from Second, Fourth, and Ninth Army headquarters late in 1943 and early in 1944. "Round-ups" (*Erfassungsaktionen*) took place over the following weeks in the rear areas, eventually extending up to 100 kilometers (62 miles) behind the front lines. The Ninth Army, for example, arrested 4,950 men and 1,000 women in the area east of the Berezina River just before New Year's Eve and deposited them temporarily in Dulag 131 in Bobruisk. The Germans then transported such captives to the front lines to form battalions and put the civilians to work, often in sectors that appeared most under threat of Soviet attack. While the most arduous and perilous labor deployments were, in fact, reserved for members of the Wehrmacht itself who had been convicted of desertion, "subverting fighting strength" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*), or other subversive or gravely insubordinate infractions,[5] the Wehrmacht deployed ZADA for very hard labor: digging and building defensive positions, building roads and bridges, cutting and hauling lumber, harvesting peat, and so on. The treatment of ZADA personnel has been characterized as more brutal, and "militarized," than had been the case for forced laborers in Army Group Center to that point.[6]

While the Wehrmacht guarded and directed the Soviet civilians in ZADA, "volunteers" (*Hilfswillige*, Hiwis) helped to overcome

the linguistic and cultural barriers between the Germans and local populations. The Hiwis came mostly from the ranks of Soviet POWs, although between one-sixth and one-third of them were civilians. They often "volunteered" in the sense that they chose service with the Germans as an alternative to starvation, although some of them doubtless had anti-Bolshevik feelings. In ZADA, the few Germans who supervised the units used Hiwis as translators or foremen. Their numbers—out of a total of 110,000 Hiwis and Eastern Troops (*Osttruppen*, armed Soviet volunteers)—were small, but they performed an important function.

The overall importance of ZADA and other labor units was significant. They built defensive works that slowed the Soviets down and inflicted additional casualties, and, without their efforts within the German supply system, Wehrmacht operations would have been hindered severely. This is not to say that the civilian labor system functioned without friction or was wholly positive. Wehrmacht use of civilian workers both prevented those workers from reaching the farms and factories of the Reich and interfered with the local production of food that both the Wehrmacht and German civilians used. Moreover, there was, quite predictably, a certain amount of resistance on the part of Soviet civilian conscripts. In January 1944, problems with the workers led Army Group Center to issue an order for the "maintenance of the population's labor discipline." The directive called for the use of the death penalty in extreme cases of labor indiscipline or absenteeism and formally enshrined the position of the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst,* SD) labor education camps (*Arbeitserziehungslager*), ordering that all persistently "work-shy" civilians be handed over to Einsatzgruppe B.[7]

Though the labor that Soviet civilians conducted in ZADA was by no means voluntary, they received somewhat better treatment than many forced laborers—especially eastern forced laborers—in Hitler's Europe. They received some 2,000 calories of food per day and were outfitted with clothing. Of course, these "adequate" provisions were given only to enable them to work as many as 12 hours a day, and misbehavior was not tolerated. Even the Hiwis were subject to punishment by the Wehrmacht in tandem with ZADA, and these trials took place as official military courts-martial. Ivan Zviridok of the 3rd Company, Pioneer Battalion 211,

was prosecuted by the court of the 211th Infantry Division, in August 1944, for selling a pair of used shoes and clothing to a woman in ZADA. Since he had found the shoes and clothing on the floor of his lodging, it was reasoned that he must have known they were military property. Though a longer sentence may have normally been awarded for someone convicted of military theft (*militärische Diebstahl*), Zviridok's sentence was commuted to a maximum of three weeks in "strict custody" as well as three months without tobacco, alcohol, or other nonessential items from military vendors.[8]

ZADA units were generally kept not in true camp-like facilities but in improvised "villages" in which conditions were grim. Detailed information on those sites is lacking, but their numbers were considerable. In January 1944, there would have been at least 35 camps under the divisions in Army Group Center alone, plus those under the nondivisional units.

SOURCES Though few witness testimonies regarding ZADA are available, there are numerous references to these units in the records of the International Tracing Service (ITS) and other postwar humanitarian agencies. The deployment details and statistics regarding labor and civilian policy on the eastern front can be found in the files of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, also available in part in ITS.

Additional information about ZADA can be found in the following publications: Alexander Dalhouski, "Belorussische Zwangsarbeiter: Ihre Typen und Rekrutierungsmethoden," in *Hitlers Sklaven: Lebensgeschichtliche Analysen zur Zwangsarbeit im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008); Petra Rentrop, "Weissrussland," in *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Vol 9: Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschutzlager, Polizeihaftlager, Sonderlager, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager*, ed. Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009); and Nicholas M. Terry, "The German Army Group Centre and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labour, Hunger and Population Displacement on the

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NOTES

1. Dalhouski, "Belorussische Zwangsarbeiter," pp. 198–199.
2. Rentrop, "Weissrussland," p. 383.
3. HGr Mitte OQu/Qu.2, Aufstellung von Zivilarbeitsdienstabteilungen (ZADA), 27.11.43, gez. Busch, T313/305/8582497; c.f. HeWiFü Mitte, Aktenvermerk über die Besprechung beim RK Ostland am 16.12.43, T77/1101/620.
4. Terry, "German Army Group Centre and Soviet Civilian Population," pp. 115–116.
5. See, especially, the entries for Field Penal Units (FStGA) 1--22 in this volume.
6. Dalhouski, "Belorussische Zwangsarbeiter," p. 199.
7. HGr Mitte Ia/Ic/AO St.O Prop./HeWiFü/OQu/Qu.2/VII (Mil.Verw), Aufrechterhaltung der Arbeitsdisziplin der Bevölkerung, 7.1.44, T77/1102, T314/1440; WiStab Ost Chefgr Arbeit, KTB-Beitrag 12-18.2.44, T77/1091/1015.
8. ITS Digital Archive, 1.2.8.1/0054/0005–0010.

WEHRMACHT BROTHELS

Little is known about the system of brothels that the German military, the Wehrmacht, created during World War II.[1] That ignorance is part of a larger pattern: until relatively recently, there has been little discussion at all of sex or sexual violence in the war. We do know, however, that Nazism's racial, sexual, and power dynamics as well as broadly common attitudes and the violence and license of wartime all contributed to sexual exploitation on a massive scale. The brothels were a central part of that history. They existed in almost every city where German troops were present in significant numbers. Both military and civilian government authorities approved, organized, and supervised them. Their genesis derived from the belief that men needed sexual release and from a desire to prevent the spread of venereal diseases (VD), among other factors. Their management rested on a foundation of misogyny and racism. There are virtually no survivor testimonies, but the little documentation that does exist tells the story of an army that, at the very least, offered its male soldiers sexual gratification with no regard for the lives of the women involved. At their worst, the Wehrmacht brothels constituted nothing less than a system of organized mass rape.

The background to the creation of the brothels touches on themes of sexuality, gender, public health, morality, race, and masculinity as well as military effectiveness. The issues involved are not simple, and the discussions are rife with contradictions. On the one hand, prostitution appeared to be a threat to family values, a source of disease, and, according to Nazi propaganda, an element of the Jewish threat and a danger to racial purity. For many Germans (as for people in many other countries), prostitutes had a reputation for being undesirable social elements. Efforts to control prostitution went back at least as far as the Napoleonic Wars. The Nazis' claim that they would "clean up" Germany, which included cracking down on prostitution, was a popular campaign theme, especially with the Catholic right. Once in power, the Nazis

eventually went so far as to declare prostitutes "asocials" and to put them in concentration camps. On the other hand, many people (especially men) believed that men required sexual release and would find it, one way or another. If they could not do so with their wives, and other women were not available, the thinking went, then they would likely resort to homosexuality, which the Nazis regarded with horror and disgust. At the same time, many people believed that having access to women would strengthen men's masculinity.

From the Wehrmacht's standpoint, probably the most important issue having to do with soldiers' sexuality centered on VD, more commonly known today as sexually transmitted disease (STD). In World War I, military doctors had reported over two million cases of gonorrhea and syphilis. Starting in 1915, the military occupation authorities had instituted a system for controlling prostitution that involved concentrating women in brothels and subjecting them to regular medical examinations.[2] Still, the loss of fighting strength was significant. With the start of World War II, the military authorities looked back to the experiences of World War I with some trepidation. The possibility that soldiers in occupied territories might develop relationships with local women added other dangers: espionage, if the woman was an enemy agent, and the begetting of illegitimate children, "in which Germany has no interest whatsoever."[3] Moreover, relations with foreign women could break down the distance between occupier and occupied that the German authorities wished to maintain.

A July 1940 decree from General Walther von Brauchitsch, commander in chief of the German Army, summed up many of the major concerns well and described a solution that mirrored German policy in the last conflict:

> The longer that German troops stay in the occupied territories, and the more orderly and peaceful the conditions become, under which the soldier lives and performs his duty, the more the sexual question requires careful attention in all its circumstances and consequences…. The question is, in any case, not to be solved with a ban on sexual activity. Such a ban would doubtless, along with other disadvantageous results, lead to an increase in rape and the danger of offenses

> against Paragraph 175 [the law against homosexuality]…. For the health of the soldiers, the following fact plays a corresponding role: that VD is extraordinarily widespread in France, especially in the larger cities. One can already ascertain that the number of VD cases has increased considerably of late. I believe that I should hardly have to say anything about the damaging and unforeseeable results that the spread of these infections would have for the health of the people and the fighting strength of the army.
>
> Sexual relations with female persons whose health is not monitored must be prevented, to the extent possible. Since monitoring prostitution is only possible with inhabitants of bordellos, it seems more advisable, from a hygienic and disciplinary standpoint, to open suitable bordellos for German soldiers, bordellos that will be under medical supervision, than to create the opportunity for the German soldier to fall victim to wild prostitution.[4]

This, then, was the model, which carried over, to some extent, from World War I: the Wehrmacht would run brothels for its soldiers, in which it could control the environment in such a way as to prevent the spread of STDs and head off the other problems that relationships between soldiers and foreign women might create. Von Brauchitsch's decree was certainly not the first word on the issue; discussions along these lines had been going on since the start of the war, and probably before. The decree also did not mark the end of all disagreements on the policy. There was still the racial issue, which was tied up with National Socialist ideology: should good Aryan soldiers be having sex with foreigners? Several different documents banned Jewish women or others "of foreign races" from sex work.[5] Such a policy had limits, however; local women were often the only practical candidates for the brothels, and so the Germans made allowances. For example, relationships between Germans and Poles were forbidden, by a personal decree from Hitler. The occupation authorities got around that prohibition by stating that sex with a prostitute was not a "social" act but rather of the "functional-economic type."[6] Similar lines of argument applied to Russian women. Then there were the basic moral questions, as von Brauchitsch himself identified in his own

decree:

> Corresponding to the generally necessary reserve that the German soldier is to maintain vis-à-vis the French population, a reserve I consider, as a fundamental philosophy, to be correct and appropriate, I must demand self-control from every individual, also in the sexual realm. Above all, for *married* soldiers, this demand should be self-evident.[7]

Later decrees demonstrated that he was not entirely happy with the results:

> Recently in the occupied territories, events have played out during visits to bordellos that are incompatible with a soldier's general sense of honor, and especially with that of officers…. Among other things, younger soldiers and even subordinates have been led on visits to bordellos by older comrades. Several times, this has led to undignified scenes. Married soldiers have offended against the self-evident basic concept of wedded loyalty.[8]

Despite such issues, the Wehrmacht and other German authorities did decide that brothels, which they could control, were the best solution, and well before von Brauchitsch had stated his position. The total number of such facilities remains unknown. Researchers may be able to compile a list eventually, but the records are scattered and quite likely incomplete. Between them, Regina Mühlhäuser and Maren Röger (see the Sources section below) mention 37 different cities in the occupied USSR and Poland that contained brothels, but that figure barely scratches the surface. For one thing, a city of any significant size contained more than one brothel. An existing leaflet from the chief military doctor (*Standortarzt*) in the French city of Bordeaux, which had about 255,000 inhabitants at the time (September 1940), listed eight brothels that were open for German soldiers.[9] There were at least 40 brothels within the city limits of Paris, of which six were for officers.[10] By 1942, there were at least 500 Wehrmacht brothels in operation between the eastern and western fronts.[11] In establishing them, the Germans faced a variety of different circumstances,

depending on the geographic area in question. It should be noted that Germany's allies also operated brothels for their personnel, although little information about these facilities is available.

In Germany itself, SS-Gruppenführer (later SS-Obergruppenführer und General der Polizei) Reinhard Heydrich, acting in his role as an official in the Interior Ministry, issued an order on September 9, 1939, which he prepared in cooperation with the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*). The order regulated prostitution within those parts of Germany where the army was concentrated. Heydrich called on the police to round up prostitutes and see to it that they underwent thorough medical examinations. Some brothels were to be allowed to function, but streetwalking was forbidden. Anyone who resisted would be placed in "preventive custody" (*Vorbeugungshaft*) for a minimum of three months.[12]

In France, the Wehrmacht took advantage of an extensive system of brothels that already existed. The Germans took some of these over and imposed their own rules. They also benefited from the fact that French authorities had been working to control prostitution since the nineteenth century. They, too, favored brothels over streetwalkers. As early as July 1940, the Germans established a system of close cooperation with Vichy to continue and even expand the French system—new bordellos were established in cities in which they had previously not existed.[13] The Vichy government was somewhat reluctant but saw this arrangement as one that would protect French society and minimize the harm that would ensue if the Germans ran the system alone. Known prostitutes were to be rounded up and handed over to the health authorities. All streetwalking and local sex traffic was to be halted.[14] The French police were given instructions to root out underground brothels outside the regulated system, which, if visited by German soldiers, would pose a significant health risk in the eyes of the Wehrmacht leadership.[15] The Germans would control their own brothel system. Much the same applied in states such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and Romania. Oberstarzt Schreiber, a senior official in the Medical Inspectorate of the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH), reported on a visit to Naples in June 1941, where

> several bordellos have been established for German soldiers. They are supervised well and regularly by Italian doctors. The quality of these bordellos varies greatly. I visited them, and although I had not announced myself beforehand, I could not detect any defects…. one can assume, with a high degree of probability, that no infections with VD will occur; up until now, there have been no reports of infections in these bordellos. The girls are young and make a healthy impression. Worth noting is a bordello for officers that seems exceptionally operated and that is very clean.[16]

Schreiber went on to report on brothels in North Africa, largely staffed with Italian women, and the improbability, as he saw it, of private liaisons between German soldiers and native women, which he wrote were not only forbidden by order but also by "the feel that two separate worlds, of whites and coloreds, stand opposite each other." Of the Arab brothels that the Italians (and some Germans) used, Schreiber wrote that "the appeal of the exotic plays no small role" but that, nevertheless, he could "only imagine that Northern Europeans would turn aside with a shudder," given the racial and hygienic differences involved.[17] Other, similar (though more positive), reports dealt with the opening of Wehrmacht brothels in Bucharest and Constanţa, Romania.[18]

The situation in Poland was somewhat different, since Poland was an occupied country and so there was no Polish authority with which to cooperate. In Poland, the Germans registered sex workers and established control over existing brothels, where there were any; where there were not, the Germans established their own. The details took some time to work out. In October 1940, the chief medical officer with the Military Commander in the Generalgouvernement reported on efforts to set up brothels there. These efforts involved cooperation between medical authorities, military administrations, troop commanders, and civilian administrators, and such cooperation was not always forthcoming.[19]

The occupied Soviet Union presented still another set of challenges. Officially, the Soviet government had declared prostitution nonexistent in 1936, so, in most areas, it had gone

underground, and there was no established system that the Germans could simply take over.[20] (The Baltic states were an exception: when the Germans invaded in 1941, the Soviets had only occupied the area for a short time, so there was still a registry of sex workers that was not out of date.) By March 1942, however, Eduard Wagner, the chief supply officer (*Generalquartiermeister*) in the OKH, wrote that the progressive worsening of the civilian food situation had led to an expansion of clandestine prostitution, with food often being used as a method of payment. He expressed concern about the increased risk of VD and the possibility that military secrets might leak. He called on the Secret Field Police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*) to institute measures to round up and eliminate (*Beseitigung*) the clandestine prostitutes and on the Local Commands (*Ortskommandanturen*) to set up bordellos.[21] At least two existing documents ordered Local Commands to set up and manage brothels, among their many other duties.[22]

One element stands out in the Germans' efforts to set up their own brothels. Where no brothels existed, or where the Germans wanted to establish additional brothels, they often made a point of taking over Jewish properties. Two of the only five existing photographs of Wehrmacht brothels show one in the city of Brest, France, which the Wehrmacht Propaganda Company captioned as being in a former synagogue. Actually, the building was a Masonic temple, but the symbols on its outside wall looked enough like Stars of David for the Germans to make their claim, which has stuck for more than seven decades.[23] In that and other cases, such as Jewish student dormitories or other facilities, the Germans were fully aware of the power of their actions to desecrate meaningful religious sites.

Regional differences notwithstanding, the Germans were consistent in how they actually ran the brothels. Again and again, nearly identical lists of rules appear in the records. The leaflet from the chief doctor in Bordeaux is typical. Having listed the eight brothels that Wehrmacht soldiers could patronize, as mentioned above, it went on to lay out the rules, which are worth quoting at length:

1. These bordellos are to be marked with signs and inscriptions.

The use of other bordellos is punishable, because they are not medically inspected, and the soldier deliberately exposes himself to a possible infection.

2. Every soldier must, *in his own interest*, exactly follow the measures and regulations in the individual bordellos.

   The following precautions and rules are to be heeded:

   a. Sex is only to be undertaken in the above-named and authorized bordellos.

   b. The price for all authorized bordellos is uniformly set at RM 2.50. This price includes the room fee, pay for the bordello partner, cleansing supplies, loan of a fresh hand towel, and a condom. Additional special fees are forbidden.

   c. *Before sex*, the visitor has to clean himself thoroughly with soap and water. After cleansing, spread the ointment provided on the member (glans to root).

      Sex *without a condom* and the earlier use of the ointment is *forbidden!*

      Especially when the partner rejects the use of the condom with the assurance that she is healthy.

   d. *After sex*, repeat the cleansing. Use caution when removing the condom (subsequent infection through contact with the fingers)!

   e. *After leaving the bordello*, immediately seek out the central *sanitation* [lit., rehabilitation] *office* (*Sanierungsstube*), *rue Charles-Marionneau, 17*, marked with a Red Cross flag and illuminated sign.

   f. Every bordello visitor receives from the relevant girl a *control number*, which *is to be given* to the medical NCO on duty in the sanitation office. (This serves to assist in the rapid apprehension of any female persons with venereal diseases.)

3. Entrance to the bordello is only allowed to enlisted men, NCOs, and the controlling authorities, in uniform. Entrance is

forbidden to other visitors, including officers, and will be refused.

4. It is expressly pointed out that, also in the medically inspected and authorized bordellos, an infection with venereal disease is possible (e.g. through oral infection).

   Every soldier visits the bordello at his own risk!

   In case of infection, every soldier is required to report to his unit doctor immediately.

   The treatment of Wehrmacht personnel by French doctors is forbidden! The French authorities are informed regarding this.

5. Sex with uncontrolled street walkers is forbidden and punishable.

   Should a soldier nevertheless have sex outside of the authorized bordellos, he has the duty to make sure beforehand of the *name and address* of his partner, so that he can provide useful information, should he become infected.

6. The stay in the bordello may not fall outside the hours of 10:00 to 22:30, in order to guarantee a timely sanitation and subsequent return to quarters. (Timely sanitation up to 2 hours after sex!)

   Staying overnight in the bordello is forbidden!

7. *Entrance to the so-called Negro Quarter is forbidden.* [boundaries defined]

   The access roads are marked with signs. Extensive patrols will see to the rapid apprehension of all violators.

8. In the future, there will be a strict control of the so-called overnight quarters/hourly hotels (*Absteigequartiere/ Stundenhotels*).

9. The following bars in the Bordeaux city limits are forbidden to Wehrmacht personnel: [eight locations identified].[24]

Point 8 requires additional explanation. Because officers were forbidden to use the enlisted men's brothels, but presumably had

the same needs, the army set up a separate, nominally more discreet system of establishments. As an OKH order of August 7, 1940, put it, if necessary, "Absteigehotels for officers in transit" are to be provided. Rooms could be rented by the day or hour. Such hotels were not to be located in the vicinity of brothels or of enlisted men's quarters. Enlisted men, NCOs, and French nationals were forbidden entrance, as were unknown or unauthorized women. Unlike in the enlisted men's brothels, the women were not to live in these hotels, but otherwise they were subject to the same medical controls as the brothel women.[25]

Of course, the Germans also developed other rules, internal rules, for running the brothels. One such set of regulations dictated that the rooms for sex have: washbasins, bidets, and baskets with cleansing supplies; signage mandating the use of condoms and visit to the sanitation center, and a listing of the prices. The rooms were to be numbered, for easy identification, with black numbers of a certain size on a white background. Further signage adorned the building entrance (only Wehrmacht personnel allowed) and the waiting room. The sale of obscene photos, or the taking of photos of Wehrmacht personnel, was forbidden. Alcohol was also forbidden at first, although later regulations allowed weak beer or wine in limited quantities, while maintaining the ban on stronger drinks. Drunkenness was not allowed. Regulations even governed the nature of the sex: "obscene and unnatural acts," or the presence of any equipment for sadistic sex, was forbidden.[26]

Further rules dealt with other aspects of brothel administration. Regulations governed the equipment and personnel for the sanitation center, which was sometimes located within the brothel itself. Opening and closing hours and rates had to be set; these often involved the local military headquarters, with input from the senior physician, or might also involve civilian authorities. Extra patrols and police guards were often assigned to maintain control in and around the brothels. Most brothels had a civilian in charge, someone who spoke the local language and could oversee the operation more closely than the military could. These overseers (usually women, but sometimes men) had to report to the rehabilitation center on the women who worked in the brothels and on the number of visitors. They were also responsible for seeing that the women followed all the regulations.

The controls on the lives of the women (or, as the Germans called them, "girls"—*Dirnen*) were extensive. The women had to live in the brothels. They could not leave without permission, and then often only with an escort. They could not change rooms within the brothel without permission. They had to submit to twice-weekly medical examinations by a local doctor as well as follow all the rules regarding condom use and hygiene and see to it that their visitors did also. If found to have an STD, they were admitted involuntarily to a hospital for treatment and forbidden to have sex until the treatment was complete. They were not allowed to possess any medications of their own with which to treat STDs. Any woman who was found to have infected a German soldier with an STD would be court-martialed.[27] The women could not be hired, change brothels, or resign without permission from the German authorities.[28] They could be, and often were, transferred from place to place by the Germans, depending on demand in particular brothels or regions. Polish women, for example, found themselves sent off, not just to different cities in Poland but also to Germany to service forced laborers or to Wehrmacht brothels on the eastern front. They were not allowed to set the prices for their own services; instead, they were fixed by the Wehrmacht administration.[29] There are indications that brothel women who became pregnant were forced to undergo abortions, which is credible, given that such cases are well documented for eastern forced laborers.[30] On top of all this, of course, the women had to deal with the psychological and physical strain of the work, which could involve sex with 20 or 30 men per day. Many of them ignored the ban on alcohol in order to cope with their circumstances.

As for the women themselves, their origins and their personal experiences, little information has come to light. The numbers are uncertain; estimates of the total who served in the brothels run as high as 50,000, but the data is unavailable. They came to the work for a variety of reasons. Some women did "volunteer," to the extent that the concept applies. Some had been established sex workers, while others were new to it. In either case, many probably acted out of a desire to save themselves and their families from the threat of starvation, which was even more serious under German occupation, especially in the east. Some eastern women

may have become prostitutes as an alternative to deportation to Germany, about which stories circulated of attendant rape, sexual slavery, sterilization, impregnation, incarceration, and even execution.

Once a woman became a sex worker, switching to another profession was problematic. The Germans (and their allies, such as the Vichy administration) registered prostitutes and suspected prostitutes. The latter category was broad and ill-defined; invariably, the Germans registered some women who were not, in fact, prostitutes or who engaged in it only occasionally. Once registered, however, they often could not find other work. They had to report to the health authorities regularly for their STD exams, which brought them into contact with others in that social circle and gave them a reputation, both of which made a return to normal work difficult. Many bordello workers later maintained that they were forced into the job. They often said that the choice was either a bordello or a labor camp. German documentation backs this up in at least one case in Poland, in the city of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz).[31] In France, the Vichy authorities sent streetwalkers and unauthorized prostitutes to labor camps, such as Jargeau and La Lande, where the conditions were life-threatening; one way out was to work in a German brothel.[32] Some registered women in Poland even volunteered to work in Germany, despite the dangers just mentioned, and then hid the fact of their registration, in hopes of escaping the label.

For still other women, any pretense of choice disappeared. There are stories from Eastern Europe, albeit undocumented, of Germans simply rounding women up off the street and putting them in brothels. The Germans also brought women from concentration camps, especially the women's camp at Ravensbrück, to work in army brothels.[33] In the Warthegau region of occupied Poland, Reichsstatthalter Arthur Greiser decreed on September 25, 1940, that women who violated the regulation against relationships with Germans could be forced into sex work as punishment, and documentation exists to prove that the authorities did indeed implement the policy.[34] The alternative was imprisonment in a concentration camp— where a woman could be forced into sexual slavery in any case.

The main point in all of this, of course, is that the women who

worked in Wehrmacht brothels had little or no choice in the matter. Their lives were under the control of the military and governmental authorities, just as their bodies were used by tens of thousands of men who visited the brothels. They were victims of an official, militaristic, misogynistic masculinity and a racist ideology, and one should note that they never received any restitution or even acknowledgment for the damage that the Wehrmacht did to them. On the contrary, most of them lived lives of secret shame, once the war was over.

SOURCES Few primary sources on this topic have come to light so far, and those that have consist mostly of policy documents from the higher levels of the German military and political hierarchy. Records in BA-MA are the most fruitful, and some categories, such as the records of the Ortskommandanturen, may still hold some evidence that has not been uncovered yet, but initial searches in some of those records have turned up little. The citations in this essay lead to many of the relevant record groups.

Note: an earlier version of this essay used material from an oral interview with Leigh Fraser, a British nurse who provided unique details from the lives of brothel women. Her testimony has since been struck, however, following the receipt of evidence that places serious doubt upon her veracity.

As for secondary works, an early study of prostitution and the brothel system during World War II is Franz Seidler's *Prostitution, Homosexualiät, Selbstverstümmelung* (Neckargemünd: Kurt Vowinkel, 1977). Much of Seidler's work has come under criticism for its neoconservative approach and lack of citation, but this book is still a good starting point for research on this topic; the major obstacle is that it does not exist in an English translation.

Other important sources include: Maren Röger, *Kriegsbeziehungen: Intimität, Gewalt und Prostitution im besetzten Polen 1939 bis 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2015); Regina Mühlhäuser, *Eroberungen: Sexuelle Gewalttaten und intime Beziehungen deutscher Soldaten in der Sowjetunion, 1941– 1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2010); Regina Mühlhäuser, "Between 'Racial Awareness' and Fantasies of

Potency: Nazi Sexual Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, 1942–1945," in *Brutality and Desire*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 197–220; Birgit Beck, *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt: Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärgerichten 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöhningh, 2004); Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution während des Zweiten Weltkriegs im besetzten Frankreich* (Bremen: Temmen, 2002); Christa Paul, *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich Errichtete Bordelle Im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994); Maren Röger and Emmanuel Debruyne, "From Control to Terror: German Prostitution Policies in Eastern and Western European Territories during Both World Wars," *Gender and History* 28, no. 3 (November 2016): 687–708; Monika Flaschka, "Race, Rape, and Gender in Nazi-Occupied Territories" (PhD dissertation, Kent State University, 2009); and Wendy Jo Gertjejanssen, "Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II" (PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2004) (use with caution; there are some problems with the translation and interpretation of sources).

For more information on sexual politics and VD control, see Annette F. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Dagmar Herzog, "Hubris and Hypocrisy, Incitement and Disavowal: Sexuality and German Fascism," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1/2, (2002): 3–21; Julia Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1/2, (2002): 67–94; Annette F. Timm, "Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1/2, (2002): 223–255; Dagmar Herzog, "How 'Jewish' Is German Sexuality? Sex and Antisemitism in the Third Reich," in *German History from the Margins*, ed. Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 185–203; Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Birgit Beck, "Rape," in *Home/Front: The*

Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Geoffrey P. Megargee and Emily Hummel

NOTES

1. Because the records on the Wehrmacht brothels are scattered and few and deal mostly with policy matters at the upper levels of command, entries on individual sites are at present unattainable.

2. See Röger and Debruyne, "From Control to Terror," for a comparison of German practices in both world wars.

3. Oberkommando des Heeres / Az. 533 / Gen.z.b.V. beim OKH Nr. II 1004/42 g, Hauptquartier OKH, den 12.9.1942. Betr.: Verkehr des deutschen Soldaten mit der Zivilbevölkerung in den besetzten Ostgebieten. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1371. The author was Wilhelm Keitel, chief of the Armed Forces High Command, here acting in his capacity as administrative head of the army.

4. Der Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres / Gen Qu / Gen St d H, Nr. 18 497/40, 31 Juli 1940. BA-MA, RH 53-7/233a, Bl. 167.

5. See, e.g., Der Heeresarzt im Oberkommando des Heeres Gen St d H / Gen Qu, Az. 265, Nr. 17150 = 40, H Qu OKH, den 16.7.1940, Betr.: Prostitution und Bordellwesen im besetzten Gebiet Frankreichs. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1371.

6. Leitender San.Offizier b. Militärbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement, Spala, den 2. Oktober 1940. Bericht über Bordelle für Heeresangehörige im Gen.-Gouv. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1818.

7. Der Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres / Gen Qu / Gen St d H, Nr. 18 497/40, 31 Juli 1940. BA-MA, RH 53-7/233a, Bl. 167. Emphasis in original.

8. Der Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres, Nr. 8840/41 PA2 (I/Ia) Geheim, 6. September 1941. BA-MA, RH 53-7/233a, Bl. 166.

See also Oberkommando des Heeres / Gen Qu / Gen St d H, Nr. 11 672/40 geh., 7 August 1940, reverse of Bl. 167.

9. Standortarzt Bordeaux, Merkblatt, BA-MA, RH 36/641.

10. Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, p. 197.

11. Beck, "Rape," p. 267.

12. Der Reichsminister des Innern Pol. S-Kr.3, Nr. 2217/39, Berlin, den 9. September 1939. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1371.

13. Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, p. 196.

14. Oberkommando des Heeres, Generalstab des Heeres, Generalquartiermeister Az.: 265 IV b, Nr. : 11244 / 40 geh., H Qu OKH, den 29. Juli 1940, Betr.: Prostitution und Bordellwesen in Belgien und im besetzten Gebiet Frankreichs. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1371.

15. Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, p. 19.

16. Oberstarzt Dr. habil. Schreiber / Gen.Qu. / IV b, 25. Juli 1941, Betrifft: Bericht über die Dienstreise Oberstarzt Schreiber zum Deutschen Afrikakorps. BA-MA, RH 24-200/96.

17. Ibid.

18. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1819, Bl. 15–18.

19. Leitender San.Offizier b. Militärbefehlshaber im Generalgouvernement, Spala, den 2. October 1940. Bericht über Bordelle für Heeresangehörige im Gen.-Gouv. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1818. For an examination of policies in Poland, see Röger, *Kriegsbeziehungen*.

20. Röger and Debruyne, "From Control to Terror," p. 699.

21. Oberkommando des Heeres / Generalstab des Heeres / Generalquartiermeister Az.: 1271 IV b (IIa), Nr. I / 13 016 / 42. H Qu OKH, den 20. März 1942. Betr.: Prostitution und Bordellwesen in den besetzten Ostgebieten. BA-MA, RH 12-23/1818.

22. Feldkommandantur (V) 676 / Abt. Kdt/Ia/H, O.U. deni.

Dezember 1941, Sofortmassnahmen einer Ortskommandantur in Russland; Sicherungs-Division 444 / Abt. Ia und VII, 1.8.42., Sofortaufgaben der Ortskommandanturen; both in BA-MA, RH 36-605.

23. Röger and Debruyne, "From Control to Terror," p. 701. An internet search for the photo shows the claim repeated over and over again.

24. Standortarzt Bordeaux. Merkblatt. BA-MA, RH 36/641. Emphasis in original.

25. Oberkommando des Heeres / Gen Qu / Gen St d H Nr. 11 672/40 geh., 7 August 1940. BA-MA, RH 53-7/233a, Bl. 167 (reverse).

26. BA-MA, RH 36/444: Kreis-Kommandantur (KK) 729, Fongères, 1941–1943: Überwachung der Prostitution, incl. Bestimmungen für Wehrmachtbordelle, o. Dat., Bl. 2, 5.

27. Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, p. 19.

28. For examples of these kinds of rules, see BA-MA, RH 36/444: Kreis-Kommandantur (KK) 729, Fongères, 1941– 1943: Überwachung der Prostitution, incl. Bestimmungen für Wehrmachtbordelle, o. Dat., Bl. 3–5.

29. Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, p. 209.

30. Facilities for forced abortion and infanticide, known as *Ausländerkinderpflegestätten*, will be covered in vol. 5 of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.

31. Röger, *Kriegsbeziehungen*, p. 45. Both Röger and Mühlhäuser address the recruiting of prostitutes generally.

32. See the entries for Jargeau and La Lande in the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 3. See also Meinen, *Wehrmacht und Prostitution*, pp. 130–192.

33. Beck, "Rape," p. 267.

34. Röger, *Kriegsbeziehungen*, pp. 46–47.

FLÜCHTLINGSLAGER (FL) KALATSCH

This "refugee camp" existed from the end of September 1942 until November 1942 in the town of Kalatsch (map 9d) (today Kalach, Volgograd oblast', Russian Federation), 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) west of Stalingrad (today Volgograd). The Red Army liberated the town and the camp on November 23, 1942, during the initial phase of the Stalingrad counteroffensive. The camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585; as of October 1942, Korück 593).

The Germans created the camp in order to confine civilians from the city of Stalingrad, who were subject to evacuation westward by order of the Sixth Army headquarters, because Stalingrad was in the zone of combat operations.[1] Thus, the designation "refugee camp" was a misnomer or euphemism for a forced evacuation or internment camp.

The prisoners received wholly inadequate treatment in the camp: the food was lacking in both quality and quantity, and there was no medical aid; as a result, the prisoners developed infectious diseases, and some died. A document dated June 27, 1943, described the civilians' conditions of confinement as follows:

> In the transit camp at Kalach [*sic*], the people being sent on were kept outdoors, in snow, in rain, and they were starving. Food was given out once a day. It consisted of two spoonfuls of hot wheat and a small piece of uncooked horsemeat. Water was not provided at all. The mortality rate in this transit camp was very high. The weeping and groaning of the women, children, and sick here continued unceasingly. The German soldiers and bureaucrats looked at it all with indifference. People who had lost their strength were forced to do work that was too much for them, such as carrying logs and the like. Those who were unable to work were kicked by the

Germans and beaten with rubber truncheons and rifle butts.[2]

SOURCES Primary source material about FL Kalatsch can be found in BA-MA (RH 20/6); GAVolO; and the State Institution "Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of Volgograd Oblast'."

Additional information about FL Kalatsch can be found in the following publications: A. S. Chuianov, ed., *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v raionakh Stalingradskoi oblasti, podvergshikhsia nemetskoi okkupatsii: Dokumenty* (Stalingrad: Oblastnoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1945); O. A. Kalashnikova, T. A. Pavlova, O. A. Polukhina, N. M. Uskova, E. A. Shchelkacheva, and L. V. Iampol'skaia, eds., *Volgograd* (Volgograd, Russia: Izdatel'stvo VGPU "Peremena," 2008); and Gert C. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2006): 87–123.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. For details on the preparation for and implementation of the evacuation of the civilian population from Stalingrad, see Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee."

2. See document dated June 27, 1943, Stalingrad, Dzerzhinsky raion, in Chuianov, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*.

FLÜCHTLINGSLAGER (FL) POGODINSKOJE

FL Pogodinskoje existed as a "refugee camp" from the end of September 1942 until November 1942 in the small village of Pogodinskii (map 9d) (German: Pogodinskoje; today Pogo-din, Surovikinskii raion, Volgograd oblast', Russian Federation), about 100 kilometers (62 miles) west of Stalingrad (today Volgograd), north of Tschir (today Chir). It was not really a refugee camp, since the inmates were forced evacuees. In German documents, the camp was also known as the prisoner of war camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*, KGL) Pogodinskoje, although it did not contain prisoners of war, and as a reception camp (*Auffanglager*).

The camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585; as of October 1942, Korück 593). Initially, the camp was "watched over" by a subunit of Organisation Todt, the quasi-governmental construction agency, and later by the neighboring Dulag 123.[1]

The Germans built the camp to hold civilians from Stalingrad, who, by order of Sixth Army headquarters, were subject to evacuation westward, because Stalingrad was located in the zone of combat operations.[2] The camp in Pogodinskii was a transit camp: from this camp, people were sent by train (from Tschir) to the collection camp (*Sammellager*) (also known as the *Hauptflüchtlingslager* or main refugee camp) in Belaja Kalitwa (suburb). In early November 1942, an average of 200 people per day came to the camp, but with each passing day their number decreased.[3]

The treatment that the prisoners received was unsatisfactory: the food was lacking in both quantity and quality, and there was no medical aid, as a result of which infectious diseases broke out and

some people died. The Red Army liberated the camp on November 23, 1942, during the initial phase of the Stalingrad counteroffensive.

SOURCES Primary source material about FL Pogodinskoje can be found in BA-MA (RH 20/6); GAVolO; and the State Institution "Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of Volgograd Oblast'."

Additional information about FL Pogodinskoje can be found in the following publications: O. A. Kalashnikova, T. A. Pavlova, O. A. Polukhina, N. M. Uskova, E. A. Shchelkacheva, and L. V. Iampol'skaia, eds., *Volgograd* (Volgograd: Izdatel'stvo VGPU "Peremena," 2008); and Gert C. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2006): 87–123.

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NOTES

1. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee," p. 114.
2. For details on the preparation for and implementation of the evacuation of the civilian population of Stalingrad, see Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee."
3. Korück 593, Bericht vom 5.11.1942: Besichtigung des Flüchtlingslagers Tschir am 4.11.1942, BA-MA, RH 23/353.

FLÜCHTLINGSLAGER (FL) TSCHIR

FL Tschir existed as a "refugee camp" from the end of September 1942 until November 1942. It was deployed at the Tschir railroad station (map 9d) (today Chir, Volgograd oblast', Russian Federation), 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Stalingrad (today Volgograd).[1] It was not really a refugee camp, since the inmates were actually forced evacuees. In German documents, the camp was also called a reception camp (*Auffanglager*), a collection camp (*Sammellager*), or a prisoner of war camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*)—the last also a misnomer, since the camp did not contain prisoners of war.

The camp was subordinate to the Sixth Army Rear Area Commander (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 585; as of October 1942, Korück 593). Local Command (*Ortskommandantur*) I/765, at the Tschir railroad station, apparently exercised direct control over the camp.

The Germans built the camp to hold civilians from the city of Stalingrad temporarily, who, by order of the Sixth Army headquarters, were subject to evacuation to the west, because Stalingrad was located in the zone of combat operations.[2] The camp at the Tschir railroad station was a transit camp: from this camp, the Germans sent people by rail to the main refugee camp (*Hauptflüchtlingslager*) at Belaja Kalitwa (suburb).

The treatment that the prisoners received was horrible: no shelter, food that was inadequate in quality and meager in quantity, and no medical aid; as a result, there were outbreaks of infectious diseases and instances of death in the camp.[3] A description of the civilians' conditions of confinement in the camp can be found in the testimony of Stalingrad resident Iraida Modina:

> After we crossed the Don at Kalach, they told us that we were going to Nizhnii Chir. Mama could no longer walk on her own, and Zina and Mariia led and supported her under the

arms. We were afraid they would shoot her. Mariia managed to stop a truck that was driving past, and she asked the German driver to take Mama and me to Nizhnii Chir. "Nizhnii Chir, Nizhnii Chir," she repeated to the German. He took Mama and me, but after a time, for some reason, he put us out somewhere along the road. Mama was lying on the side of the road, and I was sitting next to her. I was very frightened. I was afraid that my sisters would not find us. Soon thereafter my sisters caught up with us, and we decided to always stay together from then on. When they brought us to the Chir railroad station, the first snow was falling. It was evening, and we looked for a place to spend the night in the freezing weather that had set in. At the station there were some storehouses made of red brick. We went into one of these buildings. There was no one there. Inside the building, we found a cement floor and cement walls. We sat around Mama, leaning our backs against the wall and covering ourselves with a quilt that already had become quite threadbare. After waking up in the morning, the first thing I saw was the quilt, covered with hoarfrost. My sisters woke up. We had to go, but we couldn't get up. The frozen tendons in our legs would not obey. Slowly we began to rock from side to side, using our hands and arms to push off the floor, until the tendons warmed up from our movements. We stood up, and my sisters took Mama under her arms and led her onto the platform. We were chilled to the bone and felt that we would inevitably get sick (which in these conditions was tantamount to death) unless we could get into a heated building for a short while. Not far from the station was a small wooden cottage, the door of which stood half open. We went into the cottage. It was crammed full of people. The mistress of the house let in everyone who could manage to find room. We stayed in the warm hut for about 30 minutes until the train came to the station for us, and that was enough time to get warm. I remember the mistress of the house. She saved many people's lives, including ours, at that time.

Stalingrad resident Valentin Nefedov's testimony supplements that of Iraida Modina:

> On foot, we reached the Chir railroad station. The large area around it was fenced in with barbed wire. One may say that we were the last ones to be shoved inside by the Germans, who then shut the "pen." It was late November, and in the daytime a light rain had already begun to fall. We started looking around: the area was large, almost empty, and they did not allow Russians into the small buildings that were located there. From time to time, cattle cars or simply flatcars were brought up to the station, and people were loaded in like livestock and taken westward. But the rain grew heavier … Luckily for us, Uncle Fedor spotted a rather large pit in the ground, most likely from a small bomb. On top, as a roof, we spread a Persian carpet and oilcloths, and somehow we were sheltered in the "dugout" from the rain, which by now had turned into a downpour. But a large number of people thus were left to get wet out in the open … At night it was freezing, minus 20 degrees Celsius [-4 degrees Fahrenheit] … In this "pen" we also met relatives on my father's side—his brother's wife and their two children. The little girl was 4 years old—her mother didn't let her out of her arms all night long, she kept her warm, shielded her with her own body from the wind, and the little boy, Vitia, was 10. He, drenched like everyone else, pressed his back against his mother's legs and knees. By morning the little guy had frozen to death…. And in the morning there was groaning at the Chir station.[4]

The Red Army liberated the railroad station and the camp on November 23, 1942, during the initial phase of the Stalingrad counteroffensive.

SOURCES Primary source material about FL Tschir can be found in BA-MA (RH 20/6), GAVolO; and the State Institution "Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of Volgograd Oblast'."

Additional information about FL Tschir can be found in the following publications: A. S. Chuianov, ed., *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v raionakh Stalingradskoi oblasti, podvergshikhsia nemetskoi okkupatsii: Dokumenty*

(Stalingrad: Oblastnoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1945); O. A. Kalashnikova, T. A. Pavlova, O. A. Polukhina, N. M. Uskova, E. A. Shchelkacheva, and L. V. Iampol'skaia, eds., *Volgograd* (Volgograd: Izdatel'stvo VGPU "Peremena," 2008); Gert C. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2006): 87–123; Dieter Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht: Deutsche Militärbesatzung und einheimische Bevölkerung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1944* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 2008).

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht*, 323, claims that the camp was located at the settlement (railroad station) of Nizhnechirskaia (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] south of the Chir station), but this assertion appears to be incorrect. The same incorrect statement is also found in a document dated June 27, 1943 (cf. Chuianov, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*).

2. For details on the preparation for and implementation of the evacuation of the civilian population from Stalingrad, see Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee."

3. On the German evaluation of the conditions of confinement of the civilian population in the camp, see Korück 593, Bericht vom 5.11.1942: Besichtigung des Flüchtlingslagers Tschir am 4.11.1942, BA-MA, RH 23/353.

4. The testimonies are posted on the website http://serjcoltel.livejournal.com/4859.html.

HAUPTFLÜCHTLINGSLAGER (HFL) BELAJA KALITWA

HFL Belaja Kalitwa, the "main refugee camp" at Belaja Kalitwa (today Belaia Kalitva, Rostov oblast', Russian Federation) (map 9i) existed from the end of September 1942 until January 1943. The town lies 168 kilometers (104 miles) northeast of Rostov-na-Donu and approximately 300 kilo-meters (186 miles) southwest of Stalingrad (today Volgograd). In German documents, Belaja Kalitwa was called Vorstadt.

The camp was subordinate to the Commanding General of Security Troops (*Kommandierender General der Sicherungstruppen*) and Commander of the Army Group Don Rear Area (*Befehlshaber Heeresgebiet Don*). Belaja Kalitwa was the location for the Chief Field Command (*Oberfeldkommandantur*) 398, with the subordinate Local Command (*Ortskommandantur*) I/926; indications are that they exercised direct control over the camp.

The Germans created the camp to temporarily confine civilians from Stalingrad, which, by order of the Sixth Army headquarters, was subject to evacuation to the west because it was located in the zone of combat operations.[1] The camp was also called a reception camp (*Auffanglager*) or a prisoner of war (POW) camp (*Kriegsgefangenenlager*), although it was not connected to the POW camp system in any way and did not hold POWs. "Refugee camp" was itself a deliberate misnomer or euphemism for what was really a forced evacuation or internment camp.

The conditions in the camp were unsatisfactory: food was inadequate and meager, medical assistance was absent altogether, and, as a consequence, infectious diseases broke out and some people died. For example, according to a report from the head of the camp in Vorstadt, "Among the refugees during the period [of] October 27, 1942, to November 2, 1942, 24 refugees died from

exhaustion, injury, and starvation."[2]

A 22-year-old from Stalingrad, S. A. Ivanova, who was in HFL Balaja Kalitwa, described the conditions there as follows:

> On October 26 we arrived at the Chir [German: Tschir] station, where we were loaded onto open flatcars and taken to the Belaia Kalitva station in Rostov oblast'. We reached the Belaia Kalitva station on October 29 and lived out in the open there until November 13. It rained, and later there were freezing temperatures as well. The old people, the sick, and the children were dying and freezing to death. A great many were buried right there at the station. Graves for them were dug by those who were still able to hold spades in their hands. It was right there that I witnessed the following: a Soviet citizen, who had worked on building a railroad bridge at the Belaia Kalitva station and no longer had the strength to work, said as much to a German soldier and asked for something to eat. He was taken off the job and led away somewhere. The next morning he was hanged in the presence of all the remaining people busy at the construction site. People were sorted at the Belaia Kalitva station: the healthy adult men, young men, and young women were torn away from their families by the Germans, and some were taken to Germany, while some were taken to work in other places. The grief of the families left behind was boundless. The specter of an agonizing and terrible death hovered over both those who left and those who stayed behind. But the German slave owners were touched by neither the tears nor the cries of the unfortunate. In early February 1943, not long before their retreat, the Germans shot 66 Stalingrad families in the Grushevskaia ravine, Belaia Kalitva raion, Rostov oblast'. The shooting took place over the course of three days, from February 3 to February 6. During the nights, the Germans took people in trucks from the small village of Sinegorsk to the Grushevskaia ravine, located 18 kilometers [11 miles] from the small village. Entire families were taken. There were both old people and children. Before the departure their last belongings were taken away. Officially it was announced that these families were being sent farther into the rear area of the

> German army. But in fact they were taken into the ravine, where they also were shot. The Germans planned to shoot 158 more people, but on February 8, 1943, the Red Army put an end to this nightmare. Found at that time was a list of people subject to execution by shooting, consisting entirely of people from Stalingrad. Among them was my family as well. The list was headed "List for removal of politically unreliable families."[3]

The testimony of S. A. Ivanova supplements a report dated June 8, 1943, that described the conditions in the camp as follows:

> By early October 1942, the Germans herded around 10,000 Soviet citizens from the German-occupied raions of Stalingrad into Belaia Kalitva and placed them in the poultry houses and stables of a sovkhoz [state-owned collective farm]. The excessive congestion of human beings in impractical accommodations without provision of food of any kind resulted in diseases, and every day as many as 100 prisoners died of disease and starvation. Soon thereafter the German command suggested that the Soviet citizens volunteer to go off to work in Germany. When there proved to be no one willing to leave, the Germans organized a forcible selection of those who were fit for work, for the purpose of slave labor. Adhering to the principle of driving a strong, healthy workforce into slavery, the Germans selected Soviet citizens who were fit for work, not taking into account that they were separating children and parents. All the citizens who were selected were placed in special barracks surrounded with barbed wire and, after being subjected to a medical examination, they were sent off to Germany in railroad cars under strict guard.[4]

The selection of able-bodied civilians for use at forced labor was handled in the camp by Economic Detachment (*Wirtschaftskommando*) 3 (Major Schütte), which was subordinate to Economic Inspectorate (*Wirtschaftsinspektion*) Don-Donez (Generalmajor Hans Nagel). Economic Detachment Rostow, which was subordinate to Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*)

Don, was responsible for supplying the civilians in the camp with food. In the entire period of the camp's existence, 72,000 passed through it.[5] Some of them were sent to Germany to work, and some were placed in other raions and oblasts, including the General Region (*Generalbezirk*) Dnjepropetrowsk (Dnepropetrovsk, today Dnipro, Ukraine).

SOURCES Primary source material about the HFL Belaja Kalitwa can be found in BA-MA (RH 20/6; RH 22/81; RW 31/615; RW 46/42); NARA (microcopy T-77, rolls 1160, 1207); GAVolO; GARoO; and the State Institution "Center for Documentation of the Contemporary History of Volgograd Oblast'."

Additional information about HFL Belaja Kalitwa can be found in the following publications: A. S. Chuianov, ed., *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v raionakh Stalingradskoi oblasti, podvergshikhsia nemetskoi okkupatsii: Dokumenty* (Stalingrad: Oblastnoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1945); O. A. Kalashnikova, T. A. Pavlova, O. A. Polukhina, N. M. Uskova, E. A. Shchelkacheva, and L. V. Iampol'skaia, eds., *Volgograd* (Volgograd, Russia: Izdatel'stvo VGPU "Peremena," 2008); and Gert C. Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee und die Zivilbevölkerung von Stalingrad," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 54, no. 1 (2006): 87–123.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. For details on the preparation for and implementation of the evacuation of the civilian population from Stalingrad, see Lübbers, "Die 6. Armee."

2. NARA, microcopy T-77, roll 1160, frame 761.

3. See Statement of S. A. Ivanova, born in 1920, Stalingrad native, a worker at the "Barrikady" factory, in Chuianov, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*.

4. See file dated June 8, 1943, in Chuianov, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*.

5. Wirtschaftskommando 3, Bericht vom 8.3.1943, NARA, microcopy T-77, roll 1207, frames 529–531.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) DONGELBERG

The Germans established the internment camp Ilag Dongelberg in July 1942, in Dongelberg, Belgium, in a wing of a castle that was formerly a children's home (map 2). The camp received field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) 43 406 L on December 17, 1943; the number was struck on March 20, 1945, shortly after the Germans disbanded the camp. Ilag Dongelberg was under the administration of the Military Commander for Belgium and Northern France (*Militärbefehlshaber Belgien-Nordfrankreich*), but, several other agencies, including the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*), were also involved in its administration.

As of March 27, 1943, the camp held 66 interned women, including 63 British (among them 10 Jews), 2 Australians, and 1 South African. Those numbers remained fairly consistent throughout the camp's existence.

Conditions in the camp were relatively comfortable, with spacious rooms, central heating, and electric light. The International Committee of the Red Cross, whose representatives had access to the camp, had protective power–like responsibilities for the internees. The food was adequate; the rations matched those of Belgian (later German) civilians. On October 9, 1943, the British government gave permission for its interned citizens to perform paid work on a voluntary basis. The emphasis was on getting the internees to do agricultural work on the grounds and so provide some of their own food. The authorities allowed the prisoners to write a card and two letters weekly, and the internees could attend religious services in the village (for Catholics) or the camp (for the Church of England).

SOURCES Primary source information about Ilag Dongelberg can be found in PAAA R 41654.

Additional information about Ilag Dongelberg can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, Vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 170; Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45. Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954); *The Prisoner of War. The Official Journal of the Prisoners of War* 2, no. 24 (London: Department of the Red Cross and St. John War Organisation, St. James's Palace, 1944), p. 6.

Alexander Kruglov and Geoffrey Megargee
Trans. Robert Hyams

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) GIROMAGNY

The Germans established an internment camp (Ilag) for enemy civilians in Giromagny, France (near Belfort), on November 15, 1943, from the staff of the former Ilag VIII (map 2). The camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Frankreich*).

Ilag Giromagny primarily held British and Commonwealth citizens who had been living in continental Western Europe when the war broke out. As of February 1, 1944, there were 980 internees in the camp, 904 of whom were from Britain and the Commonwealth—835 from the United Kingdom, 41 from Canada, 20 from Australia, 5 from South Africa, 2 from New Zealand, and 1 from India. The 76 other internees were American.[1]

The camp was located in a former French army barracks, which was later used by German forces after they occupied Giromagny in 1940. The camp contained nine stone barracks, 56 meter by 16 meter (184 feet by 53 feet), with tile roofs. The larger rooms within the barracks had three electric lights, while the smaller rooms only had one; however, all rooms had large windows to allow for sufficient lighting. One barrack was reserved for use as the camp mail room and chapel; this barrack also contained the storeroom for Red Cross parcels. A second barrack held the canteen, library, study hall, theater, and exercise room. The other seven barracks were the internees' quarters, six of which held British internees and one of which held Americans. The camp kitchen was located in a separate building.[2]

Conditions in the camp were relatively good, according to Red Cross inspectors. The food was reportedly decent and roughly equivalent to that which was available to German civilians. However, the internees complained that supplies of tobacco and cigarettes were inadequate. Another problem was a shortage of clothing, which the internees asked the Red Cross to ameliorate.

The canteen was deemed to be well stocked. Hygienic conditions in the camp were good. The sanitary facilities were adequate, and the prisoners were able to take hot showers once a week. Vermin were reportedly not a problem. The camp infirmary had about 20 beds for sick internees, which were not full at the time of the Red Cross inspectors' visit in February 1944, indicating that the internees' health was generally good. Most of the medical care was provided by two orderlies and a medical student, with periodic visits from a German doctor. Seriously ill people requiring surgery or advanced treatment were sent to the larger hospital at Ilag Vittel. Medical supplies were provided by the Germans.[3] On March 16, 1944, the Germans reorganized the camp as Stalag 315.

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag Giromagny is located in TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 476: Camp for Civilians Giromagny France 47-06) and PAAA (R41656).

Additional information about Ilag Giromagny can be found in the following publications: Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45. Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954); Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 170; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 113.

Alexander Kruglov and Dallas Michelbacher
Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. PAAA, R41656.
2. PAAA, R41656.
3. PAAA, R41656.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) SAINT-DENIS

The Germans established Ilag Saint-Denis (today Seine-Saint-Denis), northeast of Paris, in June 1940 (map 2). The internment camp was subordinate to the Armed Forces Commander France, Administrative District (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Frankreich*, *Verwaltungsbezirk*) until June 21, 1941, when it ceased to be an independent camp. On July 28, 1941, it became a dependent camp of Frontstalag 122 in Compiègne and was subordinate to the Military Commander of Northwest France (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Nordwestfrankreich*).

The camp held American, British, and Commonwealth civilians who had been in continental Western Europe when the war broke out. Conditions in the camp were generally decent. However, a Red Cross inspector who visited the camp on June 5, 1943, reported that the camp was overcrowded. A subsequent visitor reported that there were 1,909 internees in the camp as of October 5, 1943. This inspector believed that transferring about 200 internees to other camps would relieve the overcrowding. The inspector who visited in June noted that there was a shortage of clothing, particularly for those internees who were working, and that a reserve supply of clothing should be created; the October visitor reported that this issue had been addressed. Other problems noted in June 1943 included the presence of vermin in the barracks and a minimal selection available in the camp canteen, although the former problem had apparently been solved by October 1943.[1]

According to the journal *The Prisoner of War*, the internees lived in a collection of barracks and huts, all of which were heated. Indoor and outdoor games were available, as were a library, theater, orchestra, art classes, and a school. The YMCA provided most of the materials for intellectual and artistic activities in the camp. A camp committee of British subjects directed all the activities. Medical and dental care were available. The internees

received the same rations as German civilians, plus weekly Red Cross parcels. Religious services were available for both Catholics and Protestants, and the internees could both send and receive mail.[2] The Germans disbanded the camp in August 1944.

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag St. Denis is located in TNA (World War II Prisoner of War Camps, Code 475: St. Denis [Grand Caserne] Civ. Int. Camp Paris France 49-02) and PAAA (R41656).

Additional information about Ilag St. Denis can be found in the following publications: Walter Wynne Mason, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45. Prisoners of War* (Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1954), pp. 94, 145; Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 171; and *The Prisoner of War: The Official Journal of the Prisoners of War* 2, no. 24 (1944): 6.

Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Robert Hyams

NOTES

1. PAAA, R41656.

2. *Prisoner of War*, p. 6.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) VITTEL

Ilag Vittel (map 2) was established in May 1941 as a civilian internment camp for holders of British and American passports and Allied prisoners of war (POWs) who were being held for exchange. Officially known as Ilag 121 or Frontstalag 194, it housed 2,000–3,000 internees, mostly British citizens, in addition to Americans, South Americans, and citizens of other Allied countries. In Vittel, in March 1944, there were 1,800 British citizens, 300 Americans, 250 South Americans (many of them Polish Jews with South American passports), and 75 Soviet citizens.[1] Among the internees in Vittel were several hundred Jews with British, Palestinian, American, or other foreign citizenship, who were initially treated no differently from the other internees. The Germans viewed the British, American, and South American internees in Vittel (including Jews) as candidates for exchange with German civilians or POWs in internment camps in England, the United States, Palestine, or other British territories.

Vittel is located in northeastern France, approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) south of Nancy, in the Vosges Département region of Lorraine. It is the site of a well-known resort famous for its mineral springs. The resort consists of a number of hotels situated in and around a large park bordering on the main street of the town. Within the park there are fountains, a lake, tennis courts, and other sports facilities. During the first year of the war, and especially after the German invasion of June 1940, the hotels in Vittel were used to treat wounded soldiers—at first French soldiers, then German soldiers and wounded civilians. The area around Vittel was designated as a "forbidden zone" due to its proximity to the border.

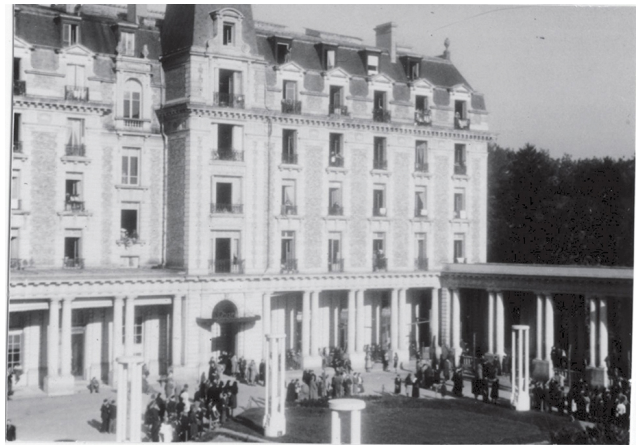
Vittel became a civilian internment camp in May 1941, when nearly 2,000 internees—more than 1,000 women with British citizenship, a few children, a group of elderly men, and British (or

Canadian) nuns who cared for them—were transferred to Vittel from a concentration camp in Besançon, in eastern France. Many of the women had been born in France but had married British citizens; a few were Jews with Palestinian citizenship. They had been arrested by French police beginning in November 1940 and brought to Besançon, where they were housed in primitive barracks, lacking the most elementary facilities. British authorities threatened that, unless conditions in Besançon were improved, they would retaliate against German POWs in British hands. Shortly thereafter, the women, the elderly men, and the nuns were moved to Vittel. In October 1942, some 300 women with American citizenship, who had been arrested in Paris, were brought to Vittel, while their husbands were sent to other internment camps. In 1943, Vittel became a family camp, and many of the husbands joined their wives.

Conditions in Vittel were unique in comparison to other German internment camps. The internees lived in hotels, all of which had running water, and some of which had central heating. Where no central heating was available, small stoves were provided. Some rooms had private baths. In others, the bath was down the hall. A few internees were assigned to each room, and they could change their rooms if they wished. Families were allowed to live together.

Internees were not required to work but were asked to perform household chores such as peeling vegetables. Young men, however, were required to help with the maintenance of the camp. Much of the manual labor in the camp was performed by Senegalese POWs who had been with the French army.

During the day, the internees could use the sports facilities in Vittel. Movies were shown twice a week, and, in addition, the internees organized concerts and theater productions, complete with costumes. One of the hotels housed a library with thousands of volumes. Another hotel served as a hospital, staffed by British and French doctors who were POWs. The nuns in the camp organized a school for the young children of internees. Older students could attend lectures given by visiting professors in preparation for their baccalaureate examinations. Religious services of several denominations were held in the camp.



Ilag Vittel. The departure of 100 prisoners who were repatriated from Vittel to their homeland, October 1943. USHMM WS #13675.

Although the camp provided only a basic diet, British and American internees received supplementary food packages from the British or American Red Cross. The packages contained canned goods as well as cigarettes, which could be used for barter to obtain fresh food items from residents of the surrounding area. British internees received monthly cash allowances from the British Red Cross so that they could purchase fresh fruit and toiletries at the canteen. American internees received cash allowances from the American Red Cross sporadically. Kitchens in the hotels provided hot water for tea or coffee at all hours of the day, while the kitchen stoves were available for private cooking by internees. Some internees also grew vegetables in small gardens allocated to them. A number of internees set up small workshops where they repaired shoes or produced kitchen utensils fashioned from discarded Red Cross tins.

Internees in Vittel could correspond with the outside world, although their letters were censored. They could receive packages and money transfers from friends and relatives, and they could receive visitors.

Population changes occurred frequently in Vittel. Internees were transferred to Vittel from civilian internment camps in France and Germany or sent from Vittel to those camps. Internees arrived

from Belgium and the Netherlands. There were 130 Libyan Jews with British citizenship who were brought to Vittel in the summer of 1944. A number of repatriations took place in which internees from Vittel were exchanged for German civilians or POWs and repatriated to England, the United States, or Palestine. The last repatriation took place in July 1944.

The camp, including the hotels and the park, was surrounded by three rows of barbed wire. German soldiers who had been wounded or were too old for combat, patrolled the outer perimeter of the barbed wire. Within the camp, there were no guards and internees could circulate freely until curfew.

As the number of internees in Vittel increased, hotels outside the park across the main street of Vittel were opened to accommodate them. To enable the internees to reach the park, the Germans constructed a footbridge over the main street.

Internees who needed medical care not available in Vittel were sent to the hospital in Nancy or to a hospital in Paris, accompanied by a guard. Some internees visited the surrounding villages accompanied by a guard. On at least one occasion, internees were taken to a nearby football stadium to attend a sports event. Internees were occasionally released from the camp for medical reasons, or for reasons of age, and were allowed to return to their homes in France.

The commandant of Ilag Vittel was Hauptmann Otto Landhauser, an Austrian. Before the war, he had been a physical education instructor. Landhauser was aided by two women chosen by the internees—one British and one American (known as "captains")—who helped manage the camp. They, in turn, appointed "floor supervisors," who checked the rooms on each floor of the hotels twice daily (morning and evening) to make sure that everyone was present. The captains arranged the schedule of chores. They also helped draw up lists of the internees who would be included in prisoner exchanges, and they were supposed to notify the protecting power of any new arrivals. A number of internees worked in the administration of the camp, helped distribute the Red Cross packages, and helped organize sports and cultural events.

Landhauser had two assistants, Stefan Wellens (apparently of

the Wehrmacht) and a person known as Servai (possibly Erwin Serve), who searched the rooms of internees suspected of subversive activities and meted out punishments to those who violated camp rules, such as confinement to one's hotel or room or to the guard house, or the loss of mail privileges. One internee who complained to a Red Cross representative was transferred to an internment camp in Germany. In the event of an escape from Vittel, Landhauser and his two assistants, armed and accompanied by dogs, would search the surrounding area. Germans also served as censors in the camp.

As a civilian internment camp, Vittel was under the supervision of neutral Switzerland, which served as the protecting power for citizens of Britain, the United States, and a number of South American countries. Swiss diplomats visited Vittel every three months and filed detailed reports with British, American, and Swiss authorities. Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the YMCA also visited the camp periodically.

An active underground existed in Vittel. Its members included French workmen who entered the camp daily and doctors from the hospital, especially Dr. Jean Levy, a French Jewish surgeon. Also active in the underground were a number of internees with British citizenship, some of them members of the Communist Party. With Dr. Levy's assistance, they helped several internees and POWs escape from the camp. Madame Germaine Bouloumie, the local Red Cross representative in the town of Vittel, also tried to help the internees.

Among the Polish internees with South American passports were some survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, including the famous poet Yitzhak Katznelson. Initially, these internees were recognized as Americans and received food packages from the American Red Cross. In early 1944, the Germans announced that the South American passports would no longer be considered valid. In March 1944, Jews holding such passports were isolated in the hotel Beau-Site, some distance from the main camp. On April 18, 1944, 163 Jews with South American passports were sent to Drancy.[2] On April 29, 1944, they were deported in convoy number 72 to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

The night before the deportation, two internees escaped from Vittel. The morning of the deportation, several of the internees tried to commit suicide. Three succeeded; others, whose attempts failed, were hospitalized.

On May 16, 1944, an additional 51 Jews with South American passports, some taken on stretchers from the hospital, were sent to Drancy.[3] On May 30, 1944, they were deported in convoy number 75 to Auschwitz. Four internees escaped from the train.

Most of the (non-Jewish) internees in Vittel, unaware of events taking place in Poland, were apathetic to the plight of the Jewish internees. However, a group of non-Jewish internees who had heard about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising from the Polish Jews in Vittel, led by the American pastor, tried to intervene with the commandant on behalf of those who were about to be deported. When the commandant assured them that the internees were merely being transferred to another camp, the pastor offered to accompany the internees to their new location. The commandant ordered that he be confined to his hotel, and other internees who tried to protest were confined to their hotels as well. One of the British internees wanted to marry a young Polish Jewish woman, thus conferring British citizenship on her and saving her from deportation, but the commandant refused to grant permission.

After the second deportation, approximately 30 Jews remained in Vittel, some in the hospital, the rest in hiding. They hid in the rooms of Jewish or non-Jewish internees until the liberation.

In August 1944, a train carrying several hundred Jewish prisoners and their families as well as French Resistance fighters—apparently convoy number 78 to Auschwitz— stopped briefly at Vittel. Those inside the train, who had been traveling for three days without food or water, cried for help. Madame Bouloumie, the local Red Cross representative, appealed to Landhauser to assist the prisoners, but he refused. Activists among the internees managed to smuggle food and water to the prisoners before the train continued its journey.

Vittel was liberated on September 12, 1944, by the French army of General Philippe Leclerc de Hauteclocque, followed by American army troops. Those who remained in the camp were interrogated by the liberating forces before being allowed to

depart. Internees who were French citizens were permitted to return home; British and American citizens were repatriated. Internees who had no home to return to were taken to a hotel in La Bourboule in the south of France. By the end of October 1944, all the internees had left the camp.

Hauptmann Landhauser and his staff left Vittel in early September before the arrival of the French army. They apparently took the records of the camp with them; those records disappeared. After the war, Landhauser was arrested and tried for war crimes by a military tribunal. He was acquitted on the basis of testimony by former internees in Vittel, who praised his conduct while at the internment camp.

Dr. Jean Levy was decorated by the French and British governments for his heroic actions in Vittel. Sofka Skipwith and Madeleine Steinberg (née White), who were active in the underground in Vittel, were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Primary source information about Ilag Vittel can be found in the Central Zionist Archives; the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine; NARA (RG 289); and the Swiss Federal Archives.

Additional information about Ilag Vittel can be found in the following publications: Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–45* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990); Serge Klarsfeld, *Memorial to the Jews Deported from France 1942–44* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1983); Adam Rutkowski, "Le Camp d'internement et d'échange pour Juifs de Vittel," *Le Monde Juif* 102 (April–June 1981): 35–70; Claire Soussen, "Le Camp de Vittel, 1941–44" (MA thesis, Sorbonne, Paris, 1993); Claire Soussen, "Le Camp de Vittel 1941–44," *Le Monde Juif* 153 (January–April 1995); Madeleine Steinberg, "Les Camps de Besançon and Vittel, (fevrier 1941 a juillet 1944). Témoignage d'une Interne Civile," *Le Monde Juif* 137 (January–March 1990); Madeleine Steinberg, "Témoignage: Paris, Besançon, Vittel 1941–44: Une Internee Civile Britanninque Témoin Indirect de la Fin du Ghetto de Varsovie," *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah, Le Monde Juif*, 180 (January–June 2004): 6–23; and Sofka Skipwith, *Sofka*

von Sofka: Das Leben einer russischen Prinzessen (Hamburg; Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1968).

Sara Kadosh

NOTES

1. Report of the Swiss diplomat who visited Vittel, March 11, 1944, NARA II, RG 389, Box 2142.

2. For the list of deportees, see HIJEFS to Gerhard M. Riegner, World Jewish Congress, September 29, 1944, Central Zionist Archives, C3/210. Some sources state that 173 Jews were deported in the first transport. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the deportation lists were drawn up ahead of time, but not everyone on the list was actually deported. For an exact list of those on the transport, see Klarsfeld, *Memorial to the Jews Deported*, pp. 544–547. See also Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, p. 617.

3. Some sources estimate that 52 or more were deported. For an exact list of those on the transport, see Klarsfeld, *Memorial to the Jews Deported*, p. 568, and Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, p. 638.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) IV

Ilag IV existed from late 1943 or early 1944 until the spring of 1945. It was located in Schloss Eisenberg (today Jezeří Castle, in the Czech Republic), in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV (map 4e). Ilag IV operated under the authority of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District IV (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* IV). The camp held Western Allied internees.

The conditions in Ilag IV are unknown, although, generally speaking, the Germans treated Western Allied internees relatively well. The International Committee of the Red Cross, whose representatives had access to the camp, had protecting power–like responsibilities for the internees.

SOURCES Additional information about Ilag IV can be found in the following publication: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 171.

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INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) VII Z

The Wehrmacht established Ilag VII Z as a civilian internment camp for Americans located in the Tittmoning castle (map 4f). The camp was a branch of the larger Ilag VII located 20 kilo-meters (14 miles) to the south in Laufen. The Wehrmacht first used the Tittmoning castle as a prisoner of war camp for officers, Oflag VII D, from February to November 1941. From November until February 1942, Oflag VII D was redesignated as Oflag VII C/Z, a subcamp of the Laufen officers' camp. In February, the Germans sent all these prisoners to Oflag VII B in Eichstätt. The Laufen camp, thereafter, became Ilag VII, and Tittmoning became its subcamp, Ilag VII Z.

Starting in the fall of 1942, Ilag VII Z held prisoners from North and South America. The majority held passports from the United States, and a small minority were from countries in Central and South America. In June 1943, of 369 internees, 327 had US citizenship. In April of the following year, 206 of 272 internees were nominally from the United States. Though they held American passports, most internees came from Poland and only a minority spoke English.[1] Many of the Polish men were separated from their families, some still in Poland, others in different civilian internment camps. The inhabitants ranged in age considerably. A significant number were over the age of 60 and suffered from chronic diseases. An international observer in April 1944 suggested that 54 of the 306 internees were not healthy enough to remain interned.[2]

A high proportion of the inhabitants at the camp were Jewish. In July 1943, 92 of the prisoners (over 25%) were Jews from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.[3] Some were American expatriates, while others, such as Zvi Rosenwein, had been fortunate to obtain passports to countries like Paraguay in the midst of the war.[4] They had their own rabbi in the camp and were allowed to hold religious services. When one died, he was buried according to Jewish rites. This group was able to remain at

Tittmoning through to liberation in 1945.

When the first civilian internees arrived at the camp, they regarded it as a step down from the well-equipped Laufen camp.[5] The heavy and imposing medieval castle offered security and insulation, but these came with substantial trade-offs for the internees. The interiors of the three main buildings had dim lighting, and, although electric lighting was wired throughout, the small nearby town could not sustain the power necessary to keep the building well lit.[6] The bordering Salzach River created a damp environment, and the combined dark and dank attributes of the castle contributed to a low state of morale.

The buildings could not be adapted to the number of inhabitants of the camp. Although there were sufficient beds for the internees, the castle buildings varied considerably in size and quality of accommodations. Some rooms held up to 40 inhabitants, while others held as few as 8. In one building, prisoners—several of them elderly—slept on the second floor and had to descend into the basement to access the bathrooms.[7] Nearly 200 prisoners had to share six toilets, and the cesspools were located just outside the inhabitants' windows, which raised health concerns, particularly in the hot summer months, but, due to the nature of the castle structure, the authorities were unable to alter the situation.[8]

Upon first arriving, many believed the quarters to be only temporary. As a result, the inmates made little effort to improve the facilities through gardening or minor repairs, as happened in many other civilian camps. Temporary quarters became permanent, and the prisoners grew increasingly resentful. As one International Red Cross observer noted in August 1943, "So the miscontentment [*sic*] is ever growing and the conditions which might be regarded as bearable are slowly felt as inhuman."[9]

Prisoners also initially exhibited a hostility toward work, fearing that any type of activity might advance the German war effort. The commandant initially proposed gardening and farming activities outside the camp, but these were rejected out of hand. By the summer of 1943, 31 prisoners had volunteered for work outside the camp, but the internees' representative refused to allocate these men their share of aid packages because of a belief they were "collaborating with the detaining power."[10]

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag VII Z is located in NARA (RG 389) and the USHMMA (2000.323.1).

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NOTES

1. Report by the International Red Cross (April 6, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
2. Report by the International Red Cross (April 12, 1944), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
3. Report by the International Red Cross (July 19, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
4. Passport, Zvi Rosenwein Collection, USHMM, 2000.323.1.
5. Report by the International Red Cross (November 9, 1942), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
6. Ibid.
7. Report by the International Red Cross (July 19, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
8. Ibid.; Report by the International Red Cross (March 4, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
9. Report by the International Red Cross (August 27, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.
10. Report by the International Red Cross (July 19, 1943), NARA II, RG 389, Box 2144.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) VIII

The Germans established Ilag VIII on October 1, 1940, in Tost (today Toszek, Silesian Voivodeship, Poland), from the staff of Oflag VIII D (map 4e). Ilag VIII had a subcamp (*Zweiglager*) known as Ilag VIII/Z, in Kreuzburg, Upper Silesia (today Kluczbork, Poland). From June 4, 1942, the camp was known as Ilag VIII/H. The camp was subordinate to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District VIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* VIII).[1]

Ilag VIII primarily held British civilian internees. The following table shows the number of prisoners in the camp by nationality on selected dates between 1941 and 1943:[2]

Date	British	[illegible]	Total
February 28, 1941	1,227	—	1,227
September 1, 1941	1,018	—	1,018
April 1, 1942	1,247	2	1,253
October 1, 1942	1,307	—	1,307
June 1, 1943	1,420	86	1,506
October 1, 1943+	1,370	78	1,448

The initial 300 British internees came from the occupied Netherlands, while another 600 came from Belgium and France. Many had been employed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, tasked with identifying and preserving the graves of British soldiers from World War I.[3]

For most of these internees, the conditions at Ilag VIII proved superior to the poor conditions in the transit camps they had passed through on their way to the Ilag. They had regular access to Red Cross food parcels, and the camp canteen proved sufficient to meet their needs. The British internees were able to make use of a cricket pitch and even built a miniature golf course on the camp grounds.[4]

The Germans initially created the subcamp at Kreuzburg as a punishment camp (*Straflager*), intended to hold problematic internees as well as those identified as Jewish. However, the conditions in the punishment camp were about the same as those in the main camp.[5]

Though conditions at Ilag VIII compared favorably to prisoner of war camps, the prisoners in the camp suffered due to overcrowding. Moreover, though prisoners were allowed regular mail communication, they complained of frequent delays beyond what would be expected solely based on wartime circumstances.[6]

On November 15, 1943, the camp administration was transferred to France, where it was redesignated Ilag Giromagny.[7] The internees in the camp were transferred to Ilag/Oflag 6 ZL (a subcamp of Ilag/Oflag 6) in Kreuzburg, and Ilag VIII was dissolved.

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag VIII is located in BA-MA (RW 6: v.450); WASt Berlin (Stammtafel Ilag VIII); and NARA II, RG289, Box 2143.

Additional information about Ilag VIII can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 171; Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 523; Stanisław Senft and Horst Więcek, *Obozy jenieckie na obszarze śląskiego okręgu Wehrmachtu 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972), pp. 35, 75; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände*

und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14 (Frankfurt/Main: Biblio, 1974), p. 113. See also "British Internees," *History Learning Site* at www.historylearningsite.co.uk/british_internees.htm.

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NOTES

1. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.
2. Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 523.
3. "British Internees," *History Learning Site*.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. "Civilian Internee Camps in Germany" (ca. 1943), NARA II, RG 289, Box 2143.
7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 113.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) XIII

The Wehrmacht established Ilag XIII (map 4d) on July 15, 1940, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XIII, in the Wülzburg fortress.[1] It was under the jurisdiction of the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XIII). From September 1943 to November 1944, the camp commandant was Oberst Karl-Friedrich Freiherr von Houwald.[2]

Ilag XIII held civilian internees from countries that were at war with Germany. Early in its existence, the camp held French, British, Dutch, and Belgian internees, followed by the arrival of Serbian and, later, Soviet internees. Among the internees were Arab civilians from British Palestine and Egypt; the latter were part of a failed attempt at an exchange for German prisoners held in Egypt in 1941.[3] By October 1942, the camp held only Soviet citizens, as all of the internees of other nationalities had been repatriated or transferred to other camps. Beginning in September 1943, it also held Soviet officers, who lived in a separate part of the camp (*Teillager Oflag*).[4] The camp population slowly increased from about 300 prisoners in September 1941 to about 540 prisoners in December 1944.[5] According to a postwar questionnaire, there were subcamps in Weissenburg, Gundelsheim, and Möhren. The questionnaire also states that the camp held between 130 and 150 Jews.

The conditions in the camp were satisfactory. The camp administration and guards treated the internees decently. The interests of the detainees in the camp were represented by the Swiss embassy, the International Red Cross, and the War Prisoners' Aid Committee of the YMCA, whose representatives had access to the camp. The exact date of the camp's closure is unknown, but it must have been on or before April 23, 1945, when Wülzburg was liberated by American forces.

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag XIII is located in BArch B 162/26377 (Ermittlungen StA Nürnberg 13 Js 7/66 gg. J. Lasareff wg. des Verdachts, dieser könnte als Internierter im Ilag XIII auf der Wülzburg bei Weissenburg [Mfr.] in den Jahren 1941 bis 1945 zu Bewachungsaufgaben herangezogen worden sein), and USHMMA, RG-68.096M, folder 2, pp. 645–646.

Additional information about Ilag XIII can be found in the following publications: Gerhard Höpp, "The Suppressed Discourse: Arab Victims of National Socialism," *The World in World Wars: Experiences, Perceptions and Perspectives from Africa and Asia*, ed. Heike Liebau, Katrin Bromber, Katharina Lange, Dyala Hamzah, and Ravi Ahuja (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 174; and Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel*, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 173.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 173.

2. NARA, T 1021, roll 0017, a photocopy of a personnel card for the commandant, Oberst Karl-Friedrich Frhr. v. Houwald of Ilag XIII, Wülzburg b. Weissenburg, September 11, 1943, to November 15, 1944.

3. Höpp, "Suppressed Discourse," p. 174.

4. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 173.

5. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

INTERNIERUNGSLAGER (ILAG) XVIII

The Wehrmacht established Ilag XVIII on May 19, 1944, in Spittal an der Drau in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XVIII (map 4f). The camp was subordinated to the Commander of Prisoners of War in Defense District XVIII (*Kommandeur der Kriegsgefangenen im Wehrkreis* XVIII).[1]

Ilag XVIII held American and British civilian internees. The camp prisoner population increased from 65 in October 1944 to 125 in December 1944.[2] Switzerland served as the protecting power for the prisoners in Ilag XVIII, which entitled the Swiss embassy to periodically send a delegation to the camp to inspect the conditions. The prisoners were divided into two barracks, one for the Americans and one for the British. Each barracks contained 12 small dormitory spaces. The internees slept in double bunk beds with sheets, pillows, and two blankets each. Each barracks had a washroom with cold water, but the internees could bathe with hot water at any time in their own "bathhouse," which was located outside the barracks area. In the barracks, there were toilets, running water, and wood- and coal-fired heating stoves; however, the internees had to obtain firewood themselves from the surrounding forests. Each internee was given an allowance of 10 RM per month, but they had little to spend the money on besides soap powder and soft drinks from the camp canteen. The internees regularly received food parcels from the International Red Cross. While most of the prisoners were treated decently by the Germans, the Jewish internees were treated poorly and subjected to abuses that the non-Jewish prisoners did not experience.[3] The camp was liberated by British troops on May 3, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about Ilag XVIII is located in NARA (RG 389/2144).

Additional information about Ilag XVIII can be found in the following publications: Gianfranco Mattiello and Wolfgang Vogt,

Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–1945. Handbuch und Katalog: Lagergeschichte und Lagerzensurstempel, vol. 2 (Koblenz: self-published, 1987), p. 173, and Hubert Speckner, *In der Gewalt des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenenlager in der "Ostmark" 1939–1945* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003), pp. 302–305.

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NOTES

1. Mattiello and Vogt, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen*, p. 173.

2. OKW/Kriegsgef. Org. (Id), Bestand an Kriegsgefangenen im Ost- u. Südostgebiet u. in Norwegen, 1942–1944, BArch B 162/18251.

3. See the letter from the camp elder to the Swiss embassy delegation, dated October 17, 1944, and the reports of the Swiss embassy commission regarding visits to the camp, December 6, 1944, and May 3, 1945 (NARA, RG 389/2144).

KONZENTRATIONLAGER (KL) CHARKOW

The decision to establish KL Charkow (not part of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office—*SS-Wirtschaftsund Verwaltungshauptamt*, SS-WVHA–concentration camp system) was made on October 23, 1941, on the eve of the occupation of the city (Russian: Khar'kov; today Kharkiv, Ukraine) (map 9f). The LV Corps Quartermaster Branch, working through the city commandant's headquarters (*Stadtkommandantur*), ordered Hauptmann Albert Minzenmay, aide-de-camp of the LV Corps, to establish a concentration and prisoner of war camp. Confirmation of the creation of the camp for hostages is also found in the orders of the LV Corps (Standortkommandanturbefehl, No. 4) on November 11, 1941, which also called for all Jews to be arrested.[1]

The camp was first established in the Hotel International, renamed the Hotel Ukraine after the occupation of the city, situated on the city's main square, Dzerzhinsky Square. On December 6, 1941, the city housing office ordered the expulsion of the hostages from the hotel and the camp was transferred to two student dormitories in the city's 17th District (Tolkachevka).[2] The Germans probably disbanded the camp in February 1942, when they released those hostages who were still living. KL Charkow was subordinate to the LV Corps, through the Field Gendarmerie (*Feldgendarmerie*), and was led by Field Gendarmerie Oberstleutnant Roos.[3]

The camp was intended to hold hostages, who were subject to execution in retaliation for any acts of sabotage or attacks on German forces. In the early morning of November 11, 1941, a bomb, detonated via radio from Voronezh, blew up a building in which the staff of the 68th Infantry Division was quartered, killing the division commander, Generalmajor Georg Braun, the division's chiefs of staff and operations, and four clerks. Later in the day, four more buildings were blown up. In reprisal, 200

"communists" were immediately shot or hanged, and 1,000 hostages, among whom were several hundred Jews, were seized and placed in the camp.[4] On November 28, according to the diary of Hauptmann Minzenmay, "the concentration camp was reduced by 400 heads, of whom 300 were Jews," which meant, without doubt, the execution of these individuals.[5] Sonderkommando 4a probably carried out the executions. This unit conducted political checks on the hostages with the aim of uncovering "political unreliables."[6] The last execution of hostages was on January 15, 1942, when 100 men were executed for the killing of a German soldier.[7]

A directive from the local commander (*Ortskommandantur*) Charkow-West of November 18, 1941, addressed to the mayor of the 6th District of Khar'kov, where the camp was located, defined the conditions of confinement. According to this directive, "District mayors must supply food and provide essential household items for the hostages located in the Hotel International concentration camp. Food in the camp must be supplied by relatives. Those without relatives will be supplied by a levy on district inhabitants collected by the mayor. Food can be delivered at any time of day. Water buckets, chamber pots, and brooms are required."[8] The conditions were extremely unsatisfactory. By November 1941, there was already famine in KL Charkow, and food supplied to the hostages was insufficient and irregularly delivered. Moreover, medical treatment was lacking.

SOURCES Primary source material about KL Charkow is located in BA-MA and DAKhO.

Additional information about KL Charkow can be found in the following publications: Andrej Angrick, "Das Beispiel Charkow: Massenmord unter deutscher Besatzung," in *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Bilanz einer Debatte*, ed. Christian Hartmann, Johannes Hürter und Ulrike Jureit, eds. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005), pp. 118–121; and Ernst Klee and Willi Dressen, eds., *"Gott mit uns." Der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg im Osten 1939–1945* (Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1989)

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NOTES

1. Standortkommandanturbefehl No. 4 LV. A. K., 11.11.1941, BA-MA, RH 26-57/39.

2. See letter from the city authorities of the 17th District at No. 186 of December 9, 1941, DAKhO, fond p-3079, list 3, line 7, sheet 41.

3. Standortkommandanturbefehl No. 10 LV. A. K., DAKhO, fond p-3086, list 1, line 1, sheet 65.

4. Klee and Dressen, eds., *"Gott mit uns,"* p. 48 (entry in the diary of the leader of squad IIb of the staff of the 55th corps Albert Minzenmay from November 14, 1941). See also Proclamation of the city commandant to the population of the city of Khar'kov of November 14, 1941 (*Criminal ends—criminal means. Documents about the political occupation of fascist Germany on the territory of the USSR. 1941–1944* (Moscow: Politizdat., 1968), pp. 94, 96).

5. Klee and Dressen, "*Gott mit uns*," p. 48 (entry in the diary of the leader of squad IIb of the staff of the 55th corps Albert Minzenmay from November 28, 1941).

6. See account of the city commandant's office from March 3, 1941, BA-MA, RH 24-55/71.

7. See document of March 9, 1941, *Khar'kov in the years of the Great Patriotic war. June 1941–1943. Collection of documents and materials* (Khar'kov: Prapor, 1965), p. 148.

8. DAKhO, fond p-3066, list 1, line 5, sheet 3.

KONZENTRATIONLAGER (KL) KRAMATORSKAIA

On November 25, 1941, General Vincenz Müller of the Seventeenth Army headquarters (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK 17) ordered the creation of a concentration camp next to the road between Kramatorskaia (today Kramators'k, Ukraine) (map 9f) and Druzhovka (today Druzhivka, Ukraine). Despite its designation as a concentration camp, this camp was operated by the Wehrmacht and was not part of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office (*SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt*, SS-WVHA) concentration camp system. KL Kramatorskaia was under the Seventeenth Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 550) and was run by the staff of Dulag 180.

Dulag 180 was to be responsible for surveying the camp site and constructing the camp. The camp also encompassed a compound of workers' housing in the area of the Melovaya Mountains on the northern outskirts of town. The intended capacity of the camp was 1,000 prisoners, although the order stated that it was possible that the camp would later be expanded to hold 2,000. The camp was to be guarded by troops from the Seventeenth Army, who would be subordinate to the camp commandant. The camp was to be ready to enter service by December 5.[1]

The camp was intended to hold "suspected partisans and [enemy] agents until their guilt or innocence is clarified."[2] The true reason for their internment was reflected in an order issued by the commander of the Seventeenth Army, Generaloberst Hermann Hoth, earlier that month regarding the implementation of Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau's Severity Order (which had been issued on October 10, 1941). Hoth ordered that:

> Every sign of passive or active resistance or any sort of machinations on the part of Jewish-Bolshevik agitators [is] to

be immediately and mercilessly exterminated…. These circles are the intellectual supports of Bolshevism, the bearers of its murderous organization, the help-mates of the partisans. It is the same Jewish class of beings who have done so much damage to our own Fatherland by virtue of their activities against the nation and civilization, and who promote anti-German tendencies throughout the world, and who will be the harbingers of revenge. Their extermination is a dictate of our own survival.[3]

The AOK's order also gave specific instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoners in KL AOK 17:

1. Suspected vagrants and partisans, as well as others who are captured by organs of the AOK in the area of the [Seventeenth] Army, particularly that of the IV Corps, will be placed in the concentration camp.
2. During their stay in the camp, the men of confidence must attempt to perfectly clarify the past and intentions of the individual prisoners. Accordingly, the following procedures will be taken with the prisoners:
    a. Former members of the Red Army will be sent to prisoner of war camps.
    b. Commissars will receive special treatment [i.e., execution].
    c. Partisans, agents, and their accomplices will be sent to the Abwehr [Counterintelligence] officer of the Army to be registered. [The Counterintelligence officer] will decide their further treatment.
    d. Harmless vagrants will be released in their place of origin with a warning and under the supervision of the newly appointed mayor or militia commander.
    e. Prisoners who are from parts of the occupied area outside the Army's area of operations will be held in the camp for a minimum of one month, after which they may be released for good behavior.
    f. Prisoners who are from the operations area or parts of

the Soviet Union that are not yet occupied will remain in the camp (unless they fall under d.) until their place of origin is occupied or no longer in the area of operations.

3. The treatment of the prisoners shall be strict but correct. Every act of resistance will be immediately combated with the harshest methods. Prisoners who attempt to flee will be shot immediately.

4. The prisoners remaining in the camp will receive the same rations, supervision, and punishment as provided for prisoners of war by the relevant orders. As many of them as possible will be sent to work, for example, removing snow, working on roads, and cleaning work; women will work in kitchens, as seamstresses, etc.

5. Admit [to the camp]:

   a. For the time being, all persons captured by the IV Army Corps except for prisoners of war.

   b. Persons captured by the Secret Field Police [*Geheime Feldpolizei*], Security Service [*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD], and other law enforcement authorities of the AOK.

   c. Prisoners transferred from concentration camps operated by other General Commands, who will be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. The camp administration must record in every case the reason why the delivered prisoners were taken prisoner and the offense of which they are suspected. The receipt of the prisoners must be certified.

6. While the prisoners are in the camp, the staff will keep records of all interrogations as well as all behavioral sanctions received. After the clarification of each case, the camp administration will submit the recommendation for the release of prisoners to the Abwehr officer of the Army, Major Werner, with a brief but detailed explanation of the recommendation to be presented on the occasion of a visit [to Major Werner]. The camp commandant is responsible for the recommendation of releases.

7. Releases will take place after a written order from the Abwehr officer of the Army. At the time of release, the

prisoner will be given a certificate, which will read in German and Russian: "[Name] from [city, street] is hereby released from the concentration camp in [location] because [grounds for release]. He must take the following route and report to the responsible mayor [route and name of mayor]. Every deviation from the aforementioned route will be punished harshly." Add only in German: if the prisoner deviates from the assigned route, he is to be classified as a "suspected partisan or agent" and shot immediately.

8. The supervision instructions must be given to the probably frequently changing guard personnel by the camp commandant. Work outside the camp is also to be closely regulated. Another order will follow regarding the recruitment of Ukrainian militiamen for guard duty.
9. Food rations are to be the same as those for nonworking prisoners of war, as recommended by the AOK Head Quartermaster. Additional supplies may be obtained from the nearby communities.
10. It is absolutely forbidden for civilians to enter the camp. The Abwehr personnel of the Army are to take special measures to ensure that entry to the camp is strictly regulated.
11. Propaganda: internment in the camp is an opportunity for the widespread use of anti-Bolshevik propaganda. The allocation of propaganda materials (newspapers, leaflets, records) will be regulated by the Propaganda Company. The connection of wired broadcasting systems is recommended.
12. Each day a report of the camp population will be submitted to the AOK (Abwehr officer Major Werner).

Although the AOK's instructions stated that the prisoners were to be treated "strictly but correctly," this order was not followed. Not only the suspects but their families were also confined, under brutal conditions, and the wives and children were shot along with any men found guilty.[4] Details of SD and Wehrmacht personnel carried out the shootings.

In January 1942, when word arrived that the Red Army was approaching the area, the order was given to evacuate the camp to

the west. However, there was no transport for the prisoners, so the camp administration decided to shoot all of them. The shootings took place on January 25–26, 1942, in a clay pit on the outskirts of town. Estimates of the total number of fatalities range from 379 (the official figure) to between 3,000 and 4,000. Afterward, the pit was dynamited, resulting in corpses being strewn around.[5] Sonderkommando 4b probably carried out the executions.[6]

SOURCES Primary source material about KL Kramatorskaia is located in BArch B 162/3793; BA-MA (RH 20-17/276); GARF (7021-72-9, 21, 32); and DADO (r1838-1-1, 6).

Additional information about KL Kramatorskaia can be found in the following publications: Johannes Hürter, *Hitlers Heerführer—Die deutschen Oberbefehlshaber im Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007), p. 474; Peter Joachim Lapp, *General bei Hitler und Ulbricht: Vincenz Müller—eine deutsche Karriere* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2003), pp. 99–104; Norbert Müller, ed., *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in der UdSSR. Dokumente* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1980); Manfred Oldenburg, *Ideologie und militärisches Kalkül: Die Besatzungspolitik der Wehrmacht in der Sowjetunion 1942* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 247–248; and Dieter Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht: Deutsche Militärbesatzung und einheimische Bevölkerung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 162–163.

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NOTES

1. AOK 17, Ic/AO, Befehl v. 25.11.1941, BA-MA, RH 20-17/276.
2. Ibid.
3. Quoted in Michael Burleigh, *Ethics and Extermination: Reflections on Nazi Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 69.

4. Document of January 12, 1944, *The German-Fascist Occupation Regime in the Ukraine. Collection of documents and materials* (Kiev, 1963), pp. 263–267.

5. Akt ot 12.1.1944 g.; Müller, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in der UdSSR*, p. 115; Oldenburg, *Ideologie und militärisches Kalkül*, p. 248; Pohl, *Die Herrschaft der Wehrmacht*, p. 162.

6. See report on activity of AOK 17, Ic/AO, for the period December 13, 1941, through March 10, 1942: "SD Carries Out Major Ethnic Cleansing in Kramatorsk" (Nürnb. Dok. NOKW 3350).

SAMMELLAGER CHOCHOL

In July 1942, the Wehrmacht established Sammellager Chochol (today Khokhol) (map 9d), 35 kilometers (22 miles) southwest of Voronezh, Russia. In October 1942, the camp was liquidated by transferring inmates to other towns or to work in Germany. Sammellager Chochol was subordinate to the Second Army Rear Area Command (*Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet*, Korück, 580).

The Germans used the camp to confine members of the civilian population of Voronezh, which, according to Second Army headquarters (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK, 2), was subject to evacuation to the west, as Voronezh was in the zone of military operations.[1] Toward the end of 1942, 12,000 inhabitants left the city, and 2,500 people were funneled through Sammellager Chochol.[2]

Living quarters for city residents and conditions of confinement in the camp were unsatisfactory: food and medical care were inadequate, resulting in communicable diseases and a significant death rate. Sonderkommando 4a carried out checks on civilians and took Jews and others who seemed suspicious away for execution. In September 1942, 77 people identified as Jews (20 men, 47 women, and 10 children) were shot near the village of Staro-Nikolskoe.[3]

SOURCES Primary source material about the Sammellager Chochol can be found in BA-MA (RH 23/177–180: Korück 580, Kriegstagebuch No. 14–17: August–November 1942); and GAVO.

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NOTES

1. Eidesstattliche Erklärung v. 20.3.1948 ehem. Oberstleutnant

Friedrich Seizinger (1942: Quartiermeister des Korück 580), BArch B 162/19209, Bl. 8851–8852.

2. AOK 2, Armee-Wirtschaftsführer, Kriegstagebuch, Eintrag v. 26.7.1942, Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv: MFB 4/42870.

3. *Voronezh Oblast in the Great Patriotic War. Collection of documents and materials.* (Voronezh, 1948), pp. 145–146.

ENDLAGER OZARICHI

The Wehrmacht set up special detention camps (*Endlager*) near Ozarichi (today Azarychy in Belarus) (map 9c) on March 12, 1944. The camps lay in the German Ninth Army sector of the eastern front, about 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of the town of Bobruisk in Belorussia. They were, however, only in existence until March 19, since their sole purpose was to allow the Ninth Army to rid itself of those civilians who were incapable of labor, by shifting them into the no-man's-land between the Wehrmacht and the advancing Red Army.

The history of this group of detention camps is unlike that of almost any other set of camps under the Third Reich. It is tightly interwoven with the Ninth Army's military situation at the onset of 1944 as well as with the German policies of occupation, exploitation, and extermination. It is, thus, also a history closely connected with the civilian population, which was crowding together in increasing numbers in the shrinking territories under German control.

In March 1944, the forces of the Ninth Army were positioned in a perimeter of about 60–70 kilometers (37.3–43.5 miles) east and south of the city of Bobruisk. Among them were the LV Corps with the 5th Armored Division (*Panzerdivision*) and the 20th Armored Division; the XXXV Corps with the 6th, 45th, 296th, and 707th Infantry Divisions; the XXXXI Armored Corps (*Panzerkorps*) with the 36th and 253rd Infantry Divisions and the 4th Armored Division; and the LVI Armored Corps with the 35th, 110th, 129th, and 134th Infantry Divisions.

In the winter of 1943–1944, the Ninth Army faced the problem of having to provide food for thousands of civilians in its sector, some of them local, some of them already the victims of German deportations from farther east. The Wehrmacht had already deported all the able-bodied people to Germany for forced labor, leaving the old, infirm, sick, and women with young children.

These people were mostly incapable of supporting themselves, but the Wehrmacht did not want to allocate precious food for their upkeep.

At the beginning of March, Adolf Hitler authorized a frontline adjustment within the 35th Infantry Division's sector, withdrawing from a salient in the German front line that was proving difficult to defend. This decision provided the Ninth Army with an opportunity to implement its radical plan: the elimination of "superfluous" civilians from the entire territory under its occupation by placing them in the territory that German troops would soon vacate, which lay within the sector controlled by the LVI Armored Corps, with General of Infantry Friedrich Hossbach in command. Directly pursuant to this authorization of retreat, the 35th Infantry Division began to set up the first camp.[1]

General Josef Harpe, the commander of the Ninth Army, had pressed ahead vigorously with the enforced recruitment of civilian manpower for the Wehrmacht and the German war effort in 1943 and 1944, with full knowledge of the demographic consequences.[2] On March 9, he issued Order No. 233/44 in an effort to deal with those consequences. This order decreed that those persons incapable of labor be deported into the front area from which the army was retreating, starting at 4:00 a.m. on the morning of March 12. This measure also offered the advantage that it would help to control the spread of typhus, since the order included all civilians with the disease.[3]

The plan that the headquarters developed from this order called for German forces to establish a series of unloading points and collection camps (*Sammellager*) as well as the final detention camps. The quartermaster sections of the army headquarters, its corps, and the divisions were to organize and implement the operation. Besides the divisional troops, forces that reported directly to the corps as well as 150 men from Sonderkommando 7a of the SD were all to be involved.

Because of the local geographic conditions and the available means of transportation, the LVI and XXXXI Armored Corps, which were stationed nearest to the planned disengagement zone (*Absetzzone*) to the south of the Ninth Army sector, were to round up civilians and bring them to the camps, either on foot or by truck

or horse-driven cart. The XXXV and LV Army Corps (*Armeekorps*), which were stationed farther away to the north, had the rail network for transport at their disposal. The order also regulated the deployment of Wehrmacht units under the command of Sonderkommando 7a to manage the victims' march up to the frontline zone and into the final detention camps.[4] Apart from regulating issues relating to the supply of provisions, the order of March 9 further stipulated that, in the event of a retreat of the German frontline forces, the camps were to be shelled by artillery in order to prevent civilians from escaping and from approaching the German lines.[5]

The Germans established a system of fenced off areas, with no buildings and no sanitary facilities, in the area designated for the deportations. These collection camps would facilitate the concentration and transport of the civilians into the frontline area. The 129th Infantry Division, for example, set up a collection camp in the vicinity of the railroad depot at Rudobelka, which was a key point for the prisoners' transport via rail. The camp was designed to hold 6,000 people. In fact, between March 13 and March 15, about 12,000–16,000 people were herded into it. From there, they were to be transported farther via a transit camp to the so-called Final Camp South (Endlager Süd), which the 35th Infantry Division had set up to accommodate 12,000 people. Sonderkommando 7a, aided by units of the Wehrmacht, was to guard the civilians during the last phase of the operation, the foot march from the depots to the detention camps.

In addition to this main axis for the transportation of the civilians, the 35th, 129th, and 110th Infantry Divisions set up smaller camps near to the villages of Nestanovichi, Porosslishche, and Mikul Gorodok, respectively, to take in those civilians brought in from the sectors for which the LVI and the XXXXI Armored Corps were responsible. Later on, they were moved to Endlager I near Myslov Rogor to Endlager II near Litvinovichi.

Each of the so-called Endlager consisted of a double-strand barbed wire fence and simple guard towers. The surrounding area was marshy woodland. To avoid the Red Army discovering the operation before the retreat had taken place, the civilians were forbidden to make fires, despite the severe cold.

According to the original plans, on which the order of March 9, 1944, was based, the intent was to deport 20,000 "diseased persons, crippled persons, old persons, women with more than 2 children under 10 years of age, and other persons incapable of labor" out of the Ninth Army sector.[6] However, analysis of the available records shows that at least 30,873 persons were accounted for in the sector under the two northern corps alone, 23,519 of whom were brought by rail to Rudobelka. This is twice the number that was intended for this area. Correspondingly, conditions for the civilians in these camps became more acute, since food provisions were inadequate, as were the available means of transportation. As a measure against the typhus fever epidemic, those civilians who had already contracted the disease and were being held in quarantine, in so-called disease villages, were included in the deportations. A total of around 7,000 sick persons were brought to the camps, where they were not segregated from the still healthy victims. The consequences, both for those who had the disease to begin with and those who contracted it while in the camps, were often fatal.

The war diary of the quartermaster's section contains information on the influx of victims into the camps between March 14 and March 16. It states that a total of 39,597 adult civilians in addition to "several thousand small children" were deported into the three detention camps.[7] Furthermore, the Sonderkommando 7a registered a total of 47,461 persons.[8] After liberating the detention camps, the Red Army spoke of 33,000 survivors and 9,000 dead.[9] It is not possible to verify the accuracy of these figures, but they clearly indicate the deportation of up to 50,000 civilian victims.

Overall, the deportations covered an area of about 5,000 square kilometers (1,930 square miles). However, only some of the deportees originated from the area controlled by the Ninth Army. A lot of them had already been rounded up and brought there from other regions of the Soviet Union under occupation by the German army. Some had been evacuated during the Ninth Army's recent retreats; others had been in different Wehrmacht camps for weeks.

Wehrmacht units—particularly the supply units—were actively involved in all these activities.[10] For the transportation into the detention camp at Dert, the escorting guards of the trains arriving in Rudobelka and "particularly resolute officers and NCOs of the

LVI Armored Corps" reported directly to the Sonderkommando 7a.[11] In the areas under divisional control, the deportations were carried out by the troops of the Military Police (*Feldgendarmerie*) together with the units of the Supply Service, which reported directly to the quartermasters.

In agreement with the head of the Sonderkommando 7a—Sturmbannführer Helmuth Loos—the 110th Infantry Division took on the supervision of the northern transit camps (*Zwischenlager*) and detention camps. During the first days of the operation, the division supervised the civilians in the Transit Camp North (*Zwischenlager Nord*) near Mikul Gorodok and implemented their own truck transports from Rudobelka to the Transit Camp Center (*Zwischenlager Mitte*) near Porosslishche. Sonderkommando 7a, on the other hand, concentrated on the southern route, which was most heavily used and served as the main axis for the deportations. To guard the camps, the Supply Services of the Field Replacement Battalion (*Feldersatzbataillon*) of the 129th and 110th Infantry Divisions and reserve units of the Army Weapons Training School (*Armeewaffenschule*) and of the 35th Infantry Division were called in.

With regard to the conduct of the guards and soldiers during the operation, survivors reported later that even while rounding up the civilians initially, divisional units had reacted to any attempt at escape or any form of resistance with brutal force. Sonderkommando 7a prepared written documentation of the excessive brutality and killings, which took place above all on the marches from the railway station at Rudobelka to the detention camp at Dert. During the march, Sonderkommando 7a guarded the front and the rear of the column of civilians, while units of the Wehrmacht marched at their sides.[12] The guards ruthlessly killed those civilians who could not keep up with the rest. There are no exact figures available; however, the Ninth Army itself states in its corresponding report that about 500 people had perished during the rail transport alone[13] and advised that for similar operations in the future, the marching columns should be followed by burial commandos, who would dispose of the dead bodies.[14]

Reports by surviving witnesses provide a picture of the horrid

conditions on the marches and in the camps, over and above what one can glean from the available facts, such as the poor ratio between camp capacity and camp inhabitants, or the distances that the old, the sick, and the children were required to cover, the weather and ground conditions, and the pace at which the victims had to walk. Within the camps, the guards shot without warning any person who approached the fencing in search of water. Similarly, any attempt to light a fire was met with shots from the Germans in the watchtowers.[15]

A dramatic diary entry made by a German army chaplain when he arrived at the huge camp near Dert, where at that time more than 20,000 civilians were already interned, illustrates the dreadful reality of the deportations:

> I noticed that something had changed first of all because of a strange sound which I could not identify until I saw the camp in the distance. A continuous, low wail of many voices rose out of it up to the sky. And then I saw right in front of me how they were dragging the dead body of an old man as though he were a piece of cattle. They had tied a rope around his legs. An old woman lay dead by the wayside, a recent gunshot wound in her forehead. A man of the Military Police gave me further insight by pointing to a bundle that lay in the dirt: dead children whom he had covered up with a pillow. Women who could no longer carry their children left them at the roadside, where they were shot—"eliminated" like anybody else who cannot carry on due to illness, age, or infirmness.[16]

Once all the victims were in the camps, the camp entrances were blocked with mines and the units of the Wehrmacht left, leaving behind only some small surveillance commandos. On March 17, the last remaining guards also drew back to the new front line of the 35th Infantry Division, which shelled the camps to prevent any of the internees from escaping.

On March 19, reconnaissance units of the Red Army discovered the three camps near Ozarichi. After removing the German mines, which had killed numerous camp internees as they attempted to leave the camps after the guards withdrew, Soviet soldiers moved

the survivors to different military hospitals in the surrounding area. The Ninth Army, in its final report to the Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), stated that Luftwaffe aircraft had observed the survivors being transported into the Soviet rear some days later.[17]

As the extent of the deportations became clear following the liberation of the camps, the Soviet officials began to carry out investigations and to secure evidence. The "Extraordinary State Commission for ascertaining and investigating crimes perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders" demanded, in its report of May 6, 1944, that charges be brought against the eleven German officers responsible for the crime. In February 1946, at the Nuremberg Trial, Chief Counselor of Justice Smirnov, acting on behalf of the USSR, provided evidence in the form of a detailed report. In a Soviet war crimes trial in Minsk, General Johann-Georg Richert, commander of the 35th Infantry Division, who had been taken into Soviet captivity at the end of the war, was only one of those sentenced to death. Among other things, he was accused of involvement in the deportations near Ozarichi. He was executed at Minsk on January 30, 1946. Some lower ranks, whose involvement in the deportations was proved, were sentenced to 25 years of hard labor. However, most of the men directly responsible for the planning and execution of the Ozarichi deportations, first of all Helmuth Loos, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 7a, Josef Harpe, commanding general of the Ninth Army, Friedrich Hossbach, commander of the LVI Armored Corps, and Werner Bodenstein, chief quartermaster of the Ninth Army, were never held accountable for their crimes. Hossbach, in fact, has gone down in history as a staunch anti-Nazi.

SOURCES Primary source information about Endlager Ozarichi is located in BA-MA (H 20/5/8; Msg 109/946; RH 20/9/197; RH 24/55; RH 26/45; RH 26/253G); NARA (T-314, Films 688, 990, 1438, 1440); NARB; TsAKGBRB; NARBSAFPSR; BHStA-(N); and USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Interrogation of Generalleutnant Johann Georg Richert on January 16, 1946, p. 37, Privatarchiv Paul Kohl, Berlin.
2. Befehl über die Aufstellung von Arbeitsabteilungen, 23.5.1943, NARA T-314, film 688, frame 1235; BA-MA, Msg 109/946, for more information on Harpe.
3. Berat. Hyg. Prof. v. Bormann, 9. Armee, Erfahrungsbericht Fleckfieber 31.12.1943-15.5.1944; Erfahrungsbericht Fleckfieber-Evakuierung 31.12.1943-15.5.1944, BA-MA, H-20/5/8.
4. Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh .Tg.B.Br. 17/44g, 30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.
5. Kriegstagebuch der Quartiermeisterabteilung des LVI. Korps, 9.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1438, frame 914.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., frame 922.

8. Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh.Tg .B.Br. 17/44g ,30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.

9. Protokoll No. 29. Sitzung der Ausserordentlichen Staatlichen Kommission vom 29. April 1944, StA Nürnberg, Dokument USSR-4.

10. Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh .Tg.B.Br. 17/44g ,30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.

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12. Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh .Tg.B.Br. 17/44g, 30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.

13. Kriegstagebuch der Quartiermeisterabteilung des LVI. Korps, 16.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1438, frame 922.

14. Erfahrungsbericht über den Abschub nichtarbeitsfähiger Zivilisten zum Feind, 28.3.1944, BA-MA, RH- 20/9/197; Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh.Tg.B.Br. 17/44g, 30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.

15. Interrogation of Generalleutnant Johann Georg Richert on January 16, 1946, p. 37, Privatarchiv Paul Kohl, Berlin.

16. Pierau, *Priester im Heere Hitlers*, 160.

17. Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh .Tg.B.Br. 17/44g, 30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990.; Protokoll No. 29. Sitzung der Ausserordentlichen Staatlichen Kommission vom 29. April 1944, StA Nürnberg, Dokument USSR-4; Erfahrungsbericht über den Abschub nichtarbeitsfähiger Zivilisten zum Feind, 28.3.1944, BA-MA, RH 20 9 197; Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Sonderkommando 7a, geh.Tg.B.Br. 17/44g, 30.3.1944, NARA T-314, film 1440, frame 990; and Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, vol. 8. Verhandlungsniederschriften 5. Februar 1946-19. Februar 1946, Nürnberg 1947, p. 635.

JUGENDERZIEHUNGSLAGER (JEL) SKOBROVKA

In the spring of 1944, the German Ninth Army, then stationed in the Bobruisk area of Belorussia, faced the problem that children were becoming an ever-growing share of the remaining civilian population. While the Germans were transporting 35,000–45,000 people to Ozarichi (the figures are uncertain; see **Endlager Ozarichi** in this volume), the German staff noted that almost 50 percent of these "useless mouths" were children of the age of 13 years or less.[1] In April, Army Group Center created a plan to concentrate, indoctrinate, and train Soviet children in occupied territory, by organizing "children's villages."[2] In accordance with that plan, the German Ninth Army took steps to create several youth education camps (*Jugenderziehungslager*, JEL) in villages in the army's rear area, in which army personnel would concentrate the children. The children were to be "raised in the spirit of a future White Ruthenia under German administration."[3]

On May 14, Ninth Army headquarters issued the order to erect the first of these camps. It was to be installed in the village of Skobrovka, approximately 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Minsk and close to the local commandant's office (*Ortskommandantur*) I/252 in Mar'ina Gorka (today Maryina Horka, Belarus) (map 9b). The Germans ordered the village to be prepared for the admission of 1,000 adolescents.[4] Between May 15 and May 17, the Germans removed the inhabitants of the village, except for its northwestern part. Some villagers and prisoners of war were also held just outside the village. Entry into the children's camp was forbidden to anyone, even German soldiers. A Ninth Army staff officer characterized the facility in Skobrovka in the following way:

> For the accommodation of mainly parentless children aged 8–14 years, a "youth village" has been erected, in which they

> are to be schooled and trained in handicrafts. The selection is conducted from the standpoint of health and race. An effort is to be made to collect children aged 8–14 years on a larger scale and accommodate them in the rear areas, to remove them from the grasp of the Russians.[5]

As of May 1944, the Germans planned to remove about 40,000 children from the territory occupied by the Ninth Army and send 30,000 of them to Pomerania, for the disposal of the Reichsjugendführer.[6] In fact, they were only able to deport about 4,000 children, due to the successful Soviet summer offensive.[7]

The XXXV Army Corps received an order to select 200 healthy and "racially valuable" children from its area and prepare them for transport to Skobrovka by May 25.[8] The Germans first concentrated the children in detention or transit camps, such as the one at Krasnyi Bereg.[9] The LV Army Corps acted likewise and collected children on May 20. The 102nd Infantry Divison rounded up 302 boys and 248 girls aged 8–14 years and sent them to a camp at Koptsevichi for delousing, medical checks, and registration. Of the girls, the Germans released 28 on May 22, having classified them as unfit, while all the others went on via Mar'ina Gorka to Skobrovka, in order to become inmates of the children's village.[10]

After having installed all the necessary facilities, the Ninth Army opened the camp with a celebration on May 27. On June 3, the Germans handed over administration of the camp to the "Fighting League for Combatting Bolshevism (*Kampfbund zur Bekämpfung des Bolschewismus*)," a local organization of Soviet citizens who were collaborating with the Nazis. From this point forward, the Ninth Army withdrew almost completely from involvement with the children's village. Only one German stayed on as a liaison; the camp's commandant, Lieutenant Gradiushko, was responsible to him.[11] The Germans were very proud of their experiment, which had cost them quite a lot of money and effort, and the Wehrmacht hoped to be able to exploit it in propagandistic terms.[12]

When the camp officially started to operate, the children allegedly numbered 420 boys and 280 girls. The total number of

inmates in the camp rose as time went on and fluctuated between 1,300 and 1,800 children, who had to live in the village's 57 peasant huts. Between 20 and 36 children lived in each hut, separated by gender and under the leadership of one of their own as well as one educator.[13]

The Germans undertook their next collection of children for Skobrovka nearly a month later, on June 15. In the area under the control of the LV Army Corps, the 102nd Infantry Division gathered 715 boys and girls, while the 292nd Infantry Division managed to collect 694 youngsters as well as 13 women for caretaking. The Germans expected to have to release 10 percent of the children, because they would not meet the Germans' requirements. Again the children underwent the procedure of delousing and treatment of scabies in the reception camps. On June 21, the older children went on to Crimmitschau in Saxony while all those aged eight or nine stayed in Skobrovka.[14]

Although the Germans made considerable efforts to explain the necessity and alleged benefits of the evacuation to the children's parents, in at least one case there were violent clashes between civilians and soldiers during the entrainment.[15] The authorities then ordered that, every week, some parents should be able to visit their children in Skobrovka for a period of six days, in order to be able to convince themselves their offspring were receiving proper care.[16]

Every day followed a set routine in the children's camp. At seven in the morning, the kids were woken up and, after a little breakfast, had to assemble on the central square of their village for mustering. Next the children broke into detachments, which went into the streets and the vegetable gardens. Before and after lunch, the same mustering process had to be repeated, and only after supper, after having collectively sung a song, was the day done. Corporal punishment included physical exercise and beating.[17]

Although the Wehrmacht purportedly planned to raise the imprisoned children's food allowance to an adequate, officially defined level (*Verpflegungssatz* II),[18] their nourishment was poor. One day's ration consisted of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread, some kind of bitter coffee, cabbage, and sorrel. On rare occasions the children received some soup, meat, or milk. Often, they had to

sneak out of the camp in order to beg for food in the huts still inhabited by villagers. These escapes were possible, although an armed guard patrolled the street, and the camp was surrounded by a double wooden wall filled with earth in which embrasures had been installed. No barbed wire was used, however.

Some children in the camp died of typhus. Rumors were common that the children of the camp in Skobrovka were being killed by forced blood donations. When being interviewed about this allegation on July 8, 1944, after the liberation of the camp by troops of the Red Army, the villagers stated, however, that no blood donations had taken place.[19] It is likely that the purposeful selection of "Aryan" children in regard to their racial qualities (their "blood") had been misunderstood.

When the Soviet 1944 summer offensive began, the children were ordered to wreck the whole village. They filled wells with sand or rendered them unusable by dumping litter and fuel cans into them. Fields and orchards were torched. Also, the villagers' gardens were destroyed, windows smashed, and household goods burned. The German troops withdrew, and the overseers quickly abandoned the camp. The children were left behind and dispersed.[20]

After the war, the Soviets held a show trial in Briansk for Generalleutnant Adolf Hamann, the commandant of Bobruisk when the city fell to the Red Army in 1944. Among other crimes, they accused him of complicity in the deportation of children to the camp in Skobrovka. He labeled the children's village as a recreation camp,[21] but the court believed it to have been a sort of concentration camp where Soviet children were abused as blood donors and killed deliberately. Hamann was convicted and publicly hanged on December 30, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source material about JEL Skobrovka can be found in BA-MA and NARB.

Additional information about JEL Skobrovka can be found in the following publications: Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger, 2000); and Galina D. Gnat'ko, *Zalozhniki vermachta (Ozarichi—*

lager' smerti): Dokumenty i materialy (Minsk, 1999).

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NOTES

1. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 1098; Gnat'ko, *Zalozhniki vermachta*, p. 10f.

2. Copy of a note about a meeting on May 12, 1944, at the HeWiFü/Mitte (*Heeresgruppenwirtschaftsführer/Mitte*), Generalleutnant Niedenführ presiding, dating from May 14, 1944, p. 1 (BA-MA, RW 46/16, Anlage 18).

3. From the Ninth Army War Diary entry dating from April 19, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 20-9/176, Bl. 180).

4. Ninth Army War Diary entry of May 14, 1944 (BAMA, RH 20-9/176, Bl. 208). More details are available in the corresponding attachment in the volume of attachments VII (Beiträge anderer Hausstellen) of War Diary Nr. 10 of the Ninth Army Operations Department, April 23 to August 5, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 20-9/198, Bl. 301).

5. Ninth Army memorandum, May 16, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 20-9/198, Bl. 283 in section C).

6. Copy of a note about a meeting on May 12, 1944, at the HeWiFü/Mitte, dating from May 14, 1944, p. 1 (BA-MA, RW 46/16, Anlage 18).

7. Activity report of Army Group Center for the period from June 22, 1941, to August 1944, p. 41 (BA-MA, RH 19 II/334, Bl. 12).

8. Ninth Army order to XXXV Corps, dated May 15, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 20-9/198, Bl. 288).

9. Ninth Army order regarding the collection of workers, dated May 28, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 20-9/198, Bl. 219).

10. LV Corps Quartermaster War Diary entry dated May 20, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 24-55/132, Bl. 7ff).

11. Typewritten copy of the protocol, prepared and signed by the inhabitants of Skobrovka and soldiers of the Red Army, dated July 8, 1944 (NARB, Fond 3500, Vop. 3, Spr. 183, L. 3-4).

12. Activity report of Army Group Center for the period from June 22, 1941 to August 1944, p. 41 (BA-MA, RH 19 II/334, Bl. 12).

13. Typewritten copy of the protocol, prepared and signed by the inhabitants of Skobrovka and soldiers of the Red Army, dated July 8, 1944 (NARB, Fond 3500, Vop. 3, Spr. 183, L. 3-4).

14. LV Corps Quartermaster War Diary entry dated May 20, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 24-55/132, Bl. 7ff).

15. Report by Unteroffizier Riedlinger, leader of a loudspeaker group, dated June 23, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 24-55/97, Bl. 158f.).

16. LV Corps Quartermaster order dated June 24, 1944 (BA-MA, RH 24-55/133, Bl. 259).

17. Typewritten copy of the protocol, prepared and signed by the inhabitants of Skobrovka and soldiers of the Red Army, dated July 8, 1944 (NARB, Fond 3500, Vop. 3, Spr. 183, L. 3-4).

18. Copy of a note about a meeting on May 12, 1944 at the HeWiFü/Mitte, dating from May 14, 1944, p. 1 (BA-MA, RW 46/16, Anlage 18).

19. Typewritten copy of the protocol, prepared and signed by the inhabitants of Skobrovka and soldiers of the Red Army, dated July 8, 1944 (NARB, Fond 3500, Vop. 3, Spr. 183, L. 3-4).

20. Ibid.

21. "Sudebnyi process po delu o zverstvach nemecko-fashistskich zachvatshikov v Orlovskoi, Bryanskoi i Bobruyskoi oblastyach," *Bryanskii Rabotshi* 256 (7655) (December 28, 1945), p. 2.

TUNISIA WEHRMACHT CAMPS INTRODUCTION

Tunisia occupied a unique position in the context of the "Final Solution."* It was not a German colony, nor that of any other Axis power; it was a French Protectorate and, thus, formally under the control of the Vichy regime. In November 1942, however, in reaction to Allied landings farther west in North Africa, the Wehrmacht occupied it. Thus, the Jews of Tunisia came under German control. These Jews, along with their brethren from Libya, escaped extermination at the hands of the Nazis, but the Wehrmacht put them to work under deplorable conditions, and there can be no doubt as to their eventual fate, had the Germans emerged victorious. This section of Volume IV covers the camps that the Wehrmacht authorities set up in Tunisia to hold Jewish forced laborers.

Before World War II, approximately 85,000 Jews lived in Tunisia, with about half of that number living in the capital city, Tunis.[1] Most were Tunisians, but a few thousand also had French citizenship, mostly former soldiers and those who worked in the administrative services. In addition, there were about 5,000 of these Jews who had Italian citizenship.

After British and American troops marched into Algeria and Morocco on November 8, 1942, the Wehrmacht began landing troops in northern Tunisia on November 9, around the capital city and the important harbor of Bizerte. By the end of November, the German and the (less numerous) Italian troops were under considerable military pressure, and it seemed possible that the Allies would cut off the so-called Tunisian bridgehead. In December, the Wehrmacht was able to strengthen its own position and even expand the bridgehead by conquering more land.

It was at this point that the Germans began to use Jewish forced labor. On December 6, Walther Nehring, commanding general of the XC Army Corps, ordered that the bridgehead be strengthened

"with all means in the H.K.L. [main front line], with a corresponding rear area." The local population and Jews were to be used as auxiliary forces in this work. The order envisaged that the following rules would be applied in drafting the Jewish population:

"1.) The S.D. is to assemble the male Jewish population for the purpose of carrying out the excavation. As a first installment, 1,000 men are to be made available for each of the sector commands Biserta, Tunis-North and Tunis-South.

2.) The Jewish communities are to raise the Jewish labor squads and are to assign each a leadership group. The leadership groups are responsible for cooperating with the German command authorities. They are responsible for the labor squads implementing orders. Otherwise the troops are to treat them as hostages.

3.) The Jewish communities are to supply equipment and supplies. The troops will provide quarters and appropriate security at the work sites.

4.) Each of the 1,000-man-strong labor squads are to be escorted to the following sectors by the S.D. in conjunction with the sector commanders (foot march, rail only inasmuch as possible).

Mateur for the Biserta Sector

St. Cyprien for the Tunis-North Sector

Ben Arous for the Tunis-South Sector

Further details are to be regulated by the sector commanders with the S.D. via the Gen. Kdo.

5.) Payment of the labor force is to be effected by the Jewish Community."

This order was preceded by a discussion between the commanding general, General Nehring, SS-Obersturmbann-führer Walter Rauff

(who had seen service in occupied Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union), commander of the SiPo and SD in Tunis, and the emissary, Rudolf Rahn, who, as political representative to the commander of the German troops in Tunis between November 1942 and May 1943, represented the Foreign Office. With that, all the relevant German authorities were represented in the basic decision regarding the use of Jewish forced laborers. Rahn claimed in his autobiography that Generaloberst Hans-Jürgen v. Arnim, who as commander of the Fifth Panzer Army assumed command of the Axis Forces in Tunisia on December 8, 1942, deployed Jewish labor companies to individual troop units and had issued an order "that the people are to be treated as voluntary workers."[2] This is a euphemistic statement, since, in an order dated February 18, 1943, regarding the expansion of coastal defenses, Jewish labor detachments were treated on a par with prisoner detachments and, thus, not like free Arab workers.[3]

At the beginning of December 1942, the Tunis Jewish community was able to provide only 120 (some sources say 125) of the 2,000 men that the Germans had demanded for the planned labor detachments.[4] As a result, the Germans instituted a series of raids and resulting mass arrests of Jews. Of the Jews arrested, the men aged up to 50 (including a number of youths) were assigned to forced labor, and the remainder were held as hostages, to put pressure on the Jewish Council.

The nine-member Jewish Council in Tunis, formed on December 6, 1942, in accordance with German orders and with Grand Rabbi Haïm Bellaïche as its head, was able to persuade Rauff to grant a delay, in order to carry out the provision of Jews. However, the Council now had to provide 3,000 men (according to Nehring's order).

The council formed groups that dealt with the recruitment of the men, classified them for forced labor and transported them to the labor camps, provided supplies, and cared for their families. These groups were part of the Committee for the Recruitment of Jewish Manpower (*Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'OEuvre Juive*). SS-Hauptscharführer Pohl and SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Saevecke, deputy commander of the SD Einsatzkommando Tunis, were the SD liaison to the Comité de Recrutement. Prior to this, SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor

Saevecke had been the SD liaison to the Italian African Police (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*) in Libya, and, later, he was head of the SiPo in Milan.

One of the most important tasks was the selection of the forced laborers and their care. Medical care was provided by the Medical Service of Jewish Manpower (*Service Médical de la Main-d'OEuvre Juive*). The Jews were medically examined in a Reform Center (*Centre de Réforme*) and categorized according to their abilities. The Service Médical also cared for those in Tunis who were ill and who were permitted to sleep outside the barracks ("home sleepers") and repeatedly sent Jewish physicians with medicine into the labor camps.

Between December 14, 1942, and January 21, 1943, the physicians examined 5,176 men, of whom 97 were rejected, 740 were to receive outpatient treatment for illnesses or injuries, and 861 classified as suited for light work. Consequently, the percentage accepted without restriction for this period was 67 percent (3,478 men). If one adds those who were suitable with some restrictions the number is 84 percent (4,339). Between February 1 and April 30, 1943, an additional 5,776 Jewish men were called up. Of these, 221 were classified as unsuitable and another 512 as only suitable for light work, while 2,404 needed medical attention.[5] As a result the number of men either "suitable" or "suitable with restrictions" changed considerably. For this later period, the numbers are 55 percent (3,151) instead of 84 percent. This may have been a reaction to the impending defeat of the Wehrmacht, on the one hand; on the other hand, and to a lesser extent, it may have resulted from the enlistment of older year groups. In any event, German military physicians had the final say on the classifications. They often arrived at a different decision. Nevertheless, of 1,666 men regarded as not completely suitable, 623 were rejected and the deployment of 343 was delayed for a prolonged period.[6]

The Service of Military Stewardship (*Service de l'Intendance*) was another organization within the Committee for Recruitment. This administrative department had sections for supplies, clothing, and issues regarding the camps. Its origin lay in an order from the Wehrmacht, to the effect that the Jewish community should be

responsible for supplying and equipping the forced laborers. However, efforts to supply the forced laborers in the camps with a sufficient quantity of food failed. This was partly due to geographic conditions, as the labor camps around Mateur, for example, were hard to reach and, therefore, almost impossible to supply with food.

Likewise, it was impossible to supply sufficient items of clothing to the forced laborers. Jacob André Guez wrote in his diary that after a few weeks the Bizerte inmates were already walking around in rags. The same applied for the camp department, which supplied straw, tents, washtubs, basins, and the like, to the labor camps. In reality, there were never sufficient quantities to supply the Jewish internees adequately. They had to sleep on straw that was never changed, could not wash themselves properly, and lived in extremely unhygienic conditions.

The Committee for Recruitment was also responsible for the payment of wages to the forced laborers and for support of their families. Nehring, in his order of December 6, 1942, had prescribed that the Jewish Community should effect payment. A department, known as the Financial Services (*Service des Finances*), was created for this purpose. In the end, though, this department and the administration of the funds were likewise under German control. Each forced laborer was entitled to be paid a daily rate of 40 francs, but the *Service* retained half for their families. After the Germans took control of supplies on February 10, 1943, there was an additional 20 francs daily, to enable the Jews to increase their rations. The laborers who could sleep at home in Tunis received an additional 40 francs daily in wages and assistance as well as a loan of 20 francs daily. Altogether, the Committee for Recruitment paid almost 15.3 million francs in wages as well as 3.8 million francs for family support and 4.5 million francs for supplies.[7]

Initially, the Committee for Recruitment concentrated on obtaining Jews for work from all levels of the community. However, with the passage of time, it appears to have concentrated more on men from poorer families. From the German perspective, men aged 15–50 were obligated to perform forced labor. That said, the first call to come to the Alliance School (*Ecole d'Alliance*)

for the completion of forced labor went out to Jewish men born between 1915 and 1924, that is, to people aged 18–27. Later, older cohorts were called on gradually. Rauff mentioned in a conversation with the grand rabbi, Moïse Borgel, the former chair of the Administration Committee of the Jewish Community of Tunis (*Comité d'Administration de la Communauté Israélite de Tunis*), and Max Trenner, of the Jewish Council, that each laborer was to wear a Star of David over his heart and between his shoulder blades, so that, in the event of an escape attempt, the laborer could be shot by the guards. With that, it was determined that the forced laborers would be marked as such with a special insignia. However, not all forced laborers appear to have worn the yellow star, and those who did wear it may have removed it as time went on.

The Committee for Recruitment had regional representatives who were supposed to look after inmates in the regional camps. They were called "termites." The name indicated their "undermining" activity, because they attempted to alleviate the lot of the forced laborers by bribing the guards or the officers. The creator of this system was Henry Sfez. Maurice Taïeb, for example, a pharmacist in Mateur, was the regional representative for the area around Mateur, in which numerous labor camps were established in December 1942. Moïse Chemla assisted him. Taïeb was regarded as the most persistent and inventive of all the "termites."

According to Jacques Sabille, there may have been around 6,400 Jewish forced laborers in Tunisia. That meant that more than a third of the age group between 17 and 50, which comprised around 15,000 people, had been called up. Many fled from the labor camps, however. On December 20, 1942, 3,659 Jews were engaged in forced labor as permanent internees or home sleepers. On February 13, 1943, there were only 2,430, and on April 25 only 1,556.[8] In May, the Allies finally liberated the approximately 1,500 Jewish forced laborers.

The forced labor was done in a number of ways. The Wehrmacht took a large number of the Jewish forced laborers from Tunis each morning to work sites in the capital city or its surroundings. In the evening, they were, as a rule, allowed to go home. The Wehrmacht also employed Jews in this way in other

Tunisian cities. On the other hand, the Wehrmacht interned many men in camps on a permanent basis.

The Jewish labor units were militarily organized; that is, there were battalions that consisted of several companies, and each of these, in turn, consisted of several groups. Jewish group leaders directed the groups and were responsible for maintaining discipline and order. Moreover, there were usually one or more Jewish camp leaders in each camp who were subordinate to the responsible Wehrmacht officer or to the corresponding people in the other guard troops. The records of the Jewish Council show that there were four battalions (A to D), divided into various companies. Battalion A was composed, at a minimum, of Companies 1, 2, 3 and 4, which, in turn, were divided into several subgroups. Company 1 included Groups 2, 3, and 4 as well as the Group *Mutilés* (disabled, invalids). Battalion D consisted of Companies 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 12. In addition, Company 3 consisted of the Groups Bizerte, Djelloula, and M'Chergua. Many of the groups were named after the location of the camps where they were based. This applied for the last-mentioned groups as well as, for example, Groups Ariane, Enfidaville, Mateur, Saf Saf, Sbikha, and Sidi Ahmed.[9] Groups of Jews were repeatedly transferred from one camp to another, often after a camp was dissolved or to form the basis of a new camp.

Finally, all the labor camps for the Jews were under the control of the Wehrmacht and the SD, who, in agreement with each other, regulated and oversaw the labor deployment. The camp guards were members of the Wehrmacht, but Italian and French soldiers also served, as did Arabs. Although some camps had all-Italian guard forces, the Germans exercised command and control. This is discernible in the fact that, as early as November 1942, Rahn informed the French resident-general (*Résident Général*) in Tunis, Admiral Jean-Pierre Esteva, that dealing with the Jewish question in Tunisia was solely a matter for the Germans.[10] The only exception was for Jews with Italian citizenship in Tunisia. These Jews alone, and not Jews in the so-called Italian zone, were immune from German measures, at least in so far as military requirements allowed.

Living conditions for the Jewish laborers in the battalions were very difficult. The forced labor always focused on military

requirements, as can be seen from the abovementioned originating order. For example, an order from Generaloberst v. Arnim to expand the coastal defenses, dated December 25, 1942, states: "For the expansion, all possibilities are to be exhausted, including enlisting the population and especially the Jewish labor commandos."[11] As a result of this order, Jewish labor groups and home sleepers from Tunis were deployed on the Bon Peninsula in the villages of Hammamet, Nabeul, and Korba. The Jewish forced laborers' main tasks were the construction of defense positions, supplying the troops with ammunition and other materiel, and loading and unloading ships, trains, and aircraft. These activities in various harbors, railway yards, and airfields were also undertaken during Allied bombardments. Additionally, the Jews were enlisted to transport munitions as far as the front line. Many Jews were killed or wounded while engaged in such activities.

The Wehrmacht also used tradesmen among the Jews, according to their professional experiences. These workers were primarily home sleepers. They were used as forced laborers, for example, in the Clothing Restoration Shop of the Panzer Army Africa (*Bekleidungsinstandsetzungswerkstatt der Panzergruppe Afrika*), in a laundry, and in the Hygienic/Bacteriological Test Site (*Hygienisch-Bakteriellen Untersuchungsstelle*) in Sousse as well as mechanics in the Army Vehicle Park (*Armeekraftfahrpark*) 689 in Tunis. In addition, the Jews were deployed in factories, for example, in Tunis at the Greco firm, which did work for the Luftwaffe, or in Djebel-Djelloud with a company that manufactured iron posts (*piquets en fer*).[12]

The parallelism between the military campaigns and the use of Jewish forced labor is visible in the labor camps at El Guettar, Gafsa Gare, and Kasserine. On February 14, 1943, Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel commenced a campaign, using troops of the Panzerarmee Afrika that had been withdrawn from Libya, against US troops stationed in the Algerian–Tunisian border regions. As the German troops advanced, the aforementioned towns were captured, and Jews were deployed there to supply the Wehrmacht. After the Allies pushed the Wehrmacht from these areas at the end of March 1943, the labor camps ceased to exist. They were only established during the offensive and were then dissolved during the retreat.

The quarters for the Jews were related to their employment. In the important harbor of Bizerte, the camp was located in a garrison. On the other hand, in Sidi Ahmed, the camp was located in wooden barracks; in Zaghouan, in basic structures without roofs; and, in Cheylus, in tents; while the forced laborers in Jefna had to sleep on the bare ground. As a rule, the quarters usually had neither sufficient space nor conditions suitable for human beings. Basic hygiene facilities were lacking. Initially, in Bizerte there were only three water taps that approximately 1,000 prisoners were to use for washing. Sometimes in Bizerte water was not available. The toilets in the garrison were insufficient in number so that many forced laborers had to attend to nature's call on the camp grounds. In Boucha, on the other hand, a dirty brown liquid served as water for drinking and washing. After the Zaghouan camp was established, to prevent escapes, the Italian guards forbade the Jewish forced laborers from washing in a nearby water source. The lack of water in most camps, but also the absence of soap, the overcrowding in the quarters, and the hard physical labor in construction, meant that most of the Jews were very filthy and suffered from skin diseases and vermin.

In addition, the medical care was insufficient. Although the male Jews underwent a medical examination when they were called up, many men were drafted who were not suited to hard labor. This was especially so for the Jews who were arrested during the raids in December 1942 in Tunis. In this instance, the SD prevented any checks by the Jewish doctors who were examining the other forced laborers. One of these Jews, an 18-year-old man, who because of physical disability could not last the march from Tunis to the Cheylus camp, was shot by a German guard. The Mutilés group of Company 1 of Battalion A is also proof that a larger number of invalids were drafted for forced labor.

In theory, either the Jewish doctors or medical orderlies that were interned in the camps, or members of the Labor Group *6 Médical*, part of Company 12, Battalion D, had to care for those who were ill. This included the possibility of being released from forced labor, or, on the other hand, to die because of an illness or serious injury. Apparently, German military doctors almost exclusively issued such releases. One could even be released from a labor camp. The camp commander in Bizerte issued such passes

with the following words: "[Name of the Jew] of the labor camp for Jews in Bizerte is dismissed as unfit for work, according to an examination by the German military doctor … signed Elfes, Lieutenant and Camp Commandant."[13] Survivors reported that in the Boucha Camp, the ill had to do forced labor at night. And in Djebibinia, for example, a Jew died from blood poisoning, without receiving any medical care.

Those who injured their hands at work received only emergency care. Jacob André Guez reported from the Bizerte camp that many Jews had open wounds on their hands. There were no bandages so they had to wrap rags around their hands. As it was not possible to change them, the rags fell to pieces while the men were working. In addition, they quickly became filthy, which caused the wounds to become infected.[14] Due to the unhygienic conditions, the Jewish forced labors suffered from parasites such as lice and from scabies, boils, and eczema. Besides skin diseases, they also suffered from heart and lung illnesses. How large a proportion of sick prisoners was possible is shown in the data for the Jefna camp. According to a statement from Jacques Sabille dated December 26, 1942, that is, only two weeks after the camp was erected, 50 inmates out of 120 (41.7%) were already sick.[15]

According to the order dated December 26, 1942, referred to above, the Jewish Council in Tunis was to procure food for the forced laborers. Generally, this meant that supplies had to be transported from Tunis to the individual camps. This was done in part by the Wehrmacht. For example, the activity report of the Tunisian transport officer, and the railway company that reported to him, for the period from November 14 to December 31, 1942, specifically in the entry for December 27, refers to a railway wagon of "Jewish food supplies" being shipped from the Djebel-Djelloud Railway Station, in a southern Tunis suburb, to Enfidaville; and, for December 29, to a railway wagon of "Food for Jews" going from the Tunis Central Railway Station to Sidi Ahmed.[16] Jewish labor companies were permitted to obtain food from Wehrmacht supplies only in locations that were extremely difficult to reach and only if "other supplies could not be obtained and the use of laborers would otherwise be impossible," as was stated in a food supply situation report dated January 9, 1943, by the Wehrmacht commissariat officer based with the supreme

commander of the Axis forces in Tunisia.[17]

Food rations were as follows: 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of bread or 400 grams (14.1 ounces) of flour daily; in addition, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of rice, pearl barley, groats, semolina, or rolled oats daily, or as a substitute, 200 grams (7 ounces) of fresh vegetables, 20 grams (0.7 ounces) of dried vegetables, or 30 grams (1 ounce) of peas and beans. In addition, there were supposed to be 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of salt, 5 grams (0.2 ounces) of oil, 3 grams (0.1 ounces) of dried onions, 2 grams (0.07 ounces) of garlic powder, 10 grams (0.35 ounces) of sugar, and 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of coffee substitute daily. Further, there were plans for a weekly ration of 800 grams (28.2 ounces) of fresh meat, 20 grams of tobacco, and two fresh lemons, the last in case no fresh vegetables could be provided.[18] Jewish forced laborers often did not receive these rations, however. Often the daily rations consisted of a half a loaf of bread (375–500 grams [13.2–17.6 ounces] and a can of jam, such as in Ksar-Tyr. Jacob André Guez writes that in Bizerte, a typical midday meal consisted of a fifth of a loaf of bread, half a tin of sardines, and one-tenth of a jar of jam.[19] There are records from the Saf-Saf camp showing that, for breakfast, the forced laborers received their daily bread ration, and, in the evening, soup with vegetables. The bread was supposed to be eaten with the soup. Daniel Carpi points out that some Italian guards used part of the Jewish forced laborers' rations for their own benefit.[20] This increased the inmates' hunger, since, for the most part, they did not receive adequate food for people doing heavy physical labor.

The Jewish Council was also required to provide the forced laborers with clothing and shoes. The drafted Jews did their work in their own clothes, which quickly fell to pieces due to the nature of the work. There were insufficient replacement clothes, and in a few weeks the clothes being worn were filthy rags that provided inadequate protection against the weather. Many of the forced laborers had no shoes and had to walk around barefoot.

In the camps for the so-called home sleepers, the Jews were forbidden to leave the work site during working hours. For Jews in closed camps, this applied around the clock. Nevertheless, many Jews fled from the camps, especially after the Allies made clear advances in the spring of 1943. The official punishment for flight was death, and prisoners were sometimes shot. Guez reports on the

execution of a Jew in Bizerte on March 26, 1943. On the whole, however, only a few escapees were shot.

More often there were internal camp punishments, such as prison or some form of mistreatment. If an escape was successful, it occurred mostly because the guards had been bribed or because there was assistance from the Jewish Council in Tunis. However, the escapee's family was then at risk. As the Germans interned family members, especially wives, the escapees repeatedly gave up or returned to the camps.[21]

All breaches of the camp rules were severely punished, and, occasionally, Jews were mistreated for no reason. In Bizerte, the camp prison was a small narrow room. In this room, the forced laborers were beaten brutally by the overseers with oxen whips and riding whips but also with clubs. The guards in Saf-Saf and Bizerte were especially cruel. In the latter labor camp, there was a soldier with the nickname *Le Tueur* (the butcher), who beat at least one Jew to death, as well as a soldier with the nickname *Grand-Mère* (grandmother), who mistreated at least two inmates who died.[22] The Jews in Dumergue also suffered at the hands of a supervisor, nicknamed the *Tortionnaire* (the torturer's lad).[23]

In principle the forced laborers in the closed camps did not get a break because they regularly had to do hard labor seven days a week. They were physically exhausted, and there was no rest in the camp. The interned Jews were always guarded. Only the home sleepers had at least the possibility to sleep with their families and to escape the persecution for short periods of time. On the other hand, individual Jews in many camps were allowed to leave the labor camps for a few days to spend time with their families. This procedure, known as the *système de permission* (Front Leave System), did not exist in all the labor camps but was dependent on the German camp commanders. For example, it was not allowed in Jefna but was in Saf-Saf. A pass issued by Camp Commander Elfess for one of the Bizerte camp inmates has survived. It states that the holder is en route to Tunis "to visit his family" and will return on a specified date. The pass grants permission for rail travel, stating: "It is requested that the bearer of the pass be transported by rail from Sidi Ahmed to Tunis and return."[24] Such passes from other sites have survived as well. They were mostly

valid for four days and usually contained a request to Wehrmacht members to take the Jewish "holiday makers" to Tunis.[25] If there was a rail connection between the camp and the capital city the pass functioned as a railway ticket.

The so-called Italian Sector in Tunisia was southeast of Tunis in the Zaghouan and Enfidaville region. It also included part of the harbor in La Goulette near Tunis. The Germans transferred nearly 1,000 Jewish forced laborers to these camps.[26] The isolation of this mountainous area and the difficult communication lines to Tunis worsened the situation of the Jews employed there, although it is known that the Italian guards treated the internees better than the Germans. The Jews were not as exposed to Allied bombing raids. However, they suffered from deplorable hygienic conditions in their miserable quarters as well as from a lack of water. The Italian guards kept for themselves the forced laborers' belongings and food. That is why the living conditions in the Italian camps were anything but fit for humans.[27]

The exact number of Jews that either died during forced labor or who were murdered by the guards is unknown. Sabille gives the names of those forced laborers who died in a number of camps. Four died and 39 were wounded when the Allies bombed the El Aouina airfield. In Bizerte, 10 died and 19 were injured during bombing raids, and the German guards executed at least 4 Jews and murdered 3 by mistreating them. In the Sidi Ahmed camp, in February 1943, a Jewish prisoner died in an accident and another was murdered by the Germans. But Jews also died in the camps in Djebibinia, Djelloula, and Djougar. It is estimated that around 100 Jewish forced laborers in Tunisia either died while doing forced labor or were murdered by the Germans.[28] Given that there were around 6,400 Jewish forced laborers, this means a death rate of almost 1.6 percent.

In 1941–1942, heavy fighting occurred in Libya, with a large part of the Italian colony repeatedly changing hands between the Wehrmacht and the Italian army, on the one side, and the British Eighth Army on the other side. At the end of January 1942, the German Panzer Army Africa pushed east and forced the British back to Egypt. On February 7, 1942, Mussolini, acting as the minister of the interior, instructed the Italian governor in Libya, Ettore Bastico, to intern the Jews. Jews with British citizenship

had been taken from January 1942 by successive ships to Italy and interned at different locations. Jews with French citizenship were taken to Algeria and those with Tunisian citizenship were expelled to Tunis.

The Vichy administration, under the leadership of the resident-general Admiral Esteva, established three camps for those Jews brought to Tunisia in the summer of 1942: in Gabès, Marcia Plage near Tunis, and Tniet Agarev near Sfax.[29] In these internment camps for Jews from Libya with Tunisian citizenship, the conditions were similar to those in the closed labor camps, at least in principle. However, the camps were not established by the Wehrmacht but pursuant to an order of the Vichy authorities in Tunis. After German and Italian troops had conquered a large part of Tunisia, the German authorities were able to exert the power of decision over the so-called Jewish question. With that, the SD also took over control of the internment camps for those Jews expelled from Libya.

From this point on, the living conditions worsened for the Jews in the internment camps. Leaving the camps was allowed only by exception and then under strict guard. At least for Gabès, it is known that the camp was fenced and that the death penalty applied to those who left the camp without permission. The support from the Jewish communities for the inmates was reduced. From the beginning, all the Jews had very poor quarters. They also suffered from hunger and thirst and had to live under poor hygienic conditions. Many fell ill due to these circumstances and the general lack of medical care.

As in other French colonies in North Africa, after the liberation, a military tribunal investigated crimes that the Germans and the Vichy authorities had committed. In Tunisia, this tribunal sat in Tunis. It collected survivors' reports and documents relating to the persecution. Resident-general Admiral Esteva, who had been evacuated by the Germans to France, had been sentenced to death in absentia on May 15, 1943, by a military court headed by General Giraud. After Admiral Esteva's arrest on September 22, 1944, in Paris, there was a new trial. On March 15, 1945, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Esteva was released in August 1950 for health reasons. He died the following year in Reims.

The following discussion of the known Tunisian camps consists of labor camps with permanent internees and labor camps with internees only during working hours (i.e., the socalled home sleepers). The camps are listed in alphabetical order including available relevant information. While much is known about Bizerte, there is a lack of comprehensive information about the basic conditions in most of the camps. For this reason, the entries are relatively brief.

SOURCES Many documents relating to the Tunisian labor camps and the Jewish forced laborers are to be found in the Archiv des Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris (e.g., CXXIII-68, CXXIV-17, and CCCLXXXVII-4). A few sources on the selection and transport of the forced laborers and their deployment are to be found in BAMA Freiburg i. Br. in the collection RH 21-5. In addition, there are documents on the Jewish situation in Tunisia compiled by the United Restitution Organization in Frankfurt am Main in 1962—"Judenverfolgung in Italien, den italienisch besetzten Gebieten und in Nordafrika." Information on the three internment camps for Jews who were expelled from Libya to Tunisia comes from court cases for restitution at the OLG Köln. Extracts of the judgment are published in the *Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht* 26 (1975), pp. 28–31. There is a posthumous published eyewitness account on conditions in the Bizerte camp by Jacob André Guez, "Au camp de Bizerte," *Journal d'un Juif Tunisien interné sous l'occupation Allemande* (1942–1943) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001).

The first serious work on the occupation and forced labor was Jacques Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous Vichy et l'occupation* (Paris: Centre, 1954). A copy of Nehring's order of December 6, 1942, is held in the Federal German Military Archive in Freiburg im Breisgau and has been published in part by Jacques Sabille. This French work was preceded by descriptions of the forced laborers' situation from the perspective of the Jews who lived in occupied Tunisia: Paul Ghez, *Six mois sous la botte: Les Juifs de Tunis aux prises avec le S.S.* Paris (Tunis: S.A.P.I., 1943); Robert Borgel, *Etoile jaune et croix gammée: Recit*

d'une servitude (Tunis: Artypo, 1944); and Gaston Guez, ed., *Nos martyrs sous la botte Allemande: Où, Les ex-travailleurs Juifs de Tunisie racontent leurs souffrances* (Tunis: Les presses Typo-Litho du journal *La Presse*, 1946). Albert Memmi, *Die Salzsäule* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1963) (the French original appeared under the title *La Statue de Sel* [Paris: Corrêa, 1953]), describes his experiences as a member of the Committee for Recruitment and as a former forced laborer, in the form of an autobiographical novel. See also *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous le joug nazi 9 novembre 1942 – 8 mai 1943. Récits et témoignages rassemblés, présentés et annotés par Claude Nataf* (Paris: Le Manuscrit, 2012).

In the many later works dealing with Tunisia during Vichy, there are only a few sections on forced labor. In German, there is under the word "Tunesien" a short section in the *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, hrsg. von Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps (Munich: Piper, 1995); in Hebrew, there are details on particular locations and the camps erected there in *Pinkas Hakehillot Libya Tunisia*, ed. Irit Adamski-Bligh (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997). Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) (the French edition appeared under the title *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* [Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 1983]). There is also Daniel Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1994), which has more closely investigated Italian policy in relation to the Jews in Tunisia. Additional general information can be found in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1990).

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

NOTES

* Because little specific information is available on most of the Wehrmacht's North African work camps, it was decided to include an introduction to this section with source information, followed by brief camp entries. Note also that some of the camps are not shown on the accompanying map (map 10), because they could not be located.

1. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 1438.

2. Rudolf Rahn, *Ruheloses Leben: Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen* (Düsseldorf: Peter Diederichs, 1949), p. 204.

3. Befehl des PzAOK 5, Chef des Generalstabs, Abt. Ia, Nr. 345/43 vom 18.02.1943, in BA-MA, RH 21-5, Akte 13, p. 224.

4. The count of 120 persons comes, for example, from Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, p. 44, and the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 1440, while Paul Sebag, *Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie: Des origines a nos jours* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991), p. 234, gives a count of 125 persons.

5. Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, pp. 73–74.

6. Ibid., p. 74.

7. Ibid., p. 80.

8. Sebag, *Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie*, p. 240; and Abitbol, *Jews of North Africa*, p. 234.

9. The details about the battalions, companies, and groups are based on the examination of numerous certificates of the Conseil de la Communaute Israélite Tunis from the 1950s and 1960s.

10. Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, p 36.

11. Befehl für den Küstenschutz, PzAOK 5, Abt. Ia, Nr. 201/42 vom 25.12.1942, in BA-MA, RH 21-5, Akte 13, p. 25–29.

12. The details on the Wehrmacht positions to which Jewish forced laborers were assigned are based on the examination of

numerous Wehrmacht certificates from the years 1942–1943.

13. Such a pass, from March 9, 1943, is in the hands of the author.

14. Guez, "Au camp de Bizerte," pp. 27–28.

15. Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, pp. 89–90.

16. BA-MA, RH 21-5, Akte 45.

17. Verpflegungsbericht vom Wehrmachtintendanten beim Oberbefehlshaber der Achsenstreitkräfte in Tunesien vom 09.01.1943, in BA-MA, RH 21-5, Akte 12.

18. Ibid.

19. Guez, "Au camp de Bizerte," p. 32.

20. Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler*, p. 238.

21. For example, Jacob André Guez describes such a case on p. 78 of his diary, "Au camp de Bizerte."

22. Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, p. 99.

23. Ibid., p. 90.

24. Such a pass, from April 2, 1943, is in the hands of the author.

25. The author holds a certificate about "leave," including the demand that Wehrmacht personnel take Jewish forced laborers with them to Tunis, dated February 15, 1943.

26. Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie*, pp. 83, 111.

27. See Joseph R. White, ed., *The USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos 1933–1945*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2018), pp. 894ff.

28. Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler*, p. 235.

29. See Joseph R. White, ed., *The USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos 1933–1945*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2018), pp. 894ff.

AÏN ZAMMIT

The Wehrmacht established the Aïn Zammit labor camp on December 13, 1942, for male Tunisian Jewish forced laborers. Sixty Jews were interned in the Aïn Zammit camp in December 1942. In mid-April 1943, the camp was dissolved after Maurice Taïeb, nicknamed "The Termite," succeeded in convincing the responsible German officer that the Jews would be of no use during heavy fighting in this area of the front but would be useful as forced laborers in Mateur. As a result, the forced laborers were sent to Mateur to do clean up and earthworks. They were liberated by the Allies at the beginning of May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BIR M'CHERGA

The Wehrmacht established the Bir M'Cherga camp for forced labor on February 22, 1943. It was located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Tunis. The Jews interned in the camp performed different types of forced labor. The camp was dissolved on April 21, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BIZERTE

The Germans established a labor camp on December 11, 1942, in the Philibert Garrison in Bizerte, the most important harbor on the northern Tunisian coast. It was under Wehrmacht control and functioned as a center for labor for Bizerte. The camp held only Jewish men. They loaded and unloaded ships, and they worked on fortifications and on numerous construction sites within the city. They built roads, searched for unexploded ordnance, and worked on a wharf. Over and above that, they worked in Ferryville (today Menzel Bourguiba) and at Djebel Kebir. Prisoners who were assigned light duties had to work within the camp.

In December 1942, there were around 500 Jews in the Bizerte camp. By January 6, 1943, the number had increased to 1,050. After that, the number gradually declined, because many of the forced laborers fled, died, or were murdered, while the Germans sent others, whom they regarded as incapable of working, to Tunis. Moreover, some well-off people were able to buy their family member's freedom. New prisoners were not available in sufficient numbers to make up for these losses. On the other hand, separate work groups from other camps were sent to Bizerte. This happened, for example, with a labor group of 65 men from Mornag, together with a group leader, on January 15, 1943. When the Allies liberated Bizerte on May 7, 1943, there were not even 200 of the Jewish forced laborers still there.

The German camp command is suspected of having executed 4 Jews for attempting to escape. On top of that, at least 6 forced laborers were beaten to death or died as a result of mistreatment. Another 10 died during Allied bombing raids, and 1 forced laborer died in an accident. Thus, of the 1,400 prisoners sent to Bizerte, at least 21 died. Although this camp was regarded as the worst one, the death rate of 1.5 percent corresponded to the general average for all the camps. This was due not least to the fact that the internment lasted for only six months. Had the detention lasted longer, more Jews would have been executed (on May 1, 1943,

two forced laborers were sentenced to death, but the sentences were not carried out) or would have died in some other way. Liberation in May also prevented the deaths by starvation of undernourished forced laborers.

Jacques Cacoub was appointed as chief Jew of the camp (*chef Juif de camp*) in Bizerte by camp commander Elfess. Additionally, there were other Jewish camp leaders who were in charge of several groups. These formed a council. The members of the council included a Jew named Bedoucha as well as Kako Habib, Jacques Krief, Victor Sitbon, Gilbert Taïeb, and Lucien Zarka. They were the most influential group in the camp, organizing matters with the "termites" (regional representatives of the Committee for Recruitment) as well as with the camp commander and his deputy. Below these groups there were 21 Jewish leaders who were responsible for the individual work groups. They too held a special position. All these group leaders lived under better conditions than the regular prisoners. For example, they did not have to do physically demanding work. There was also a Jewish camp police force, which had been created to maintain order. The police officers wore their own armband and carried a riding whip. They also had a privileged position within the camp society, due to their role in maintaining order.

The possibility that some forced laborers' freedom could be purchased changed the inmates' social structure: above all, men from poor and less influential families remained in Bizerte. This was especially so, moreover, for Jews who were ill or incapable of working, because the ill but well-off prisoners were sent to Tunis. This unequal treatment resulted in tensions among the internees and disputes between family members and the Committee for Recruitment (Comité de Recrutement), which increased over time.

The killing of prisoners in Bizerte by the guards is exemplified by the murder in March 1943 of the forced laborer Victor Lellouche. Though Lellouche worked as a trained bookkeeper in the camp administration, on March 24, a German officer assigned him to construction work. On the following day, he returned to the camp and reported that a German soldier had tried to shoot him while he was working. On March 26, three German soldiers took him away. At midday, a truck returned with the forced laborer's

disfigured body: a bullet had gone through his right leg, a second through his left wrist and an eye. The body had been smashed. The motives for the murder are unclear. However, witnesses reported that an SS officer wanted to kill Lellouche for personal reasons. The camp administration stated, to the contrary, that he had been sentenced to death for attempting to escape. A second forced laborer, Emile Hababout, was shot by a German guard during the night of January 23, 1943.

The commander of the Bizerte camp was Oberleutnant Elfess; his deputy was Feldwebel Thild. Former forced laborers describe Elfess as being a fanatical National Socialist who also robbed the Jews in the camp. His deputy, on the other hand, was known as a man who did not mistreat anyone, but who, on the contrary, treated the Jews in a friendly and understanding manner. Wehrmacht soldiers guarded the camp. Among them were many former members of the French Foreign Legion and Alsatians, who presumably had been chosen because of their ability to speak French.

Because of the catastrophic conditions in Bizerte, the "termites" Henry Sfez and his deputy Victor Bismut tried very hard to improve conditions in the camp. As early as January 1943, Sfez was able to convince the camp commander to release 50 forced laborers, who were unfit for work, back to Tunis. Another 25 were released in February 1943. Two Jewish doctors worked in a small hospital barracks. The "termites" organized medical supplies for them. They also organized other supplies for the internees. Well-off inmates, who were able to bring valuables into the camp or to smuggle things in through their relatives, used these items to bribe the guards to secure better treatment.

The internees in the Bizerte camp committed numerous small spontaneous acts of sabotage. For example, coal that had to be loaded off ships was shoveled into the sea. A few forced laborers emptied cement sacks that had been delivered to the harbor into the sea instead of loading them onto trucks.

Many people were informed of the inhuman conditions, the mistreatment by the guards, and the poor supplies in Bizerte, since the "termites" reported on these facts, as did the forced laborers whom the Germans released as unfit for work. Additionally, a few

family members were able to get to Bizerte and to speak to the forced laborers at the camp entrance and give them food and other necessities.

During the camp's entire existence, and especially after February 1943, many Jews fled from the labor camp and attempted to survive the remaining days and weeks until liberation in hiding. By February 1943, around 200 Jews had managed to escape from Bizerte or forced labor. Additionally, on May 4, 1943, it was determined that 30 Jews had escaped from the labor camp overnight. Shortly before liberation by the Allies, Elfess ordered that the camp be evacuated. The Jewish leader, Bedoucha, remained in the camp with a group of men, while other groups made their way in the direction of Tunis, where they arrived just as British troops entered the city. On May 8, 1943, the American army liberated the last forced laborers in Bizerte.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BORDJ FREDJ

A labor camp for Jewish men was established in Bordj Fredj on December 11, 1942. The Germans used the prisoners as forced laborers in constructing roads and in various other tasks. The camp was dissolved by December 30, 1942.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

BOUCHA

The Wehrmacht established a forced labor camp for Jews in Boucha, to the south of Medjez-el-Bab, likely on February 14, 1943. In March, the forced laborers were located in Henchir-Gayasse, not far from Boucha. This camp served to intern Jewish men who, as forced laborers for the Wehrmacht, maintained airfields and worked on the front line. Work was done between 8:00 p.m. and the morning, when there was no artillery fire from the Allies. There were approximately only 32 Jews in this camp. The Boucha labor camp was dissolved on March 17, 1943, after the responsible Wehrmacht officer had been bribed by the "termite" (regional representative of the Committee for Recruitment) Henry Sfez. To regain their health, the Jewish forced workers could be brought to Goubellat, a town whose labor camp had likewise been dissolved in the middle of March.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

CAP SERRAT

In February 1943, the Wehrmacht captured the area around Cap Serrat and established an improvised labor camp for male Jews, who had to supply German soldiers at the main front line and recover fallen soldiers. Some of these forced laborers came from the Saf-Saf camp. At the end of March 1943, the Allies liberated the area. During the Wehrmacht's retreat, the camp was dissolved.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

CHEYLUS

The Wehrmacht established a labor camp at Cheylus, 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) south of Tunis, on December 11, 1942. The Jewish men interned at Cheylus repaired airfields. In December 1942, there were 420 Jews in the camp, with a large number having been seized in Tunis during raids by the Germans. On the march to the camp, an 18-year-old Jew with a clubfoot was shot dead because he could not keep up.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DRIJA (OUED DRIJA)

A camp was established at Drija on December 9, 1942. The Jews interned in Drija performed forced labor mainly on road construction but also in various other areas. The camp was dissolved on December 26, 1942.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

DUMERGUE

The Dumergue labor camp, also known as Dumergue-Frethia, was established on December 13, 1942, in the area of Mateur. The inmates were quartered on a farm and performed forced labor for the Wehrmacht. At its inception, there were 40 Jewish forced laborers in the camp. Neither deaths during forced labor nor murders of inmates have been proven for the Dumergue camp. The camp commander, a Tunisian Arab, was also a German spy.

The camp was dissolved in 1943 because of a trick by one of the "termites" (regional representatives of the Committee for Recruitment), Maurice Taïeb. He told the Germans that typhus had broken out among the inmates and that they had to be taken to Mateur for a thorough examination. From there they were secretly taken to Tunis. At the same time, he told the Germans that the Jews had illegally scattered themselves around the countryside before they arrived in Mateur.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

EL-GUETTAR (EL QUETTAR)

In February 1943, the Wehrmacht established a labor camp for Jews in El-Guettar, about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) northwest of Gabes. In the course of the offensive by Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel, the Germans captured the area, which lies on the road to Tebessa. After that, it served as a supply base for German troops. The Jewish internees performed forced labor for the Wehrmacht.

On March 20, 1943, Allied troops began an offensive from Algeria in the direction of the Tunisian coast. In the course of that offensive, the German troops were pushed back to El-Guettar by the end of March. The Wehrmacht dissolved the camp during the retreat.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GAFSA GARE

The Wehrmacht captured Gafsa in February 1943. After that, they erected a labor camp for male Jews at the railroad station outside the city, because Gafsa lay on the railway to Sfax and on the road to Tebessa and was thus an important supply base for the German army. The Jews in the camp performed forced labor for the Wehrmacht. On March 20, 1943, Allied troops began an offensive from Algeria in the direction of the Tunisian coast. During the Wehrmacht's withdrawal, the camp was dissolved.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

GOUBELLAT (QUBALLAT)

On February 7, 1943, the Wehrmacht established a labor camp in Goubellat, 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Tunis. Jewish men were interned in the camp and used as forced laborers, mainly repairing airfields in the area. The camp was dissolved on March 16, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

HAMMAMET

In December 1942, the Wehrmacht established a labor camp for male Jews aged 18–50 in Hammamet, 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) southeast of Tunis, on the Gulf of Hammamet. The men originated from the city of Nabeul, northeast of Hammamet. The Jews worked on fortifications and dug trenches. From March 1943 on, many Jews were able to escape from the camp. The British army liberated the camp on May 11, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

JEFNA (DJEFNA)

The Wehrmacht established a labor camp for Jewish men at Jefna, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of Mateur, on December 13, 1942. They had to work 18 hours a day, transporting munitions to the front line. There were 120 Jewish forced laborers in the camp when it opened. The guards were German soldiers. The "termites" (regional representatives of the Committee for Recruitment) Maurice Taïeb and Moïse Chemla were able to negotiate three days' rest for 70 forced laborers. Of those, 36 were finally able to return to Tunis because of illness, while the remaining 34 were sent to the Saf-Saf labor camp. With that, the number of inmates dramatically declined at the beginning of 1943.

The camp was dissolved in the middle of April 1943, after Taïeb was able to convince the responsible German officer that the Jews were of no value in the heavy fighting that was taking place on this section of the front, but they were probably of more use for forced labor in Mateur. As a result, the remaining forced laborers were sent to Mateur to do cleanup work and excavation. The Allies freed them in May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KASSERINE

The Wehrmacht established a labor camp for Jews in Kasserine, around 75 kilometers (46.6 miles) north of Gafsa, in February 1943. The town had been captured during the offensive by Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel. The Jews interned here worked as forced laborers for the Wehrmacht and supplied units at the nearby front with ammunition and other supplies. On March 20, 1943, Allied troops began an offensive from Algeria in the direction of the Tunisian coast. During the Wehrmacht's retreat, the camp was dissolved.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KATACH-BAYA

Seventy Jewish forced laborers were interned in Katach-Baya on December 13, 1942. The camp was dissolved in mid-April 1943, after the "termite" (regional representative of the Committee for Recruitment) Maurice Taïeb was successful in convincing the responsible German officer that the Jews were of no value during heavy fighting but would be for forced labor in Mateur. As a result, the remaining forced laborers were sent to Mateur to do clean up and excavation. They were freed by the Allies at the beginning of May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

KSAR TYR

The Wehrmacht established the Ksar Tyr labor camp on December 9, 1942. The Jews lived in the stables of a farm. The interned Jewish forced laborers performed various tasks. At least one forced laborer died here when his preexisting illness grew worse and he was not given any medical treatment. There was a Jewish camp leader (*chef Juif de camp*) in Ksar Tyr. German soldiers served as guards. One former inmate reported—describing, as it were, a noteworthy event in the short history of the camp—that a Jewish doctor and a member of the Committee for Recruitment inspected the camp at the end of December 1942. They did not relieve obviously sick forced laborers from work but classified them as fit for duty. The camp was dissolved on January 9, 1943, and the remaining inmates were transferred to the labor camp at Massicault.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MAA-ABIOD

On December 13, 1942, 40 Jewish forced laborers were interned in Maa-Abiod. The camp was dissolved in the middle of April 1943 after the "termite" (regional representative of the Committee for Recruitment) Maurice Taïeb was able to convince the responsible German officer that the Jews would be of no use in the heavy fighting in that area but would be useful as forced laborers in Mateur. The forced laborers were then sent to Mateur to do cleanup work and excavation. The Allies liberated them at the beginning of May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MASSICAULT

In January 1943, the Wehrmacht erected a labor camp in Massicault, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) to the west of Tunis. It operated as an internment camp for Jewish men. They performed different types of forced labor, but mostly road construction. The men interned in Massicault had previously done forced labor in the Ksar-Tyr camp. The camp in Massicault was dissolved on April 23, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MATEUR

A labor camp for Jews was erected in December 1942 in Mateur, 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southwest of Bizerte. It was planned that the inmates would be at the disposal of the Wehrmacht. On January 24, 1943, there were 40 internees who were put to work removing rubble after bombing raids. There were around 10 specialists, such as tailors, cobblers, and barbers, who were distributed around Mateur for use by the Wehrmacht, according to their qualifications. In April 1943, forced laborers arrived from the dissolved camps at Aïn Zammit, Jefna, Katach-Baya, Maa-Abiod, Michaud, and Rossignol. This camp was liberated on May 3, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MENZEL TEMIM (MANZIL TAMIM)

The Wehrmacht erected a labor camp for Jews in Menzel Temim, about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southwest of Kelibia, on the south coast of the Cap Bon Peninsula, in December 1942. The camp held only men from Nabeul aged 18–50, who were quartered in huts and a cattle barn. Because families from the Jewish community in Nabeul received support when their men went into the camp in place of other forced laborers, more poor than well-off Jews were interned. The forced laborers erected a landing field for the Luftwaffe, which they then had to maintain throughout the entire period of the occupation. A few Jews worked in the camp kitchen. The forced laborers had to continue working during Allied bombardments.

In December 1942, around 100 Jews in Menzel Temim were performing forced labor. Soon the number increased to around 300. A few survivors, however, mention only 50 internees. This could be the result of the fact that, in March 1943, many of the forced laborers were able to flee. No Jewish forced laborer died while the landing field was being bombed. According to a survivor's report, however, the German guards shot a Jew who was shoeless and exhausted because he could not march anymore.

The labor camp's guards were Wehrmacht soldiers. The Jewish community in Nabeul had to support the camp while, at the same time, providing medical care for the inmates, even though the Wehrmacht would not permit a Jewish doctor to be stationed there. Many complaints filtered out of the camp to Nabeul about the inhuman living conditions. As a result, the chairman of the Jewish community and his deputy visited the camp. The prisoners fell upon them and threw them into the barn. Only after three days were they able to convince the forced laborers that, without their assistance, no further supplies would be provided to the camp inmates. The camp was liberated by the British army on May 11, 1943.

Jens Hoppe

Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

MICHAUD

On December 13, 1942, 40 Jewish forced laborers were interned in Michaud, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Mateur. They were held on a farm. German soldiers guarded the Jews. In mid-April 1943, the camp was dissolved, after the "termite" (regional representative of the Committee for Recruitment) Maurice Taïeb was able to convince the responsible German officer that the Jews were of no value in the heavy fighting in the area, but that they would be of greater value doing forced labor in Mateur. As a result, the remaining forced laborers were sent to Mateur to do cleanup work and excavation. They were liberated by the Allies at the beginning of May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

ROSSIGNOL

On December 13, 1942, 50 Jewish forced laborers were interned in Rossignol. In mid-April 1943, the camp was dissolved, after the "termite" (regional representative of the Committee for Recruitment) Maurice Taïeb was able to convince the responsible German officer that the Jews were of no value during the heavy fighting in the area but would be of use doing forced labor in Mateur. As a result, the remaining forced laborers were sent to Mateur to do cleanup work and excavation. They were liberated by the Allies at the beginning of May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SAF-SAF

The Wehrmacht labor camp at Saf-Saf was founded on December 13, 1942. Initially, 200 Jewish forced laborers were interned there. On January 13, 1943, a group of these forced laborers was able to return to Tunis. They quartered in the Alliance School (*École de l'Alliance*). Jacob André Guez described the prisoners in his diary: "They leave now, filthy, flea-ridden, all dressed in tunics."

The Jews had to excavate trenches, erect fortifications and observation posts, and transport supplies to the front. German soldiers guarded the inmates in the camp and from posts on the surrounding hills. There was a system of front leave (permission), on the basis of which the Jewish forced laborers could be sent home for a few days before returning to the labor camp. The camp was dissolved in February 1943, with some of the forced laborers being transferred to the Cap Serrat camp and others to Sedjenane.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SEDJENANE

It is suspected that the Wehrmacht erected an improvised work camp at Sedjenane in January 1943. The Jews who were put to work in Sedjenane, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Beja, brought supplies and ammunition direct to the front line and retrieved the bodies of fallen German soldiers. Thus, they were employed under the fire of the Allies. In February 1943, a group of forced laborers from Saf-Saf arrived. Sedjenane was liberated by the Allies on March 30, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Geoffrey Megargee

SFAX

The Wehrmacht established a labor camp for male Jews in Sfax. However, the Jewish community itself arranged the recruitment for labor and paid the Jews who reported voluntarily. They received 100 francs daily, a much higher sum than was paid by the Committee for Recruitment. Thus, almost exclusively, poor Jews performed forced labor. It is uncertain whether the inmates could leave the camp in the evening or whether they were interned the whole time. The forced laborers had to load and unload Wehrmacht trucks, work in the harbor, and build dugouts. Altogether, the Germans demanded 100 Jews as forced laborers. However, those 100 never worked together at the same time.

The commander of the forced labor service in Sfax, and with it the labor camp, was SS-Sturmbannführer Best, who, later, also took over this role in Sousse. His deputy was SS-Sturmbannführer Jensen. German soldiers guarded the forced laborers, but they did not seriously mistreat the Jews. So far as is known, none of the forced laborers in Sfax was murdered. The city was liberated by the British Eighth Army on April 10, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SIDI AHMED (SIDI HAMED)

Likely at the beginning of January 1943, the Wehrmacht erected a labor camp for Jews in Sidi Ahmed, near Bizerte, which resembled a prisoner of war (POW) camp. The inmates had to perform forced labor at the airfield as well as on the railways and at the railway station. Following the destruction of the Bizerte railway station at the end of December 1942, the Sidi Ahmed railway station constituted the terminus of the railway from Tunis, by which the Wehrmacht received much of its supplies. On January 28, 1943, 250 Jewish men were interned in Sidi Ahmed. There were two Jewish camp bosses, Henry Bismut and Alex Bonan. The latter had received a 75 percent disability in a World War I POW camp but still had to report for forced labor. In addition, each work squad was led by a Jewish group commander. The result was that there was an influential group of internees who tried to use their influence for the benefit of the forced laborers.

On February 16, 1943, a Jewish forced laborer died in a truck accident on the road to Tunis. Another, Elie Saadoun, was executed by the Germans on February 9, 1943. Saadoun had repeatedly tried to escape from the camp. After the last attempt he was taken to Bizerte, around 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away, and handed to the camp commander, Leutnant Elfess. He, in turn, ordered the German soldier with the nickname *le Tueur* (the butcher) to execute Saadoun. Saadoun was found with three bullets in the back, his chest open, and his heart ripped out.

The camp at the airport was fully evacuated on April 15, 1943, following a bluff (*coup de bluff*). Bonan, one of the Jewish camp bosses, asked the commanding Wehrmacht officer for a general front leave for the forthcoming Passover. The request was declined, but Bonan boldly told the noncommissioned officer that everything had been arranged and that the men had permission to go home, resulting in the dissolution of the Sidi Ahmed labor camp. Only the three group leaders were to remain, to guard important supplies.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

SOUSSE

In December 1942, the Wehrmacht established a labor camp for male Jews from Sfax in Sousse, in a former French military camp known as Ardent de Picq. Mostly, young Jews were interned in Sousse, while older so-called home sleepers did forced labor. Because of the demanding physical labor, over time, more and more Jews became incapable of working, so that the circle of forced laborers became steadily smaller. The Jews worked mostly for the Wehrmacht at the harbor, at the railway station, and in the nearby quarries. Some of the home sleepers worked in a fish-canning factory and for the Wehrmacht's Hygienic/Bacteriological Test Site (*Hygienischbakteriellen Untersuchungsstelle*).

Initially, the French colonel Eyraud was in charge of the forced labor and, with it, the camp for the younger Jews. Former forced laborers described him as an antisemite who abused the Jews. After an inspection by SS-Hauptsturmführer Theo Saevecke, he was removed from this position. SS-Sturmbannführer Best, who was already in charge of forced labor at Sfax, took over the role. Best was regarded as tough and merciless. Forces from the British Eighth Army (probably the 1st Free French Division) liberated Sousse on April 12 or 13, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Stephen Pallavicini

WEHRMACHT DISCIPLINARY FACILITIES INTRODUCTION

In January 1934, the National Socialists reinstated the military's jurisdiction (*Militärgerichtsbarkeit*), which had been placed under civilian control during the Weimar Republic, over its own disciplinary cases.* There were once again military courts (courts-martial) for larger units and headquarters (divisions, corps, armies, and army groups) and in military administrative districts. Between 1939 and 1944, the military judiciary had a significant influence on the entire jurisdiction of the Nazi state. During the war, over 1,000 military courts were formed in which about 3,000 judges were active. The courts-martial could actually take any criminal cases they considered appropriate. Only after the assassination attempt on Hitler on July 20, 1944, could the (civil) Reich Ministry of Justice (*Reichsjustizministerium*) exercise power over the Wehrmacht. In political criminal cases, soldiers could now be dismissed and handed over to the People's Court (*Volksgericht*) or to special courts.

With the beginning of the war, a new law took effect that redefined the jurisdiction and proceedings of the courts-martial. Not only soldiers could be accused but also German and foreign civilians. In addition, the courts-martial had jurisdiction over prisoners of war (POWs) and also over foreign members of the Wehrmacht ("legionnaires") and auxiliary workers, who were recruited from POWs (*Hilfswillige*, or voluntary helpers, called "Hiwis" by the Wehrmacht).

The military judiciary mainly applied the Military Penal Code (*Militärstrafgesetzbuch*), which regulated typical military offenses, such as desertion, disobedience, or neglect of duty while on guard. In addition, the Armed Forces Legal Department (*Wehrmachtrechtsabteilung*) created a new Wartime Special Penal Ordinance (*Kriegssonderstrafrechtsverordnung*), which went into effect on August 26, 1939, and which created special

criminal offenses, such as "subversion of the war effort" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*). This was a broad regulation that encompassed any speech or act that undermined military service, from inciting desertion, to theft of supplies or mail, to attempted suicide. The military courts also applied (civil) criminal law, which in addition to common offenses (murder, fraud, or theft) also included political rules (e.g., the prohibition of listening to foreign radio broadcasts). Moreover, another new law allowed a human to be legally assessed as "vermin" (the *Volksschädlingsverordnung* or People's Pest Ordinance), so that the death penalty could be imposed at any time for a variety of offenses. Germany also issued special laws and regulations within the territories that it occupied (e.g., prohibitions against weapons possession).

The military justice system of the Third Reich grew out of Germany's experiences in World War I. Military jurists and commanders believed that the penal system had been too lenient in the years 1914–1918 and that too few death sentences had been issued. They were especially concerned about the mutinies that took place in some units in the last part of the war. Therefore, they strengthened the legal system to make it extremely brutal, with an eye toward deterring soldiers from committing any offense. The idea was to make the punishment worse than combat, so that soldiers would not think they could exchange harsh conditions at the front for relative comfort in a detention facility.

As some basic statistics demonstrate, the Wehrmacht judiciary was a most brutal legal organization: 50,000 death sentences were handed down, for example. Several tens of thousands more soldiers received sentences of penal servitude, and 400,000 more received prison sentences. Penitentiary sentences meant not only deprivation of liberty but also dishonor—if the convicted were soldiers, they were expelled from the Wehrmacht and handed over to the German civil justice system, so that the Reich Ministry of Justice carried out the punishment in a penitentiary (*Zuchthaus*) or a prison camp. (From the autumn of 1944 on, this changed, as the Wehrmacht began to request former soldiers back from the Ministry of Justice, because the Wehrmacht wanted to use them as laborers.) Prison sentences for soldiers, POWs, and legionnaires (foreigners serving with the Wehrmacht) were carried out in

Wehrmacht prisons. Foreign legionnaires who came from the territories of the Soviet Union and from Eastern Europe were mostly transferred to "special camps" (labor camps), which existed, for example, in Ostrov (Ostrovskii raion, Pskovskaia oblast', Russia) and in Małkinia Górna in Poland. From September 1943, such prisoners were regularly transferred to a camp controlled by the SS, which was affiliated with the Mauthausen concentration camp.

During the war, the Wehrmacht operated eight Armed Forces Prisons (*Wehrmachtgefängnisse*, WG), which were all in the territory of the German Reich: Torgau-Fort Zinna, Torgau-Brückenkopf, Germersheim, Bruchsal, Anklam, Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland), Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland), and Freiburg im Breisgau. For the execution of shorter prison sentences, there were also a total of 21 Wartime Armed Forces Prisons (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnisse*, KWG), which were mainly located in occupied countries. Below these prisons, there were more than one hundred Wartime Armed Forces Detention Centers (*Kriegswehrmachthaftanstalten*), which had been established for very short prison sentences and military arrests. In the first years of the war, army groups also established Mobile Army Prisons (*Bewegliche Heeresgefängnisse*) whose primary purpose was to transfer convicted soldiers to regular detention centers. Later, as the number of those convicts grew, army divisions created Penal Platoons (*Strafvollstreckungszüge*), where short sentences could be served. In addition, there were Armed Forces Prisoner Units (*Wehrmacht-Gefangenenabteilungen*) that included between 50 and several hundred prisoners. These were essentially labor detachments. In some cases, they existed temporarily, for use at construction sites. Other such units were permanent additions to industrial facilities.

The Wehrmacht's remand prisons (*Untersuchungsgefängnisse*, lit., "investigative prisons") assumed an important role. Germany's military and political leaders were interested in punishment for the sake of deterrence, and the Wehrmacht was also interested in returning men to combat. So, capital punishment was popular, as were extremely harsh prison and camp conditions, because they seemed likely to

deter soldiers from evading service or committing other offenses. Beyond that, the Wehrmacht had only a limited interest in seeing prison terms carried out, especially penitentiary terms, because those men were lost to the service. The remand prisons, on the other hand, because they held prisoners who had not yet been tried, and so might be found innocent, represented a pool of manpower that could, potentially, be returned to combat. However, the remand prisons' capacities were never sufficient, and the transport to these places was usually time consuming, so the Germans used the Wartime Armed Forces Prisons, especially, as remand prisons for the military courts. And to reinforce the idea that prisoners could be reintegrated into combat units, the Wehrmacht prisons were structured like battalions. There was a commander and company commanders, and the guards were platoon leaders and section leaders, thus, primarily, sergeants, corporals, and lance corporals. Military efficiency was the focus.

As a replacement for combat duty while in prison, detained soldiers regularly had to work for up to 14 hours a day. Their labor was to benefit the military directly. This included shoveling coal, loading transport goods, felling trees, or working for armament factories. The daily rations were much less compared to the daily rations for fighting soldiers. For "incorrigible" prisoners, Penal Camp Companies (*Straflagerkompanien*) were formed in every Armed Forces Prison, where the labor was even harder and the nutrition even worse.[1] The conditions in a Penal Camp Company were to be aligned with those of a concentration camp.[2] Therefore, they were called "Concentration Camps of the Wehrmacht" in the parlance of the military leaders.[3]

Where possible, civilians were held in Wehrmacht detention centers only for the purpose of pretrial detention. When civilians were sentenced to prison, the Wehrmacht usually rejected the idea of imprisonment in a military prison. Instead, the German military usually handed over convicted civilians to civilian enforcement authorities. Longer terms of imprisonment were usually served in prisons in the German Reich that were under the control of the Reich Ministry of Justice. There, the military could be sure that escapes were almost impossible. The German Ministry of Justice brought the detainees together in particular detention facilities. For example, convicted men from Norway and Denmark were sent to

Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel Penitentiary, women to the Lübeck-Lauerhof Penitentiary or to the Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel Prison. However, it was also possible for convicted civilians in occupied countries to remain in their home countries: in the Netherlands, they were sometimes handed over to the enforcement authorities of the German civil administration (the Reichskommissar for the Occupied Netherlands). In France, convicted civilians were sometimes handed over to the French judiciary.[4]

The Wehrmacht detention facilities in the occupied territories also served to house people who had been sentenced to death. Furthermore, the regional commanders sometimes used these facilities for hostages, whom the Germans killed in retaliation for attacks against the Wehrmacht.

The large Wehrmacht prisons were under the control of the Commander of the Replacement Army (*Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres*), an organization of the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) (under the control of Generaloberst Friedrich Fromm from 1939 to 1944 and Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler from July 21, 1944, to May 1945). The Wartime Armed Forces Prisons and Wartime Armed Forces Detention Centers in occupied foreign territory were under the authority of the local commanders or of the commanders of army groups, armies, corps, or divisions.

Between 1941 and 1942, the Wehrmacht's penal system started changing considerably. On the one hand, the Wehrmacht's great losses created increasing pressure to deploy prisoners militarily. On the other hand, there was a continuing desire to make punishments even more brutal to increase the deterrent effect. Therefore, from 1941 on, the Wehrmacht formed so-called probation battalions (*Bewährungsbataillone*), in which prisoners served as soldiers, with light weapons. More than 60,000 convicts served in such units. If the men were sentenced by courts-martial, they were deployed in the Probation Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. Those who were sentenced by German civil courts (state courts, higher state courts, special courts, or the People's Court) were also seized and forced into Probation Unit 999. As the names of the units implied, those prisoners who fought in a probation battalion could gain their freedom. For this, they had to fight

successfully (e.g., they had to have been involved in the defense against several attacks, destroyed several tanks, etc.), have been badly wounded—or killed. The principle was "blood atones for guilt."[5]

The Wehrmacht's local detention centers held pretrial detainees and, mostly, those prisoners who had to serve short sentences (e.g., for negligence, traffic accidents, drunkenness, insulting superiors, or embezzlement). Such prisoners could be reinstated directly into their units for combat, after having served a prison sentence of a few months.

As of 1942, detainees of Armed Forces Prisons and Wartime Armed Forces Prisons who were not considered fit to fight in a probation battalion were brought together in the thousands in new detention facilities: longer prison sentences were mainly served in Field Prisoner Battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*). These were "punitive battalions" (*Strafbataillone*) that were employed as labor units directly on the front. They were supposed to work mainly in the combat area, digging trenches, disarming mines, building wooden bunkers, or recovering dead bodies. The prisoners were to be deployed in hotly disputed, dangerous areas. They were supposed to be exposed to a greater mortal danger than regular soldiers. If a prisoner had proved himself in such a Field Prisoner Unit, he could be transferred to a probation battalion to shorten his sentence.

An even more extreme punishment took the form of the Field Penal Camps, which were a further development of the Penal Camp Companies. Beginning in April 1942, three Field Penal Camps were set up, and they had replaced the Penal Camp Companies completely by January 1943. Those field punishment camps were supposed to be deployed under "particularly dangerous circumstances."[6] The daily ration was still below that for other prisoners. After six to nine months had passed, there had to be a review of such employment: those who had proved themselves were to be transferred to a Field Prisoner Unit. Those who did not prove themselves were to be handed over to the Gestapo and sent to a concentration camp. The mortality rate was so high, though, that such instructions appeared absurd. Many prisoners died because of malnutrition, illness, cold, hard labor, accidents, or the brutality of the guards. Poor work was punished

by withholding food. Noncompliance was broken by the force of arms; in case of doubt, a drumhead court could pass a death sentence without further review. The prisoners were supposed to work especially in regions of northern Norway and northern Finland: building roads, clearing roads of snow, and building positions for the Wehrmacht. The Field Penal Camps were predominantly under the command of the Organisation Todt, a civil and military engineering group that often did work for the Wehrmacht.

After Heinrich Himmler became Commander of the Replacement Army and, thus, master of most of the penal facilities, no more convicted soldiers were handed over to the German civil judicial authorities. Almost all convicts were now pressed into probation battalions or Field Prisoner Units to support the Wehrmacht directly through combat missions or by building entrenchments at the front.

In summary, it can be said that the military justice was designed to meet all forms of resistance, as well as disobedience, with force. The most important punishment for the military courts was, therefore, the death penalty. If a sentence of imprisonment was issued nevertheless, then the Wehrmacht's punishment was meant to fall primarily on soldiers, as opposed to civilians (the Wehrmacht had no interest in the latter, because they could not be integrated into combat units). The prisoners had to carry out tasks for the Wehrmacht, and the punishment had to be brutal at the same time, to deter others. As the war continued, conscript prisoners were either handed over to probation battalions or sent to penal units, doing forced labor directly at the front. The Wehrmacht detention facilities transferred detainees to civilian prisons, probation battalions, field prisoner departments, and field punishment camps, and yet they were constantly overcrowded.

SOURCES Primary source information about Wehrmacht prisons is located in BArch (R 3001/25015); BA-MA (RH 14/33; RH 19 XIII/5; RH 20-7/298; RH 26-281/31; RH 36/324; RH 48/7; RH 53-23/52; RM 31/3351; RW 4/1191; RW 13/62; RW 19/2130; RW 35/314; RW 35/1249; RW 41/57); and Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (Nds. 721 69/75. Vol. 10; Nds. 721 Acc. 90/99).

Additional information about Wehrmacht prisons can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Die Sondereinheiten in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht (Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinrichtungen)* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv Koblenz, 1952); Fietje Ausländer, *Verräter oder Vorbilder? Deserteure und ungehorsame Soldaten im Nationalsozialismus* (Bremen: Temmen, 1990); Ulrich Baumann and Magnus Koch, *"Was damals Recht war…." Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht* (Berlin: BeBra, 2008); Norbert Haase and Gerhard Paul, *Die anderen Soldaten: Wehrkraftzersetzung, Gehorsamsverweigerung und Fahnenflucht im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1995); Fritz Hodes, "Die Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* 4 (1939–1940): 402–409; Peter Lutz Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmacht-Strafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Geschichte der Bewährungsbataillone 999 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des antifaschistischen Widerstandes* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1987); Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Hamburg, *Gedenken am Höltigbaum: Die Wandsbeker Bezirksversammlung gedenkt der Opfer der Wehrmachtjustiz* (Hamburg: Bezirksamt Wandsbek, 2012); Helmuth Mayer, "Militärjustiz im neuzeitlichen Krieg," *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* 2 (1937–1938): 329–356; Günter Saathoff, Michael Eberlein, and Roland Müller, *Dem Tode entronnen: Zeitzeugeninterviews mit Überlebenden der NS-Militärjustiz* (Cologne: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 1993); Wolfram Wette and Detlef Vogel, *Das letzte Tabu: NS-Militärjustiz und* "*Kriegsverrat*" (Berlin: Aufbau, 2007); Wilhelm Wicziok, *Die Armee der Gerichteten: Zur besonderen Verwendung—*

Bewährungsbataillon 500 (Essen: Heitz and Höffkes, 1992); and Gerhard Wulle, "Zweifelsfragen des Kriegsverfahrens (KStVO)," *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* 6 (1941– 1942): 461.

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NOTES

* The reader should be aware that, because of a lack of sources, a number of sites do not appear in this volume. These include some Wartime Armed Forces Prisons whose existence is confirmed in archival sources:

  Akershus (BA-MA, RW 39/158); Antwerp (BA-MA, RH 48/7); Bordeaux (Source: Ludwig Baumann, prisoner and interviewee; Frank Bührmann-Peters, "Ziviler Strafvollzug für die Wehrmacht"); Clermont-Ferrand (BA-MA, RH 48/7); Kiev (BA-MA, RH 48/7); Lemberg, today L'viv, Ukraine (BAMA, RH 48/7); Marseille (BA-MA, RW 60/4166); and Toulouse (BArch B R 70/Frankreich/12 sowie BA-MA, RH 48/7).

  The existence of these others is suspected: Athens, Bruges, Brussels, Gent, Lyon, Pleskau (today Pskov, Russia), and Warsaw.

  The existence of several additional Remand Prisons, in Akershus, Belgrade, Hamburg, Meseritz (today Międzyrzecz, Poland), Munich, and Ploieşti, is also suspected.

  Of the Wartime Armed Forces Detention Centers (*Kriegs-Wehrmacht-Haftanstalten*), briefly mentioned above, we can confirm such facilities in Smolensk (established June 1, 1942) and Odessa (established January 27, 1943), from BAMA, RH 48/7. No information on the others is available.

  The so-called Armed Forces Prisoner Units (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*), also mentioned above, were, in effect, "work columns," but they set up camps in some locations that lasted for some time. These

locations are mentioned in BA-MA, RH 48/7: Bernau (near Berlin), Clauen, Diekholzen (near Hildesheim), Fallingbostel, Georgenhof, Lanke, Peenemünde, Pinnow (near Angermünde), Rachelshof (today Brachlewo, Poland), Schieratz (today Sieradz, Poland), Strasburg in Westpreussen (today Bronica, Poland), Steyerberg, Thorn-Süd (today Toruń, Poland), and Wesseling (near Cologne).

There may well be other facilities that have been missed. It is hopes that other researchers can fill the gaps in this understudied subject.

1. Wehrmachtrechtsabteilung/OKW betreffend Strafvollstreckung im Kriege vom 30.9.1939, BA-MA, RW 19/2130, Bl. 165; Vermerk der Wehrmachtrechtsabteilung betreffend Aussetzung der Strafvollstreckung zum Zwecke der Bewährung vom 18.9.1940, BArch, R 3001/2501, Bl. 5.

2. See Schreiben der Marinerechtsabteilung an das Gericht des 2. Admirals der Ostseestation vom 16.11.1939, BAMA, RM 31/3351.

3. Hodes, “Die Strafvollstreckung im Kriege,” p. 407.

4. See Schreiben des Chefrichters bei dem Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich an das Oberkommando des Heeres betreffend Strafvollstreckungsersuchen bei Landeseinwohnern vom 27.5.1944, BA-MA, RW 35/1249.

5. Wulle, “Zweifelsfragen des Kriegsverfahrens (KStVO),” p. 461.

6. Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen des OKH/General z.b.V. vom 4.9.1944, BA-MA, RW 13/62, Bl. 1.

MOBILE ARMY PRISONS (BEWEGLICHE HEERESGEFÄNGNISSE)

Among the earliest Mobile Army Prisons (*Bewegliche Beeresgefängnisse*, BHG) known by name is BHG Athens, which the Germans established in Greece in the summer of 1941. Presumably, it existed only for a few months, until the establishment of the Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG), Athens.[1] A larger number of BHGs came into being immediately after the attack on the Soviet Union. Thus, the first identification cards for BHG personnel were issued by the headquarters of armies (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK) 9, 11, 17, and 18 date from July 1941.[2] A few of the BHGs that the Germans established on the eastern front in 1941 existed until 1945, for example, the BHG with AOK 18. Others were disbanded again after a short period of time, as was the case with the BHG with the Fourth Army by the end of 1941.

An order from the commander of the Ninth Army outlined the role of the BHGs, according to their status as of the spring of 1942, thus: "The mobile army prison in Witebsk [today Vitebsk, Belarus] is not available for the execution of penal detention. Its task, first and foremost, is to concentrate and dispatch those prisoners who have been sentenced to longer prison sentences and detention in penal camps, and who are to be transported to detention facilities in the homeland. Prison sentences of up to 3 months will be served in the prison in Borissow (KWG) [today Barysaw, Belarus]; sentences of more than 3 months in prisons in the homeland. Those affected are to be conducted to the mobile army prison in Witebsk for transport, including those for whom detention in penal camps has been ordered."[3]

The authorized strength for the permanent staff of the mobile army prisons also provides a clue to the size of their prisoner

populations. According to Seidler, the permanent staff of a BHG in 1941 consisted of a Hauptmann or Leutnant (captain or lieutenant) as commander, an Oberfeldwebel (master sergeant), a Feldwebel (staff sergeant), and six Unteroffiziere (sergeants or corporals) as well as two privates as drivers. Accordingly, the number of prisoners was likely to be estimated in the two digit rather than three digit range. The reason for the small number was that the BHG were "not penal facilities in the usual sense," but rather "first and foremost reception, collection, and transfer stations."[4] Because of this role, the Germans usually established BHGs at the sites of the prisoner of war collection points at the front.

From April 1942 on, the execution of sentences was largely moved out of the armed forces prisons in the homeland to areas near the front, that is, to Field Penal Battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGAs) and Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*). At that point, the activities and the number of BGHs in the east expanded. As of the end of May 1942, mobile army prisons existed with AOKs 6, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, and 18, and with the commanding generals of security troops and the commanders of the rear areas of Army Groups South, Center, and North. Their tasks were outlined this way at the time: "Accepting custody of judicially convicted soldiers from the respective commands for the purpose of transferring them to the penal institutions in the rear, or to field penal battalions (or field penal camps). Execution of disciplinary and judicial penal detention, and *in exceptional cases* also up to six weeks of time remaining on an existing sentence."[5] The BHGs also came into consideration for the temporary housing of provisionally arrested soldiers.

From January 1943 on, so-called penal platoons (*Strafvollstreckungszüge*) were established in order to be able to also execute sentences of a few weeks in the immediate area of the front, and this development further restricted the responsibilities of the BHGs. On September 4, 1944, their "purpose" was communicated thus: "1. Housing of temporarily apprehended prisoners and those being held for interrogation; 2. Acceptance into custody of those sentenced by military courts within the jurisdiction of the army or army group, for transfer to field penal units and field penal camps or to penal installations in the rear; 3. Execution of penal detention of up to six weeks' duration, if

temporary incarceration in a penal platoon is not possible."[6] Messerschmidt underscores the importance that befitted the BHGs as a hinge to the field penal units and the field penal camps, by noting that the Sixteenth Army judge inspected the BHG there three times in the fourth quarter of 1944.[7] Apparently, the inspections were supposed to establish that the prisoners reached the field penal system as quickly as possible.[8]

After mobile army prisons were established, at first on an "as needed"[9] basis only at army headquarters and the commanders of army rear areas, others were added at various army groups, the last one being established in 1944. As of March 16, 1943, there were already 14 mobile army prisons in the area of the eastern front.[10] Occasionally, they were also referred to as "Bewegliche Armeegefängnisse" (which also translates to "mobile army prisons"), as was the case, for example, with the installation with AOK 18, located in Volosovo (Leningrad oblast') in May 1943.[11] After the start of combat action in Italy, by February 1944, a BHG Italy existed there.[12] The Field Post Number Overview of June 6, 1944, shows a BHG North,[13] which may have been located in Norway or perhaps Denmark. Soon after the Allied landing in Normandy in the summer of 1944, BHGs were established on the western front; they existed as part of the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Army commands. Also, the First Airborne Army command had an army mobile prison at its disposal—even though the army itself was under the command of the air force.[14]

In December 1944 and January 1945, the designations of the existing 21[15] BHG were changed to mobile army prisons 500–520. The following listing shows the last former designation: BHG 500 (formerly the BHG with AOK 2), BHG 501 (with AOK 4), BHG 502 (with AOK 6), BHG 503 (with AOK8/B II), BHG 504 (was the BHG Italy), BHG 505 (with AOK 16), BHG 506 (with AOK 17), BHG 507 (with A II), BHG 508 (with AOK 1), BHG 509 (with AOK 7), BHG 10 (with AOK15), BHG 511 (with AOK 19), BHG 512 (with P z.AOK [Armored Army Headquarters] 1), BHG 513 (with Pz.AOK 3), BHG 514 (with Pz.AOK 4), BHG 515 (with Pz.AOK 5), BHG 516 (the BHG with Airborne AOK1), BHG 17 (was the BHG at A I), BHG 518 (was the BHG with Army Group A), BHG 519 (was the BHG with Army Group Center), and BHG 520 (was the BHG North). BHG 521 and BHG 522, which appear

in the Field Post Number Overviews of January 16 and March 3, 1945, respectively, had apparently already been established at unknown locations.[16]

Like all Wehrmacht detention sites, the mobile army prisons added their contribution to the balance of terror of National Socialist military justice, which carried out over 20,000 executions of members of the armed forces alone. The example of BHG 511, which was under the control of the Nineteenth Army, serves to illustrate the role that the mobile army prisons played in this regard. On April 25, 1945, its commander, Hauptmann Otto Siebler, arrived in Diepoldshofen with 120 prisoners, on a march from Waldkirch via Sigmaringen. Among the prisoners were 45 soldiers who had been sentenced to death. For 16 of them—one of whom was able to flee—Siebler had received the execution orders on April 19. On April 26, two days before French troops arrived, he had the remaining 15 men executed in the forest of Diepoldshofen. Two criminal proceedings against him in the 1950s were suspended, because juridically he could not be found guilty, since the sentences had been legally valid.[17]

SOURCES A systematic evaluation of the Wehrmacht's documents on the mobile army prisons has yet to be done. In this essay, similarly to the cited secondary literature, the author relies first and foremost on the statements that the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) made in its surveys of the penal installations, probationary units, and so on, which are cited several times here. Additionally, there are individual document finds that have come up in the past decades, during research on related topics. The significance that local and regional historical research also has for this subject is illustrated by the cited contribution by Nicola Siegloch.

Relevant, if general, secondary sources include Franz Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit der Deutschen Wehrmacht 1933–1945: Rechtsprechung und Strafvollzug* (Munich: Herbig, 1991); and Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005). Additional information can be found in Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der*

Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters, 3 vols. (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1980–1982).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten und -einrichtungen in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht*, Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Kornelimünster: Personenstandsarchiv NRW, 1953), pp. 7, 11; and Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 1 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1980), p. 117.

2. The author relies here on a *Verzeichnis von Wehrmachtstrafeinheiten*, which was created in August 1945 by the Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) for the American occupation authorities (BA-MA, RH 48-43, Bl. 51-62).

3. Oberbefehlshaber der 9. Armee-Abt. III-Az: 14 a/f vom 20.3.1942, BA-MA, RH 20-9/329. On the practice of penal camp detention within Germany up until the establishment of the field penal camps (April 1942), see the essays on the individual armed forces prisons.

4. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 8671/43 geh. vom 14.5.1943, BAMA, WF-03/24402, Bl. 61.

5. Anlage zu General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 504/Gr.Str. Nr. III/332/42, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 892.

6. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44

vom 4.9.1944 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen), BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

7. Cf. Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 364.

8. According to an OKH order of April 6, 1943, the mobile army prisons, together with the field penal battalions, the field penal camps, and the field special battalions, were counted among the "fighting troops." In accordance with an order of June 16, 1944, that only applied still to the aforementioned penal units. See Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), Nr. 357 (OKH, 6.4.1943—16870/43 g—Gen St d H/Org Abt [II]), S. 236; 1944 (11.), Nr. 369 (OKH, 27.6.1944— II/34651/44 g—Gen St d H/Org), S. 215.

9. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH. Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13.

10. "Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres," Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BAMA, RH 14/37. A list by name is not included.

11. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 8671/43 geh. vom 14.5.1943, BAMA, WF-03/24402, Bl. 61. Seidler also indicates the existence of the term "flying prisons" (*Fliegende Gefängnisse*). See Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit der Deutschen Wehrmacht*, p. 97.

12. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten*, p. 15; Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht*, vol. 2, p. 286.

13. See Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht*, vol. 2, 377.

14. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten*, pp. 7, 19.

15. This number is not certain.

16. See Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht*, vol. 2, pp.

240, 307.

17. See Nicola Siegloch, “Gedenkstätte bei Diepoldshofen (Leutkirch),” in *Denkorte an oberschwäbischen Erinnerungswegen*, Denkstättenkuratorium NS-Dokumentation Oberschwaben (Ergänzungsheft, 2015), p. 17.

SPECIAL FIELD BATTALIONS (FELD-SONDERBATAILLONE)

Beginning in 1936, the Wehrmacht established prisons to hold German military personnel convicted of violating military law. In addition, they created so-called special battalions (*Sonderbataillone*) for the reeducation of "undesirable" soldiers. In October 1936, seven of these special battalions were established by the Heer, housed in the barracks of the military training grounds in Altengrabow, Stablack (today Bagrationovsk, Russia), Königsbrück, Münsingen, Grafenwöhr, Ohrdruf, and Wahn. The Luftwaffe had a separate special battalion in Dedelstorf.

Soldiers who were considered to be of little value or who committed actions deemed dishonorable by the Nazi regime were transferred to the special battalions. Soldiers who had been punished for repeated disobedience or other disciplinary infractions were sent to the special battalions, as were those who had served prison sentences for theft and homosexual activity. Alcoholics, mentally ill men, and "asocials" were also sent to the special battalions, as were conscripts who had converted to Judaism. These battalions were viewed as a preliminary or diversionary stage of punishment, which could be followed by transfer to a concentration camp. Those who resisted the "educational methods" of the special battalions could be expelled from the Wehrmacht and turned over to the Gestapo. By the end of 1936, there were about 500 soldiers who had been sent to the special battalions for "education"; by the spring of 1938, their numbers had increased to approximately 1,350 prisoners. At least 3,000 conscripts were sent to the special battalions in the period between October 1936 and September 1939; however, the actual number may have been as high as 6,000.

The education in the special battalions was geared toward instilling absolute obedience in the men, after which they could be returned to conventional military battalions. The men in the special

battalions were not locked up, but their barracks were kept isolated from those of regular soldiers within the military bases where they were located. However, the soldiers in the special battalions were treated like prisoners. Their days consisted of hours of exercises and drills, hard manual labor, and ideological instruction. The officers were harsh disciplinarians who harassed the men and sometimes treated them quite brutally. Even minor infractions were met with severe punishment. For example, a soldier was placed under five days of "close arrest" with his rations reduced to water and bread simply for having used his army overcoat as a pillow while sleeping. Desertions were a regular occurrence in the special battalions and accounted for a substantial proportion of the prewar desertions in the Wehrmacht (perhaps as high as 20 percent).

After the war began, the special battalions were integrated into the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*), which oversaw all special battalions in Germany. The Kriegsmarine also had its own special battalion, known as the Eastern Special Battalion (*Sonderabteilung Ost*) or Baltic Sea Special Battalion (*Sonderabteilung Ostsee*), which was headquartered at the U-boat training base at Hela (today Hel, Poland). The Luftwaffe dissolved its special battalion at Dedelstorf and organized a new one in Leipzig, which was known as the Luftwaffe Examination Camp (*Prüfungslager der Luftwaffe*).

Prior to September 1939, the special battalions were regularly inspected and problem prisoners were sent to concentration camps. During this time, 180 "re-education soldiers" (*Erziehungssoldaten*) were sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where they were quartered in separate barracks referred to as the "Wehrmacht Special Battalion" (*Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht*). These men were stigmatized as cowards who refused to fight at the front line, and they were subject to extremely brutal treatment. In the winter of 1938–1939, these men were sent to work clearing forests. They were treated as slave laborers, worked to the point of exhaustion, and subjected to constant physical abuse by their guards. About half of them died before the spring of 1939.

In January and February 1940, three "special field battalions"

(*Feld-Sonderabteilungen*) were established, in addition to the Heer's seven existing special battalions. The three special field battalions were assigned to Army Groups A, B, and C, which were stationed on Germany's western border. During the Western European Campaign (May 10 to June 25, 1940), the special field battalions were used for various purposes by the Wehrmacht. For example, on May 19, 1940, the Wehrmacht had captured Fort La Ferté, part of the Maginot Line. Three weeks later, the men from Special Field Battalion C were sent to clear debris from the damaged fort and remove the badly decomposed bodies of its former defenders. Sometimes, the men had to crawl into tunnels and rooms that were 30 meters underground. During this time, the fort was under fire from French artillery. Accumulations of toxic gases in the underground tunnels of the fort posed a potentially fatal health risk to the soldiers, and many of them were adversely affected by the traumatic experience—frequent vomiting, disturbed equilibrium, and severe anxiety were common. The soldiers were prevented from taking cover from artillery bombardments while doing their work under the threat of corporal punishment.

In June 1940, the three special field battalions were sent to Metz, where they were combined into a single Special Field Battalion, with the previous separate battalions redesignated as Companies A, B, and C. During the following months, the soldiers were sent to work in France and Belgium, primarily as miners. A Luftwaffe medical officer stated that the work the soldiers were performing was not only exhausting and dangerous but also led to "unimaginable" uncleanliness. The soldiers' washing facilities had only cold water and no soap, and their clothes were almost always damp.

In the summer of 1941, the soldiers were working for the Wehrmacht in the mountainous Eifel region of the upper Rhineland. In October 1941, the Special Field Battalion was transferred to Riga, where it was attached to the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group North (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Gebiets der Heeresgruppe Nord*). After this point, the Special Field Battalion was classified as a penal battalion, rather than a "re-education" unit. The soldiers were not allowed to wear insignia indicating their nationality, nor were they allowed to wear any sort of badges. They were sent to do forced

labor at the front line, where they performed work that was intended to be dangerous to life and limb, such as digging trenches and minesweeping. After operations in the immediate vicinity of the front line concluded, the men were then sent to work building roads, clearing trees, or removing snow from roadways in winter. In 1941 and 1942, 20 soldiers in the Special Field Battalion were sentenced to death for desertion.

In July 1941, the Kriegsmarine established a company at Hela composed of the former members of its "special unit." The company was integrated into the Heer's Special Field Battalion in August. An additional company of men from the Heer, designated as Company D, arrived the same month. Additional men were transferred to the battalion via Metz while it was located on the western front; after it was transferred to the east, new soldiers were sent from Warsaw.

In February 1943, the naval company was transferred back to Hela, where it became an autonomous "naval special field battalion" under the direct control of the Kriegsmarine. The conditions in this battalion were just as brutal. The men had to perform exhausting (and often pointless) manual labor, such as moving crates of sand that had to be stacked, then unstacked, and moved to another location. The guards were violent to the point of sadism. The naval command documented cases in which the guards kicked soldiers lying on the ground, ground their boots into the palms of their hands, or extinguished cigarettes on their bare skin. In addition, the soldiers sent to the Naval Special Field Battalion were sometimes required to carry out the executions of naval personnel who had been sentenced to death. One eyewitness reported a comrade of his who was sent to the Special Field Battalion for several months for alcoholism and repeated indiscipline; when he returned, he exhibited symptoms of mental disorder and was completely subservient. Many soldiers attempted to desert from the battalion to escape the brutality of the guards, even though they knew the penalty for desertion was death.

In August 1943, the Special Field Battalion was downsized further with the dissolution of Company D. Although the Wehrmacht was prosecuting violations of military law more vigorously than ever before, most of the prisoners were being sent to the military penal system—the Wehrmacht prisons

(*Wehrmachtgefängnisse* and *Kriegswehrmachtgefängnisse*), field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*), field penal units (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abeilungen*, a separate category from the Special Field Battalion), or probationary units (*Bewährungstruppen*). The Replacement Army had also decreased its number of special battalions from six to four. However, the Luftwaffe had established three new "special companies for special tasks" (*Sonderkompanien z.b.V.*) that, like the Special Field Battalion, would be deployed to the front line for forced labor. Those who behaved well in these units and proved themselves to be disciplined enough would be sent to serve as frontline infantry in a "field fighter battalion" (*Feld-Jäger-Bataillon*); those who did not would be sent to concentration camps.

In late 1943 and early 1944, the three remaining companies of the Special Field Battalion were deployed to Lake Peipus in Estonia. By that time, about 300 men remained in the unit, with 40 regular soldiers serving as guards. In February 1944, the battalion was reassigned to Senior Pioneer Leader (*Höherer Pionierführer*) 32 but remained at Lake Peipus. In the summer of 1944, the battalion was pulled back to the Courland Peninsula in Latvia, where it was placed under the control of the Eighth Army. In September 1944, it was withdrawn from the Baltic region and transferred to Hungary. It arrived at Székesfehérvár (German: Stuhlweissenburg), about 60 kilometers southwest of Budapest, on October 8.

At the end of October 1944, the Kriegsmarine dissolved its special field battalion. In November, the collection points for the Special Field Battalion at Metz and Warsaw were also dissolved. The Special Field Battalion disappears from the documentary record after the end of 1944. The special battalions of the Replacement Army remained in operation until March 1945, when their men were sent to regular combat duty. In total, about 1,000 Wehrmacht soldiers were sent to concentration camps via the various iterations of the special battalions and special field battalions between 1936 and 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about the Special Field

Battalions is located in BA-MA (RH 2/3, 13/61, 13/62, 14/33, 15/186, 15/427, 31/3335, 48/5) and HStA Hannover (Nds. 721 Lüneburg 69/76). In addition, the author's private archive contains an interview with Special Field Battalion soldier Heinz Neuhold.

Additional information about the Special Field Battalions can be found in the following publications: Günter Fahle, *Verweigern-Weglaufen-Zersetzen. Deutsche Militärjustiz und ungehorsame Soldaten 1939–1945. Das Beispiel Ems-Jade* (Bremen: Temmen, 1990); Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmacht-Strafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005); Manfred Messerschmidt and Fritz Wüllner, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz im Dienste des Nationalsozialismus: Zerstörung einer Legende* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1987); Erich Schwinge, *Die Entwicklung der Mannszucht in der deutschen, britischen und französischen Wehrmacht seit 1914* (Berlin: J. Schweitzer, 1941).

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FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 1

The German Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) ordered the establishment of FStGA 1 on April 26, 1942, "through the Commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII at Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz [today Kłodzko, Poland]."[1] The original contingent consisted of 50 military prisoners from Glatz as well as 100 from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna and 50 from WG Torgau-Brückenkopf. The OKW order specified that the FStGA was established for "shirkers" and men who were repeatedly punished for "deliberate offensive actions." Examples of shirkers included deserters, "sentenced for subversion of fighting power (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*)" and "serious cases of unauthorized absence."[2]

Prisoners who were sentenced to terms of less than six months were generally "not to be sent to the FStGAs."[3] However, as early as June 1942—with a few exceptions— "fundamentally" all men with sentences of more than three months were sent to the FStGA.[4] From the beginning, prisoners who were fit only for "service in garrisons in the homeland" were sent to the FStGA. As the OKW informed the chief of the Wehrmacht Medical Service (*Wehrmachtsanitätswesens*), sending these prisoners to serve in the garrisons in the Reich would "only encourage shirking," and they were, therefore, sent to the FStGAs, where they would work according to their physical capacity.[5] Prisoners with the lowest fitness rating, "fit for labor service," were to remain in the WGs for the time being.[6]

Although FStGA 1 was the first of 22 such units to be formed and operated until the end of the war, there is little substantial documentation on its operation. In addition to a lack of reports on the unit's activity, there are also no testimonies from former prisoners or guard personnel. This entry, therefore, relies on the

instructions given to the FStGAs in general to reconstruct the history of FStGA 1. Since the FStGA units aimed for an "equal treatment of the prisoners," one can make inferences about FStGA 1 from records pertaining to other FStGAs that are better documented.[7] However, one should keep in mind that, although general instructions for the FStGAs existed, individual commanders retained substantial leeway to interpret those instructions, and so there was some variability among the FStGAs.

Like all of the FStGAs that the Germans established later, FStGA 1 was intended for service on the eastern front. General der Artillerie Eugen Müller (the general in the Army High Command —*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH—who was responsible for the FStGAs) ordered on May 28, 1942, that FStGA 1 would be subordinate to Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*).[8] While it was located in the area of Army Group South, it was supplied through the nearest Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG), which was in Dubno, along with its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Kiev. The four companies of FStGA 1 had a strength of about 165 men each, with about 50 staff personnel. In July 1942, a 5th Company was established, whose staff was assembled in WG Bruchsal or WG Freiburg,[9] while the prisoners were sent directly from the field army.[10] Almost all FStGAs were organized in a similar way, with a staff and five companies; only in exceptional cases was a sixth company established.[11]

The order to establish the 5th Company of FStGA 1 also reveals the selection criteria for staff personnel. Specifically, only "energetic, especially energetic, and physically fit soldiers" were to be selected. "Unsuitable personnel" were "to be immediately exchanged by the commanders of the WGs, in coordination with the Defense District commanders." These personnel, which would include at least one sergeant from the prison service, would be expected to bring 12 pairs of hand and ankle cuffs with them.[12] The Youth Prison (*Jugendgefängnis*) Niederschönfeld am Lech was to be the source of supplies for these personnel.

On May 28, 1942, the OKH sent an order to Army Group South that the prisoners in the FStGAs were to be sent to "the hardest labor, in dangerous circumstances and under difficult conditions."

In addition, it explained that "through these measures, the penal system could be organized effectively, so that soldiers who were afraid of danger and combat would not have the incentive to avoid front line service by committing criminal acts. For those of weak character, the existing military penal system in the homeland had lost its deterrent effect in comparison to the hard winter campaign in the east."[13]

The primary plan was for the prisoners to perform difficult and dangerous military-related tasks in support of the fighting troops at the front, which would, on the one hand, free up reserves for the frontline units and, on the other, maintain discipline among the troops by achieving the desired deterrent quality of the penal units. The OKW guidelines for "punishment in the FStGAs" from April 15, 1942, gave the following examples of "the hardest labor": "clearing mines; digging graves for dead enemy soldiers; bridge, bunker, defensive structure, and road construction, etc." The prisoners would work every day, "including Sundays and holidays, at least ten hours a day if possible." When working hours were limited by darkness or weather, work was to be replaced with "extended [military] exercises," which would otherwise take place on the march to and from the work site.[14] The prisoners received the lowest ration category (*Wehrmachtverpflegungsatz* IV 2), which was to be reduced by an additional 30 percent in the event of arrest, investigative detention, or hospitalization for "self-inflicted injury."[15] The guard personnel were ordered to "*immediately* use [their] weapons for *any* attempt at physical defiance, sedition, or flight. A warning shot is *not* necessary! To prevent flight attempts, *special areas* will be established, in which the order is to fire *without* an order to halt." [Emphasis in original.][16]

In the fall of 1942, FStGA received new "instructions for the FStGAs and Feldstraflager" from the OKH.[17] This document, which was designated as a "supplement" to the basic OKH orders of April 14 and 15, 1942, incorporated lessons learned from experience in the use of FStGAs that had been gathered since early summer. This experience demonstrated that, in practice, the prescribed use of the FStGAs had been counterproductive from a military perspective. The malnutrition and rapid exhaustion stemming from excessively long periods of difficult labor

threatened the timely completion of military projects and could also allow the emergence of epidemics of diseases that could put the fighting troops in danger. Based on this experience, the new "instructions" informed FStGA 1 that the prisoners who were working on tasks of "military importance" were "to be kept in good physical condition and morale by whatever measures necessary."[18] In order to maintain these prisoners' physical fitness, the FStGA commanders could petition the OKH for an increase of rations "with the approval of a military doctor" and "for a limited time."[19] General Müller's instructions also specified that the "reduction of rations" for punitive reasons "was not to threaten the working strength" of the prisoners. His remark that "hunger … would lead to new offenses" was based on numerous instances of prisoners going absent without leave or deserting because of hunger, which often resulted in their execution.[20]

Along with the "punishment and deterrence concepts," the new instructions also incorporated more "reform and education concepts." General Müller specifically ordered the FStGA commanders to "act firmly to prevent guard personnel from abusing their power." However, in the same paragraph, he said that there was to be "no softening of punishment … for resistance, physical attacks, or flight," which were still to be punished harshly.[21] He recommended the creation of a "class system" in the FStGAs, in which prisoners could be promoted for good behavior and hard work, adding that "special incentives (smoke breaks, additional mail privileges, etc.) could be attached to these promotions."[22] However, it was noted, at the same time, that the newly arrived prisoners had to "feel the *full* difficulty" of service in the FStGA first.[23]

The goal of this "reform and education" was to transform the FStGA prisoners into potential frontline soldiers. First-time offenders could be recommended for "suspension of sentence to probation at the front" after three months with good behavior. As a preliminary stage, it was suggested, prisoners, "especially the 'promoted'" could be sent to perform exercises with weapons even before their release from the FStGA so that "in an emergency, they could be sent to defend against enemy attacks under the leadership of the staff personnel" and, "under certain circumstances," also be "used in smaller operations." In addition, the awarding of "wound

badges" was possible.[24] However, it was noted that awards for "assault, close combat, or anti-partisan combat" could not be given to prisoners in the FStGAs.[25]

The introduction of the possibility of "promotion" hearkened back to the penal reforms of the Weimar Republic, which were referred to as the "progressive system" or "level-punishment."[26] However, the return to these ideas took place—as in the civilian penal system of the Third Reich—in the context of the Nazis' racialized, social Darwinist worldview, which also provided for the "extermination" of alleged "ethnic" or "military vermin." Therefore, the aforementioned instructions also informed FStGA 1 that "if a prisoner proves to be incorrigible after six to nine months, despite written warning, then he should be sent to a field punishment camp (*Feldstraflager*)."[27] In Feldstraflager I, II, and III, there were much more difficult conditions of confinement as well as the possibility to send the prisoners to one of the SS concentration camps.[28] The period of internment in the Feldstraflager or concentration camps would not count against the prisoner's sentence, and he would still be expected to serve that sentence after the end of the war.

On August 19, 1943, FStGA 1, like all other FStGAs, was informed once again by the OKH that "incorrigibles … should no longer be kept in the penal institutions" because "their bad influence could unnecessarily reduce the effectiveness of the reform work" in the unit. Thus, "the strongest measure, that is, assignment to a prison camp, must be applied" in those cases.[29] This system would ideally divide the prisoners between "those soldiers who can be improved and reformed on the one hand, and asocials and those who are weak in character, constitution, and morals on the other."[30]

Because of the lack of eyewitness sources, it is not possible to say exactly how these regulations—which gave the FStGA commanders wide leeway—were implemented in FStGA 1 specifically. It is also not possible to determine to what extent the options of transferring prisoners to the Feldstraflager or assigning them to probationary service at the front were applied. A cursory examination of the prisoner identification directory of FStGA 1[31] reveals that many more prisoners were sent to regular units for front probation than to special probationary units like

Bewährungstruppe 500.[32]

By late 1943, FStGA 1 had been relocated from the southern to the middle area of the eastern front. The last-known commanding authority for the unit was the XXVII Army Corps of the Second Army (*Heeresgruppe Weichsel*), which was located in West Prussia, in 1945.[33] The relocation of the unit to the central area of the front is reflected in the locations of the executions of prisoners from FStGA 1 who were sentenced to death. For example, Josef Zintl of 4th Company of FStGA 1 was executed for desertion on May 19, 1943, in Odessa.[34] The verdict was handed down by the commander of the German Troops in Transnistria (*Befehlshaber der deutschen Truppen in Transnistrien*). However, Karl Bolgert, a soldier from Strasbourg, was executed on August 12, 1943, in Briansk, in the central part of the front.[35] On June 1, 1944, Emil Schmidtke was executed for desertion by a firing squad in Brest, which was also in the area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).[36] In his case, the death sentence was handed down by Oberbaustab 18. Just two weeks later, Karl Weippert and Günther Schulze, who had both been sent to Company 5 of FStGA 1 in May 1944, were sentenced to "death for collective unauthorized absence that exceeded the regular range of sentences in paragraph 5 of the Wartime Special Criminal Law Decree" by Oberfeldkommandantur 399. The text of the sentence reveals that the death penalty was rigorously enforced against military prisoners:

> Orderly punishment in a Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilung is only guaranteed when escapees, even if they cannot be convicted of desertion, are sentenced to death. Experience has shown that these escaped prisoners often present the excuse that they wished to return to the fighting troops. If the escapee is allowed to use this excuse and is only sentenced to be returned to the Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilung as punishment, it would over time lead to an unacceptable number of such unpermitted absences.[37]

In December 1944 and January 1945, seven death sentences were passed by Höheren Pionierführer 10 against prisoners from FStGA 1.[38] These sentences for desertion were all confirmed. However, it was only possible to carry two of them out. Hans Hochradl was

shot in Schröttersburg (today Płock, Poland) on January 4, 1945, and Ernst Lindhorst, from Company 5 of FStGA 1, was executed in WG Anklam on April 6, 1945.

In instances of desertion in which the prisoner was absent for more than three months, the case was automatically referred to the Wehrmachtkommandantur Berlin. Three additional death sentences were handed down by this highest Wehrmacht court against prisoners from FStGA 1. The first, Fritz Hildebrandt, was beheaded in Brandenburg-Görden Prison on August 14, 1944.[39] The second, Karl Schuh, was shot in Spandau on October 19, 1944.[40] The third, Hermann Zimmermann, had his sentence commuted to "probation in special service" by Heinrich Himmler in his capacity as the head of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) on February 23, 1945.[41]

SOURCES Primary source information about FStGA 1 is located in BA-MA (H 20/497; RH 14/37); BA-MA (WF-03/3861; WF-03/24582; WF-03/32406); BArch PA (Sammlung WR); and WASt (Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 1, Bd. 49874–49879).

Additional information about FStGA 1 can be found in the following publications: Thomas Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug: Der Umgang der Deutschen Wehrmacht mit militärgerichtlich verurteilten Soldaten," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz: Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003); Otto Gritschneder, *Furchtbare Richter: Verbrecherische Todesurteile deutscher Kriegsgerichte* (Munich: Beck, 1998); Christiane Hottes, "Grauen und Normalität: Zum Strafvollzug im Dritten Reich," in *Ortstermin Hamm: Zur Justiz im Dritten Reich*, ed. Elke Hilscher et al. (Hamm: Oberstadtdirektor der Stadt Hamm, 1991); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ—Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme

(Bremen: Temmen, 2012); Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1–5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 57; and Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997).

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Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

2. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. III/331/42 vom 28.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 889.

4. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]), S. 576. In practice, it appears prisoners sentenced to terms between three and six months were only rarely sent to the FSt-GAs; cf. Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug," p. 457.

5. OKW 54 e 10 Strafv. i. Kr.-Trupp.Abt. (Str. II) Str. 259/43 an den Chef des Wehrmachtsanitätswesens vom 5.2.1943, reproduced in Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 817.

6. See entry for **FStGA 20**.

7. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

8. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. III/331/42 vom 28.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 888. The transfer to Army Group Center—noted in Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 57—occurred later.

9. Two companies were formed in WG Bruchsal, and 5th Companies for FStGAs 1, 2, and 3 were formed in Freiburg. The exact assignments were not specified in the order.

10. OKW 54 e 1o-Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str I/IV vom 24.6.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, Bl. 875.

11. At the end of August or beginning of September 1944, one of each FStGA's companies was converted into a penitentiary company and a second was converted into a prison camp company. Normally, but not always, these were the 4th and 5th Companies, respectively. The background for this change is explained further in the entry for **FStGA 21**.

12. OKW 54 e 1o-Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str I/IV vom 24.6.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, Bl. 875.

13. OKH/General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. III/331/42 vom 28.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 888.

14. OKW 54 e le Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str. II vom 15.4.1942, BArch PA, Sammlung WR.

15. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str.I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, reproduced in Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 811.

16. OKW 54 e le Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str. II vom 15.4.1942, BArch PA, Sammlung WR.

17. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 189.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 192.

20. Ibid., p. 193.

21. Ibid., pp. 189, 191.

22. Ibid., p. 191.

23. Ibid., p. 189.

24. Ibid., p. 192.

25. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 622 (OKH, 17.10.44 – 29 e/allg. – PA/P 5 (f)), S. 336.

26. Hottes, "Grauen und Normalität," p. 63.

27. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192. For more information on prisoners sent to the prison camps, see entries for **WG Glatz** and **Feldstraflager I–III**.

28. Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ," pp. 78–86.

29. OKH Az. 469 Ju Abt Nr. 1728/43 vom 19.8.1943, BAMA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 1001.

30. Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.

31. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 1 (Bd. 49874–49879).

32. For more information on Bewährungstruppe 500, see Klausch, *Bewährungstruppe 500*.

33. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 57.

34. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 488 of the photocopied form).

35. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Karl Bolgert.

36. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 690 of the photocopied form).

37. Feldurteil (St.L. 214/44) des Gerichts der Oberfeldkommandantur 399 vom 14.6.1944 gegen Karl Weippert und Günther Schulze, reproduced in Gritschneder, *Furchtbare Richter*, pp. 102–106.

38. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 692–694 of the photocopied form).

39. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1091 of the photocopied form). Because a large number of death sentences were handed down in Berlin, such sentences had been carried out there since the beginning of the war, primarily by beheading in Berlin-Plötzensee Prison (1939–1940) and then in Brandenburg-Görden (from 1940 on), because frequent, widely audible shootings could have caused unrest among the population in Berlin.

40. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1103 of the photocopied form).

41. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1108 of the photocopied form).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 2

The Germans formed FStGA 2 through Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII command, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim on May 1, 1942.[1] The camp originally consisted of 130 prisoners from Germersheim as well as 50 from WG Bruchsal and 20 inmates from WG Freiburg.

On May 28, 1942, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, general for Special Tasks in the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH), who was responsible for prison sentences, informed the Army Groups and Armies in the east that FStGA 2 would be deployed with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).[2] Convicts from the Army Group Center area were to be transferred to FStGA 2 via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ), provided that a direct transfer was not possible.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942—with the clarifications added by General Müller on October 28 after initial deployment experiences—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and employment. The FStGA 1 entry describes the guidelines in more detail. There is no known documentation as to their concrete implementation in FStGA 2.

Some casualty reports handed in by FStGA 2 for the period of July 12 to September 9, 1943, indicate around 30 dead and wounded through bombing raids, artillery fire, tank and infantry fire, and cavalry attacks.[3] Accordingly, this report indicates that this unit was located directly on the front in this phase. The unit reported heavy casualties for the "withdrawal … in the period from June 29–July 18, 1944"[4]—that is, in the retreat following the collapse of Army Group Center. Along with the dead and

wounded, there were 255 missing reported—a number that was actually, due to a missing report page, estimated at nearly 270 men. FStGA 2, which had been used initially, in 1942, as a supporting unit with the Second Armored Army, would remain in the central section of the eastern front until the end of the war. The end came for the unit in April 1945, with the Fourth Army in East Prussia.[5]

Among the few known details is that there were three executions of members of FStGA 2 who fled the unit, that is, went absent without leave. Gefreiter Johannes Roosen (b. February 12, 1920) escaped all the way to France. He was sentenced to death there on November 24, 1942, by the court of the Field Command (*Feldkommandantur*) 540. He was shot on November 26, 1942, in Rochefort.[6] The engineer Franc Beaumart (b. May 30, 1920) appears to have hidden himself for more than three months. In such cases, searches fell under the responsibility of the court of the Armed Forces Headquarters, Berlin. This highest military court sentenced him to death on February 9, 1944. The execution was carried out on March 27 in Brandenburg-Görden Prison by beheading.[7] Gunner Herbert Sachweh (b. September 29, 1922) was sentenced to death for absence without leave by the court of Division No. 190 in Hamburg. The shooting followed on April 9, 1945, after General Wilhelm Wetzel denied his pardon.[8] The basis for the shooting of two members of FStGA 2 is unknown. On July 22, 1943, Günther Boll (b. March 18, 1921) was executed in Briansk, and, on October 21, 1944, in another location, Otto Brüchert (b. August 28, 1915) was executed after a verdict by the court of the 17th Engineer Higher Commander.[9]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

2. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr.

III/331/42 vom 28.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 888.

3. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 194 (Feldstrafgef .Abt. 2-3).

4. Ibid.

5. See Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 128.

6. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 793 of the photocopied form).

7. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1082 of the photocopied form). Death sentences awarded by military court were already in place in Berlin since the beginning of the war, in the entire Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) from the spring of 1943 until the fall of 1944, executed in large numbers through beheading. For additional information, see the entries to the Armed Forces Prisons Anklam and Bruchsal as well as **FStGA 1**.

8. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1115 of the photocopied form; the birthdate is incorrectly given as 1929). With respect to Wetzel, cf. Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 416.

9. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilungen für Günther Boll und Otto Brüchert.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 3

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 3 on May 1, 1942, "through District II Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam."[1] The unit originally comprised 100 prisoners from WG Anklam as well as 50 inmates sent from WG Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland) and 50 from the Armed Forces Prison Camp (*Wehrmachtgefangenenlager*, WGL) Donau.

On May 28, 1942, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, general for Special Tasks in the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH), who was responsible for prison sentences, instructed the "Army Groups, Army High Commanders and Armored Armies in the East"[2] that FStGA 3 would be sent to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*). Convicts in the vicinity of this Army Group were to be brought to FStGA 3 via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Wilna (Vilnius), if a direct transfer was not possible.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942—which General Müller expanded on October 28, 1942, after initial deployment experiences—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in the entry for FStGA 1. Their concrete implementation in FStGA 3 can be thoroughly reconstructed for the beginning phase.

On May 27, 1942, the Sixteenth Army in Army Group North reported that FStGA 3 would be incorporated into the XXXIX Army Corps. At the same time, AOK 16 requested guidelines for the treatment of the unit's personnel. In explanation, the following was cited:

According to a fundamental order of the Armed Forces High

> Command, the Field Penal Unit is to be deployed for the most difficult labor, under unfavorable climatic conditions and with perilous circumstances in the operational area, possibly in the deployment area of fighting troops, for building bunkers and fortifications, road construction, and mine sweeping, etc.
>
> I ask for guidelines for the positioning of the guard units—which provide for their military service under the same circumstances that are imagined as strict punishment for prisoners. The difficult service of these irreproachable soldiers demands special recognition, also to make them stand out in the eyes of the prisoners. The question of the removal, replacement, or, if necessary, health care privileges, special bonuses, etc., requires fundamental regulation.[3]

The letter from AOK 16 was finally reflected in an order from Army High Command to ensure "heightened care for and care of supervisory staff through the outlined command authorities." With this came the directive not to "forget" the officers and permanent staff and to reward them with "decorations and promotions." A "permanent instruction" to operate within the troops was that the "guard duty in prisons was not inferior to, but rather equal to, infantry service."[4] It was later indicated that officers of the FStGA could be recommended "for priority promotion" if their unit was "incorporated into a front division."[5]

A FStGA 3 duty report for July 1942 illustrated service (*Dienst*) for internees, which was "imagined [as] particularly severe punishment." According to this report, 375 prisoners from WG Wilna and five directly "from the [front line] troops"[6] were sent to the unit in that month. The unit comprised 640 men, divided into four companies (i.e., 160 men per company). Mainly due to illness, 160 men were unavailable for service at that time. In July 1942, the four companies of FStGA 3 were deployed "near the front line with at least 120 men," in order to "make the sole highway (*Rollbahn*) under construction for the 218th Infantry Division somewhat passable." Specifically, the work entailed, "sawing logs, … to carry them to the highway." Felling the trees and transporting the logs was difficult because the subsoil on all sides was made "nearly completely [of] swamp and water." The men also had to deal with "thick underbrush everywhere." The

unit commander gave a positive report: “Working seven days, 120 men cut down between 7,331 and 9,527 tree trunks per week, which means building a wooden embankment [*Knüppeldamm*] of nearly five kilometers [3 miles] for the deployed company. Since the work is to be done in marshland, morass, and softened-up muddy roads, and the logs are to be carried 200 to 500 meters [656 to 1,640 feet] from the forest, the performance of the military prisoners—who have worked for a long while without a break—will be recognized.” The commander also commended “a minesweeping squad of approximately 16 men” who were working on the Loknia-Kholm highway under the 218th Infantry Division. This task had been “flawlessly operated” to that point. The report continued that “naturally, casualties from mine fragments, death, and wounds [would occur].”[7] The commander reported that, up to that time, 2 men had been killed and 10 wounded working on this task.

The assessment of the guard personnel was less positive. According to the unit commander, it did “not yet meet highest standards … despite much instruction and punishment.” Clearly, the selection standards were not closely observed. This problem continued “especially in the guard platoon [*Wachzug*],”[8] which was composed of soldiers who had only received six weeks of training after their conscription. Per an order from June 24, 1942, the guard personnel were to be chosen from “completely trained, reliable, particularly energetic and physically robust soldiers.”[9]

The report indicated numerous additional permanent departures among the prisoners: 2 “in the course of punishment,” 4 through “sentence reassignment [to probation on the front],”[10] 15 due to serious illness, 3 by “order of penal camp custody,”[11] and 6 “by updated sentence,” whereby it was supposedly based on prison sentences. Even though FStGA 3 had only been deployed for two months, two men had already been “shot for desertion.” Court authorities confirmed two additional death sentences at the time. The grounds for the two other “departures” were eventually entered as “absent without leave.”[12] Since the subsequent months and years yielded no comparable source material, it cannot be judged whether these figures are representative of the normal movement of personnel to and from FStGA 3.

The leader of FStGA 3 emphasized in his report of August 1,

1942, that he was "pleased" with the work carried out to that point by "all senior deployed units."[13] However, the flyer created in Everding's name described the malnutrition and exhaustion the prisoners experienced in the unit: "With the rations that we in the battalion [*sic*] receive, and the great physical burden we won't be able to hold out long. You know our daily rations well: 150 to 200 grams [5.3 to 7 ounces] of bread, thin soup without meat, etc. You all remember well how Rein-hold Buhr once gave in under the weight of a heavy beam, and how the Feldwebel of the First Company gave him a kick."[14]

This assessment—which might otherwise be attributed to Soviet propaganda—was confirmed later in the "Activity Report of the Advising Internees at the Army Medic of the Sixteenth Army for the Period November 1, 1942 to May 1, 1943." Oberfeldarzt Schmidt-Ott said of FStGA 3 that "of the 100 field prisoners, I often saw none with a body weight exceeding 50 kilograms [110 pounds]. This FStGA had the highest rate of deaths due to dysentery … even if the burden of the punishment abbreviates the sentence, the individual convict will very soon not be able to do the labor because he is too calorically malnourished."[15] Because of the lack of source material, it is not possible to determine whether the doctor's evaluation led to any improvement in conditions.

FStGA 3 was supposedly the first FStGA to receive the order to deploy "climbers" (*Aufgestiegene*)—prisoners promoted within the unit for good behavior. In effect, the assignments for climbers were expanded on the spot—they were to take up arms in emergency situations—and were already deployed to antipartisan fighting. In the beginning of 1944, the Sixteenth Army formed two battalions with about 900 climbers from FStGAs 3, 9, and 14. They wore the insignia "Army Group-Probationary-Btl. III and IV."[16] Army Group-Probationary-Btl. IV had been dissolved by May 1944, after which its members were returned to the FStGAs. The same procedure was supposedly carried out with Army Group-Probationary-Btl. III. The reason for the dissolution of these units is unknown. In any case, General Müller confirmed that the FStGAs should continue to be deployed "without weapons, under perilous conditions … essentially as construction troops … positioned according to deployment and military duty with engineering posts." "Temporary armed deployment of select field

prisoners in a breakthrough company or platoon" was only to take place in "exceptional cases."[17]

In the fall of 1944, FStGA 3 was among the eight FStGAs transferred to the western front to build fortifications against the approaching Western Allied troops in the area along the German border with France and Belgium.[18] The last-known deployment of FStGA 3 was with Army Group B in the Eifel Mountains in western Germany and eastern Belgium.[19]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Guy Aldridge and Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.
2. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. III/331/42 vom 28.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 888.
3. AOK 16 Abt. Ia Nr. 236/42 vom 27.5.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, Bl. 860.
4. Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.
5. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), Nr. 838 (OKH, 13.11.1943, 7830—Ag P 1 [1 a I]), S. 505.
6. FStGA 3 Abt. I Nr. 78/42 vom 1.8.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, Bl. 896.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. OKW 54 e 1o-Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str I/IV vom 24.6.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, p. 875.

10. The "front probation" could proceed with a "normal" field unit or with the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. For more information on Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995). See also the entry for **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

11. Prisoners rated as "incorrigible" were transferred to the custody of a penal camp. They were to be held there under harsh conditions. This time would not count against their sentence, and they would still be expected to serve their full prison term after the end of the war. For more information on prisoners sent to the prison camps, see entries for **WG Glatz** and **Feldstraflager I–III**.

12. FStGA 3 Abt. I Nr. 78/42 vom 1.8.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/24582, p. 896.

13. Ibid.

14. Quoted in Klausch, "'Man lässt Euch schuften wie die Tiere,'" p. 14.

15. Erfahrungsbericht des Beratenden Internisten beim Armeearzt der 16. Armee für die Zeit vom 1. November 1942 bis zum 1. Mai 1943, reproduced in Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 353. The author of the report did not specify the FStGA to which it referred, but the conditions suggested at that time lead us to believe it concerned FStGA 3.

16. Okdo. H.Gr. Nord Ia/Id Nr. 1926/44 geh. vom 19.2.1944, BA-MA, RH 20-18/770.

17. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 vom 4.9.1944 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen), BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

18. For additional information on the transfers from the Sixteenth

Army of Army Group North, see Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 364.

19. See Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945. Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 128.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 4

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 4 on August 1, 1942, through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam.[1] In mid-September 1942, FStGA 4 was put into service on the eastern front with Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*). While it was deployed in this area, additional prisoners were transferred to FStGA 4 via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Wilna (Vilnius) in cases where direct transfers were not possible.

The guidelines issued to the FStGAs by General der Artillerie Eugen Müller—the general for Special Tasks at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) responsible for the FStGAs—on April 14 and 15, 1942, along with the updated guidelines from October 28, which were based upon the experiences earlier in the year, provide some insight into the makeup and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**. Essentially, the FStGA prisoners were to be sent "when possible into the area of the fighting troops and put to the hardest labor … particularly in unfavorable and dangerous conditions."[2] The practical implications of this order for the prisoners in FStGA 4 are revealed in the monthly service report from the I Army Corps of the Eighteenth Army, under which the unit was operating. This report, from December 2, 1942, began with critical comments about the staff of the unit. According to the report, the previously issued selection criteria for FStGA staff were apparently not being followed closely, as was the case in other units (e.g., FStGA 3). The text states that

> the service of the FStGA under the command of the I Army Corps places the highest demands on the guard personnel and

> prisoners. The composition of the guard personnel is in no way in accordance with the requirements placed upon staff of the penal system. 52 NCOs and soldiers are over 40 years old and can no longer enforce discipline on the prisoners to the extent that is required. In addition, they are physically not able to withstand the climatic conditions. Reports about escaped prisoners show that one NCO for every 10 prisoners does not provide sufficient supervision. A failure of the guard personnel could not be determined in any particular case.

It was also pointed out that the I Army Corps had made a request to the Eighteenth Army High Command (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK 18) for the "replenishment, rejuvenation, and reinforcement of the guard personnel" because "an orderly penal system cannot be guaranteed under the current conditions." The report then continues with a discussion of the prisoners:

> The inadequate housing, nutrition, and clothing, the lack of proper hygiene, and deteriorating working conditions in the service area place great demands on the prisoners. Only about 20 percent of the men maintained a reasonably normal appearance, while the others were so emaciated that they were not capable of performing productive labor. There are no beds, except in the headquarters and in the field hospitals.

It was obvious that the emaciated prisoners could not carry out construction or transport work in a timely fashion. The report also noted another aspect of the conditions in the FStGA that was counterproductive from a military perspective: "There is also the threat of epidemics which could pose a not-to-be-understated danger to the fighting troops." For this reason, the I Army Corps submitted a "Request for the Improvement of the Food Rations" for the men in the FStGA, which AOK 18 immediately approved.[3]

Experiences like these led General Müller to adopt a more flexible approach to the enforcement of the OKH guidelines. However, despite the temporary increase in food rations, the prisoners in FStGA 4 continued to suffer from agonizing hunger. Many prisoners resorted to leaving the unit without permission to get something to eat. A military judge of the Eighteenth Army

described the situation in the legal documentation of the death sentence passed against Heinz Dahms of the first company of FStGA 4 on November 19, 1942: "Absences without leave among the prisoners, as is well-known, have gotten out of hand. The escaped prisoners and their begging constantly disturb the fighting troops. The prisoners frequently resort to stealing others' property which has been left unattended in the bunkers." (Heinz Dahms was executed on May 10, 1943.)[4]

In addition, the same judge's proceedings from the December 8, 1942, execution of Heinz Wilhelm and Xaver Rampp—both from the 3rd Company of FStGA 4—note the "repeated cases of desertion in the FStGAs,"[5] which often occurred when the hunger and excessive hard labor became unbearable for the prisoners. In the 10-month period between November 1942 and August 1943, there were at least 29 executions of prisoners from FStGA 4.[6] Of these, 23 were for desertion and two were for absence without leave. The remaining cases consisted of one assault on a superior officer, one for disobedience in the field, and two for the "subversion of fighting power (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*)."

On January 27, 1943, an order from AOK 18 reached FStGA 4, an order that led from the atonement and deterrent goals to those of "reform and education," through the establishment of an "armed platoon" for prisoners who had exhibited good behavior. This order stated that "expansion to an armed company remains conditional upon the experiences with the armed platoon."[7] The order expanded on the instructions from General Müller that "in emergency situations, prisoners (particularly 'promoted' prisoners [those who had been rewarded for good behavior in the FStGAs]) … can be asked to defend against enemy attacks" or "be deployed in smaller operations."[8] The positive experience with a "task force" from FStGA 3, which was used to fight against partisans, was probably influential in this decision.

The armed platoon established in FStGA 4 was subordinated to the 21st Infantry Division in the summer of 1943, where a "probationary platoon" was also mentioned. Its "combat strength" consisted of 53 military prisoners on August 25, 1943; two days later, it had already grown to 107.[9] In February 1944, after the order had also gone out to FStGAs 6 and 19, "out of the 'promoted' prisoners … to form so-called 'task forces' or

platoons," which were to be used "in combat, for example in battling partisans ['bandits'],"[10] "promoted" prisoners from FStGA 4, together with others from FStGA 19, were combined into a temporary "Army Group Probationary Battalion I," which was transferred to a "security detail at Lake Peipus."[11]

The extent to which prisoners from FStGA who had served in the "armed platoons" received suspended sentences through assignment to "front probation" in regular units or in special units like Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 is unknown.[12] Lothar Walmrath describes the case of a sailor who was sent to FStGA 4 from WG Bruchsal in April 1944 for "subversion of fighting power" after a suicide attempt. After he was wounded there in August 1944, the Naval High Command (*Oberkommando der Marine*, OKM) transferred him to Probationary Unit 500.[13]

FStGA 4 was one of the eight FStGAs that was transferred to the western front in October 1944, in order to construct defensive works near the German borders with France and the Benelux states to resist the advancing Western Allies. Shortly before transport in the direction of Germany, four additional prisoners from FStGA 4 were executed for desertion. On September 13, 1944, Franz Krupp, Richard Schänzer, and Willi Schnock were executed, followed by Alfred Näger on October 6. All of these sentences were handed down by the Wehrmacht Local Commander (*Wehrmachtortskommandantur*) Riga.[14]

On the western front, FStGA 4 was subordinated to Army Group G on the Upper Rhine, then to First Airborne Army under Army Group B on the Lower Rhine, and, finally, to the Fifth Armored Army in the Eifel Mountains in western Germany and eastern Belgium.[15] According to the testimony of Emil Bonetti, who arrived at FStGA 4 in Xanten from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna on January 16, 1945, the prisoners worked on "defusing dud shells" or "building defensive works on the front line."[16] Bonetti, whose death sentence for desertion was commuted to a 15-year prison term, recalled the hunger in the FStGA and that "a woman once gave us a piece of bread. An SS man immediately came over and shoved her to the ground."[17] Bonetti himself was knocked to the ground by a soldier's rifle butt because he had spoken to another

prisoner while marching. He managed to use his last bit of strength to get up just in time to avoid the dreaded "neck shot" (*Genickschuss*).

In this last period of its existence, the chain of executions under military justice continued in FStGA 4. On December 16, 1944, Georg Parczyk and Albert Sailer were shot for desertion. Their sentences were issued by the Field Court of the 7th Airborne Division.[18] On February 17, 1945, Walter Engelmann and Rudolf Löwenstein were also executed for desertion. Their sentences were passed by the Field Court of the II Airborne Corps.[19] It is unknown whether five additional death sentences, all of which were confirmed, were ever carried out.[20] In a sixth case, the sentence was commuted to "probation" in labor of military importance ("Interim Detention I" or "*Zwischenhaft* I") at KZ Mauthausen.[21] On April 6, 1945, Martin Herbst, who was sentenced to death for desertion by the Reich Military Court (*Reichskriegsgericht*), was executed in WG Torgau-Fort Zinna.[22] With more than 60 death sentences handed down for its prisoners —at least 50 of which were carried out—FStGA 4 holds the dubious distinction of having the most death sentences of any FStGA. Shortly before the end of the war, American and British troops encircled FStGA 4. The majority of the remaining prisoners in the unit were captured, although some, like Emil Bonetti, were able to escape and make their way home.[23]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

1. See Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 264.

2. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

3. Gen.Kdo. I. A.K. Abt. IIa, TB der Gruppe II für die Zeit vom 1.4. bis 30.11.42, S. 9, BA-MA, RH 24-1/294. The number of the FStGA was not specified in the report, but, based on the description of the conditions, it most likely referred to FStGA 4.

4. The proceedings from April 15, 1943, are reproduced in Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 750.

5. AOK 18 Abt. III, BAL 321/42 vom 6.12.1942, reproduced in Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 762.

6. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 60, 62–64, 155–157, 159 f., 205 f., 211–214, 216, 238 f. of the photocopied form).

7. KTB AOK 18 Abt. Ia vom 27.1.43, BA-MA, RH 20-18/469, Bl. 103.

8. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

9. 21. Inf.Div., Abt. I a, Mappe III zum KTB Nr. 19, BAMA, RH 26-21/97.

10. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 8671/43 geh. vom 14.5.1943, BAMA, WF-03/24402, Bl. 61.

11. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 2044/44 geh. vom 24.2.1944, in BA-MA, RH 20-18/772.

12. For additional information on Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995). See also **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

13. Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina." Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 245.

14. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1070, 1072, 1075 f. of the photocopied form).

15. See Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 264.

16. Testimony of Emil Bonetti, cited in Hannes Metzler, "'Soldaten, die einfach nicht im Gleichschritt marschiert sind …' Zeitzeugeninterviews mit Überlebenden der NS-Militärgerichtsbarkeit," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz: Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), p. 548.

17. Ibid.

18. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1205 of the photocopied form).

19. Ibid., Bl. 1191 f. of the photocopied form.

20. Ibid., Bl. 1191–1193, 1205 of the photocopied form.

21. Ibid., Bl. 1191 of the photocopied form. For information on the possibility of transfer to "Zwischenhaft I" from June 1944 on, see Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 232; and Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

22. See the excerpt from the "Execution Book" of the Reich Military Court, reproduced in Norbert Haase and Brigitte Oleschinski, eds., *Torgau—Ein Kriegsende in Europa* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), p. 110.

23. Testimony of Emil Bonetti, cited in Metzler, "'Soldaten, die einfach nicht im Gleichschritt marschiert sind,'" p. 569.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 5

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 5 on August 1, 1942, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim, through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II. The Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) ordered the unit to be sent to the central section of the eastern front, where it was subsequently utilized by the Third Armored Army, then by the Fourth Armored Army, and, finally, by the Ninth Army.[1] Additional prisoners were transferred to FStGA 5 from the area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) during the FStGAs service at the front; when direct transfer was not possible, the prisoners were sent via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ) and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) Smolensk. FStGA 5 also continued to receive prisoners from Germany, primarily from WG Anklam, WG Torgau-Brückenkopf, and WG Torgau-Fort Zinna.[2]

The guidelines issued by the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) on April 14 and 15, 1942—which were later expanded on October 28, based on the experiences up to that point—dictated the organization and strength of the section, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These instructions are discussed in detail in FStGA 1. There is no documentation to speak to the implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 5. The only known archival records are wartime court documents concerning two escaped prisoners from FStGA 5, Werner S. and Georg H. After they were recaptured, they explained that they were repeatedly beaten in the unit and, therefore, tried to proceed to a front unit: "We cannot accept that we, as German soldiers, are beaten by German soldiers. We can no longer bear this treatment."[3] Though it was difficult to prove their claim to have

been attempting to join a frontline unit, the statement concerning the blows sustained through questioning at FStGA 5 was easy to prove, which spoke to their credibility.

In light of the problematic source material, it is of special significance that at the earlier Wehrmachtsauskunftstelle (WASt)—later the "Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) for the notification of fallen soldiers' next of kin of the former German Wehrmacht"—the Change Reports Re: the Identity Tag Index (*Veränderungsmeldungen zum Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis*) for FStGA 5 until the end of 1944 seem relatively complete, by all appearances. An examination of these records reveals that there were relatively few casualties due to "enemy action" from the summer of 1942 to the end of 1944—even though the official instructions ordered that the FStGAs were to be sent to "the hardest labor possible in the vicinity of the fighting troops" and "under particularly unfavorable and perilous conditions."[4] It is clear that FStGA 5 was deployed behind the front for a long period, since "only" 50 deaths were reported through the end of 1944. Prisoners who exhibited good behavior in the FStGA could be "promoted" within the unit and eventually sent back to the front on probationary status; casualties among these prisoners were recorded as having fallen "during infantry deployment."[5] FStGA 5, like other FStGAs, formed small units from these men, which "in emergency situations" could be "equipped with weapons to repel enemy attacks under the direction of the staff personnel" or used "for smaller operations."[6]

Some prisoners were killed "in flight" or in subsequent wartime court executions. Escape attempts began shortly after FStGA 5 arrived in the deployment area. In some cases, the deserters were shot by guard soldiers immediately after their alleged escape attempts began. Such was the case for Gerhard Knoll (b. January 31, 1908), shot on April 28, 1943, in Waldlager Chotenowa;[7] Willibald Schebeck (b. October 24, 1924), shot on June 10, 1943, in Belaia Rudnia (Smolenskaia oblast');[8] and Franz Schmidt (b. November 23, 1922), shot on September 17, 1944, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the Polish village of Orgonowice.[9]

Some escapees managed to avoid recapture for a longer period. At the turn of the year 1943–1944, it was reported of four men: "More than three months at large; records transferred to Armed

Forces Prison Germersheim."[10] Anton Schardt also managed to evade capture for about three months; his records indicated that he was "in flight. Files on December 12, 1943, at Armed Forces Prison Germersheim."[11] Schardt was executed shortly after he was recaptured on February 2, 1944, in Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania), seat of a wartime military court.[12] Some prisoners who fled FStGA 5 made it back to Germany before being recaptured. This was the case for Josef Doerner (b. March 8, 1923) who was beheaded for desertion in the Remand Prison (*Untersuchungsgefängnis*) Hamburg,[13] as well as Edmund Hackhausen, reported as a deserter on October 15, 1942, who was guillotined on August 18, 1943, in Remand Detention Center (*Untersuchungshaftanstalt*) Dortmund.[14] Two other deserters, Heinz Bartholl (b. April 1, 1921) and Albert Reinhardt (b. September 22, 1919), were executed by shooting on April 12, 1944, in Königsberg (today Kaliningrad, Russia).[15]

An escape to the Soviet side did not carry a great likelihood of survival. The already emaciated FStGA prisoners rarely survived the difficult conditions in Soviet prisoner of war camps. Such was the case of Friedrich Wickel (b. June 5, 1922), a member of FStGA 5 who was sentenced to death in absentia by the court of the 260th Infantry Division on March 21, 1944, for desertion. However, Wickel never met his punishment at German hands, as he perished in Soviet imprisonment on February 10, 1945.[16]

Between 1942 and 1944, there are 24 definitively documented or highly probable known cases of executed death sentences of members of FStGA 5. Almost all of the known executions were for desertion. However, Hugo Hass (b. February 25, 1916) was shot for self-mutilation on May 26, 1944, in Wilna.[17] The high number of shootings of members of FStGA 5 carried out in KWG Borissow is curious. In the period from October 3, 1942, until May 18, 1944, 10 documented executions occurred there. It is likely there were more such executions for which no documentation exists.

The end of the Change Reports records for FStGA 5 in December 1944 was not coincidental—the unit was destroyed in a Soviet breakthrough in Weichselbogen in January 1945 while it was evacuating westward. Only a few survivors made it to their unit's original destination in Torgau.[18] Nonetheless, there are

records for some executions in this final phase. For example, Edmund Michelsen (b. October 22, 1914) was executed by firing squad in Ludwigsburg after being convicted of desertion by the court of the 465th Division.[19] In another case, Gerhard Molto of the 5th Company of FStGA 5 was "shot in flight" on March 21, 1945.[20]

No information is available about FStGA 5 prisoners who were deemed "incorrigible" and were sent to field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*); these prisoners would spend the rest of the war in the field penal camps and then begin to serve the term to which they were originally sentenced when the war ended.[21] There is also no information about men who were sent to "front probation" with a normal combat unit or with the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[22]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 2: Die Landstreitkräfte 1-5* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 311.

2. The replacement transports are documented in the *Veränderungsmeldungen zum Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis* of FStGA 5 (WASt: Bd. 49888–49890).

3. Quoted in Kristina Brümmer-Pauly, *Desertion im Recht des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: BWV, 2006), p. 54. Brümmer-Pauly, who, unfortunately, gives no dates, relies on court-martial documents FF 1190 in BA-MA. For the local account, the documents cannot be viewed. The latter is also true for the court of Armed Forces Command Berlin on January 26, 1945, concerning its death sentence for Werner Elsner of the 1st Company of FStGA 5. The execution of this sentence, which

is documented in BArch PA under Nr. 4355, was suspended after the agreement of March 26, 1945.

4. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

5. WASt: Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 74).

6. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

7. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 179).

8. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49888, Bl. 109).

9. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49888, Bl. 187).

10. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49888, Bl. 145).

11. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 74).

12. *Datenbank des Volksbundes Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V.* at www.volksbund.de/graebersuche.html.

13. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 419 of the photocopied form); WASt: Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Josef Doerner. For the execution of wartime death penalties through beheading, see **WG Anklam**.

14. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Edmund Hackhausen.

15. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 102).

16. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 231 of the photocopied

form); *Datenbank des Volksbundes Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V.* at. www.volksbund.de/graebersuche.html.

17. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 106).

18. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 311.

19. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 435 of the photocopied form).

20. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 155 (FStGA 5–8).

21. See **Feldstraflager I–III**.

22. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); see also **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 6

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 6 in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Freiburg.[1] It was the only FStGA formed in this WG. In mid-September 1942, FStGA 6 deployed to the eastern front, where it was subordinated to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*). Additional prisoners were added to the FStGA from the area of Army Group North during its deployment; if direct transfer was not possible, they were sent via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Wilna (Vilnius).

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded on October 28, based on the experiences up to that point—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in the entry for **FStGA 1**. The OKW's instruction that the prisoners in the FStGAs were to be sent "to the hardest labor" under "particularly unfavorable and perilous circumstances"[2] was practiced in a particularly brutal manner in FStGA 6. On September 4, 1943, the court of the 61st Infantry Division reported to the Eighteenth Army that prisoners in FStGA 6 who were sick or otherwise incapable of working had nonetheless been forced to continue working to the point of physical collapse. The prisoners were also subject to torture, including having water poured over their naked bodies outdoors in subzero temperatures. A prisoner who was shot while attempting to break into a supply camp (*Verpflegungslager*) was subsequently tied to a tree for hours while almost naked during cold, rainy weather, and subjected to further beatings. These instances of torture took place in full view of the guard staff and with the knowledge of the unit's commanding officers.[3]

A prisoner from FStGA 6 who managed to defect to the Red Army captured the prevailing conditions in the unit in a leaflet distributed in June 1943 under the headline "To the Comrades of the 6th Penal Battalion." It continued: "They let you slave away like animals and treat you as such. And who condemned you? Men in clean, pressed uniforms, who have never felt any of the horrors of war, and who only benefit from all the killing. You've risked everything including your life to this point, and now your reward for it will be a slow ruin."[4]

The inhuman conditions of imprisonment brought with them numerous escape attempts, which resulted in additional deaths through executions. On December 14, 1942, Wilhelm Bruhn of the 2nd Company of FStGA 6 was sentenced to death for desertion. The legal reports concerning his execution note that "in light of the many cases of desertion in the Field Penal Units …, the immediate execution of the sentence is necessary to deter all unreliable elements, despite the demonstrated mitigating circumstances."[5] In the 11 months between October 1942 and August 1943, there were at least 26 documented executions of prisoners from FStGA 6.[6] The executions took place in Shar on the train line from Chudovo to Volkhov and at the train station in Mga. It should be noted that FStGA 6 had the highest number of prisoners of any FStGA, as it was the only such unit with six companies (all of the others had a maximum of five).[7] Nonetheless, it should be noted that FStGA 6 approached the likewise high total of executions in FStGA 4, which was located in the area of the front between Leningrad and Volkhov.

After August 1943, fewer death sentences were documented. This change may have been because fewer prisoners were sentenced to death, or simply because the documents for the executions during this period were lost or destroyed. It is possible that the abovementioned report by the court of the 61st Infantry Division of AOK 18 also led to an intervention against unnecessary torture, which could have led to a decrease in escape attempts and, therefore, death sentences. A letter sent to FStGA 6 and other units by the Eighteenth Army headquarters on May 14, 1943, emphasized that "fair and by-the-book treatment of prisoners under all circumstances must be ensured with all due toughness in imprisonment. Measures for their care must have the

goal of absolutely holding onto the valuable labor force of the prisoners in the interests of the fighting troops."[8]

In addition to preserving the prisoners' ability to work, the Eighteenth Army also wanted to maintain their fighting strength for potential deployment to "front probation" for prisoners who demonstrated good behavior. On January 27, 1943, FStGA 6 acted on the order from AOK 18 to establish an armed platoon (*Waffenzug*) from prisoners who had been promoted within the ranks of the FStGA for good behavior, the so-called climbers. The order stated that "expansion [of the armed platoon] to an armed company remain contingent upon the experiences with the platoon."[9] This order followed the October 1942 directive from the general for Special Tasks at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) responsible for the FStGAs that the FStGAs should take measures so that "in cases of emergency, prisoners (particularly the 'climbers') could be armed with weapons to defend against enemy attacks" or "be deployed for smaller operations."[10] This order was likely motivated by positive experiences with a "task group" (*Einsatzkommando*) in FStGA 3—which was also deployed with Army Group North—in "anti-partisan warfare (*Bandenbekämpfung*)." In February 1944, "'Army Group-Probationary-Battalion II' … was formed from parts of FStGA 6 that were assigned to Pleskau [today Pskov, Russia] Garrison Command."[11] Supposedly, this battalion was only used temporarily to carry out security-related tasks. It is unclear how many prisoners from FStGA 6 were assigned to front probation with normal combat units or the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 after deployment to an armed platoon or similar group.[12] It is also unclear how many prisoners from FStGA 6 were deemed to be "incorrigible" and were assigned to field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*). Prisoners sent to the field penal camps were to remain there for the rest of the war; the time they spent there would not count against their sentences, which they were expected to serve in full after the war ended.[13]

Although it is possible that the worst excesses in the treatment of prisoners in FStGA 6 had ceased by the end of 1943, the conditions in the unit remained harsh, as indicated by the testimony of former prisoner Wolf Gerlach. Gerlach, a Luftwaffe

airman, was sentenced to two years of prison for "subversion of fighting power" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) and transferred from WG Glatz to FStGA 6. Although he did not witness any executions as a result of courts-martial, his recollections nonetheless attest to the brutal conditions in FStGA 6 in 1943 and 1944, when the prisoners were assigned to "building obstacles in front of our own lines and minesweeping. In no-man's land, the unarmed prisoners were continually exposed to their own and Russian fire…. And this was our lot: the hardest physical labor with total malnourishment, casualties under fire, and mistreatment and beatings to death for inability to work, whereby the poor parents were then informed that their son died of 'circulatory system failure.' The torture and harassment is impossible to describe in so few words. It was hell."[14] If the described treatment of individual FStGA prisoners was to serve as "atonement and deterrence," it was also to serve a general preventive function. General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, the General for Special Tasks at OKH, had clearly stated that "the knowledge of these hardships [in the FStGAs] must effectively deter others from committing similar crimes. Only when they can realize the bigger picture can the incarceration fulfill its purpose."[15]

The observations of Hans Breithaupt, who at the time served as a major in the 30th Infantry Division, show that the hardships in the FStGAs did, in fact, come into the "wider consciousness" of the troops at the front. He reported in April and May 1944 that "the deployment of one Prisoner Unit 6 [FStGA 6] in the division sector is also depressing. Among the prisoners are numerous demoted service ranks. Now they must manage the work of clearing out the direct vicinity of the front line, particularly the mountain of numerous dead from previous battles, with its awful side effects. They conduct their work quietly and give the soldiers food for deep thought, particularly since there are occasionally personal connections, even though the troops are forbidden from speaking with prisoners."[16] The "deep thought" Breithaupt mentioned had a dual nature—both the deterrent effect desired by the army leadership and pity for their mistreated comrades and anger at those responsible.

Breithaupt remarked of the guards of FStGA 6 that "the sentry is very sharp, but on the other hand also visibly happy when the

dangerous deployment at the front line is over."[17] Wolf Gerlach also recalled the sharpness of the guards in FStGA 6. He recalled the case of two Soviet women who hid a bowl with boiled potatoes for the prisoners multiple times as FStGA 6 built reception camps (*Auffangstellungen*) for prisoners behind German lines. He noted: "It worked for eight full days … until a certain Unteroffizier, Butz, from Karlsruhe, became aware of them, smashed the potatoes, stormed into the house, dragged out the girl and her old mother, and along with Feldwebel Göttinger, Unteroffizier Mühleisen, Obergefreiter Dietz, and other guards, beat the women with the butt of the rifle until they lay in their own blood."[18]

The front side of the aforementioned leaflet intended for the prisoners of FStGA 6, ended with the words: "All the work that you do builds the throne of your …" 'oppressors,' the text may have continued on the unavailable backside of the leaflet. Gerlach arrived at a similar view. He and a comrade fled together to the Soviet partisans in August 1944.

FStGA 6 was among four FStGAs that were sent from the sector of the Sixteenth Army to the western front between October 1 and October 15, 1944. These units were deployed to the border region with France and Belgium to build defensive installations in advance of the approaching western Allied troops.[19] Prior to this transfer, at least three more members of FStGA 6 were executed in Riga. On August 8, 1944, Hans Lasse (b. August 8, 1922) "was shot … for desertion … and buried in the Jewish cemetery" after he was sentenced to death by the court of Field Training Division North (*Feldausbildungs-Division Nord*).[20] The regular practice of burying executed deserters and prisoners convicted of "subversion of fighting strength" in the Jewish cemetery in Riga was intended to extend the shame of the prisoners beyond death.[21] Werner Bandekow and Karl Bismanns (b. July 27, 1924) were also executed for desertion on September 11 and October 4, 1944, respectively, in Riga. The verdicts had been handed down by the court of the Armed Forces Local Command (*Wehrmacht-Ortskommandantur*) in Riga.[22]

After it was transferred to the western front, FStGA 6 was deployed to Army Group G in the Upper Rhine region. It was

temporarily subordinated to the 708th Volks-Grenadier-Division, as is apparent from two death sentences handed down by the divisional court on November 14, 1944, against Josef Gschwandtner for desertion and Gerhard Thiede for insubordination.[23] It is not known whether these sentences were carried out. FStGA was sent back to the eastern front in early 1945, where it was subordinated to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) in Silesia.[24] As late as May 1, 1945, sentences were still being passed against prisoners from FStGA 6 for various offenses. On that date, the unit leader drafted a verdict against Heinrich H., who had been interned in the Penitentiary Company of FStGA 6 for a term of 15 years for desertion.[25]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

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2. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

3. See Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1999), p. 68. The editors give a quote that is not word for word but rather a paraphrased report from the court of the 61st Infantry Division to the Army judge of AOK 18, from September 9, 1943 (BA-MA, RH 20-18 G/93, Bl. 138–140).

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7. See the Veränderungsmeldungen zu den Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen of individual FstGAs (WASt: Bd. 49874–49919).

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9. KTB AOK 18 Abt. Ia vom 27.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 20-18/469, Bl. 103.

10. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MZA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

11. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 2044/44 geh. vom 24.2.1944, BAMA, RH 20-18/772. See **FStGA 4** and **FStGA 19**, from whose ranks Army Group-Probationary-Battalion I was formed at the time, as well as **FStGA 3**, **FStGA 9**, and **FStGA 14**. Men of the latter of these were assigned to Army Group-Probationary-Battalion III and IV.

12. For information on Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); also see **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

13. See **Feldstraflager I–III**.

14. Wolf Gerlach, "Als Feldstrafgefangener in der UdSSR," *Niedersächsische Volksstimme* 100 (August 27, 1949): 2.

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19. Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933– 1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 364.

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21. See the statements from the same day in Riga concerning executed deserters from the "500er" August Funhoff in Ralf Buchterkirchen, *"… und wenn sie mich an die Wand stellen." Desertion, Wehrkraftzersetzung und "Kriegsverrat" von Soldaten in und aus Hannover 1933–1945* (Neustadt: Region + Geschichte, 2011), p. 105.

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24. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 35.

25. See Stefanie Reichelt, *"Für mich ist der Krieg aus!" Deserteure und Kriegsdienstverweigerer des Zweiten Weltkriegs in München* (Munich: Buchendorfer, 1995), p. 101. For information on the attachment of Penitentiary Companies to FStGAs see **FStGA 21** and **WG Bruchsal**.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 7

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 7 on September 10, 1942, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] It was sent to the southern section of the eastern front, where it was subordinated to Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*), and, later, to its successor Army Groups A, B, and Don. Prisoners from this area of the front were sent to FStGA 7 primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) Kiev, if a direct transfer was not possible.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were supplemented with additional instructions on October 28, 1942, based on experiences up to that point—dictated the organization and strength of the FStGAs, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in the entry for **FStGA 1**. The application of the guidelines in FStGA 7 is quite well documented from different perspectives for the early summer of 1943. The unit, stationed in Zaporozh'e (today Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine), was subordinated at the time to the Superior Field Command (*Oberfeldkommandantur*, OFK) 397 in Dnepropetrovsk (today Dnipro, Ukraine).

Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Dr. Thoms from OFK 397 drew up a report about FStGA 7 at the end of June 1943. He had visited the unit on June 17, 1943, staying in a barrack in Zaporozh'e, to "get a closer look at these penal institutions."[2] The unit leader, Major Knobloch, was in Germany at the time, primarily for home leave but also for a conference at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH), which general for Special

Tasks, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, had ordered all leaders of FStGAs as well as the commanders of the two existing Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*) to attend.[3] In his one-hour visit to FStGA 7, Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Thoms came to the conclusion that "there can be no talk of … a hard sentence in the unit." He claimed that "a stay in the FStGA [is] practically a lovely summer vacation with a little work." He criticized the unit's commander for not forcing the men to work longer hours, not requiring additional "calisthenics," and providing them with food rations that were too good. He believed that the prisoners' work in "construction of anti-tank ditches and bunkers" did not meet the "guidelines … prescribed for the punishment in FSt-GAs … namely deployment to the hardest work under perilous circumstances in the operational area."[4]

Upon his return, Major Knobloch issued a statement contesting Thoms's conclusions. In a letter from July 21, 1943, he emphasized that punishment in the unit had, in fact, been "implemented with the guidelines of April 15, 1942." However, he noted that "through later additions and through oral orders by General Müller, changes would be initiated." Knobloch contended that even in the course of the prescribed harsh punishment, "German military prisoners certainly must be kept physically capable of working. Therefore, the care has also been improved."[5]

In his statement, Major Knobloch gave an extensive report on the labor deployment of the prisoners in his unit. According to his account, three companies were "constructing [defensive] positions in Zaporozh'e" and two were "deployed to cut timber." He stated that "the work is hard throughout. Nevertheless, the results are considerably above average." Knobloch added that "Sunday is also never free of work, since commandos must be constantly stationed for urgent tasks." In order to underline that the prisoners were working "under perilous circumstances," he added that "there are currently around 150 prisoners deployed against partisans, looking for mines or detonating duds." Major Knobloch countered Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Thoms's claim that exercises were only performed on Sundays with a claim that the prisoners did "the exercise [marching] to and from"[6] work.

It is unknown whether Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Thoms's report led to harsher conditions in FStGA 7. His report was presented to

the OKH while Major Knobloch appeared at the abovementioned meeting with General Müller. If Knobloch was "not compelled … to make a statement"[7] to the OKH, as he claimed in his statement from July 21, 1943, then the idea of an order "from above" to worsen conditions in the unit seems less likely.

Knobloch himself considered the platoon-level organization of punishment practiced within the FStGA 7 thoroughly successful. He saw the majority of prisoners making an effort to integrate back into "normal" military service, stating that "there remains in no way the intention, amongst the military prisoners, to prolong their stay here…. This is clear in their letters. They happily accept hard and dangerous work as a matter of course, in order to get out."[8] The men with good conduct were assigned to special platoons within their companies where they received "bonus pay, including, among other things, two cigarettes."[9] Prisoners who did not behave properly were placed in the third (lowest) platoon of each company. Knobloch conceded that the desired spatial "isolation of the third platoon" under the present conditions ("a dearth of equipment for accommodations"), similar to the "*Aussenlager* [satellite camps for WGs] in Germany," could not be achieved at that time. The third platoons were thus to be put in place at the "back of the room" within the prisoners' quarters—but still in the same room.[10]

Knobloch's positive overall portrayal was based on what appeared to be a comparably low rate of recidivism: "Of the military prisoners who have gone through the unit, fewer than three percent have offended again." The rate was clearly based on different offenses. Knobloch conceded that "it plays a role that some of these [offenses] may have been for the reason that it is safer to be in prison than on the front. In the second company there have recently been some cases of escapes and thefts."[11] Escape attempts and absences without leave in FStGA 7 to this point—which were a daily routine in many other FStGAs—were apparently not very common. The low rate of such offenses was likely part of the reason why excessively harsh treatment was less prevalent in FStGA 7.

Günther Rosahl outlined the deployment of FStGA 7 from the perspective of an internee. Rosahl was sentenced to a prison term "due to a petty offense"[12] as an officer candidate (*Oberfähnrich*)

in the navy, which he did not describe in detail. In the summer of 1943, he was sent to FStGA 7 in a transport from WG Anklam:

> Mornings at the crack of dawn we're taken out to lay down a line of fortification. For this work, each man's daily quota, according to soil conditions, totals 5 to 8 meters of excavated soil. Since I wasn't used to physical labor, I would have never, ever accomplished this. However, a Feldwebel at the time named der Flak, a career chess master from Teterow in Mecklenburg, kept me as his assistant in his cunning work techniques, through which we both accomplished our daily shared workload. Whoever did not meet his quota received only half rations at the field kitchen and soon met his end.[13]

The "cutting of rations"[14] already being practiced in WGs as "in-house punishment" came into use in FStGA 7 as well. Rosahl's report does not mention Major Knobloch's use of prisoners to fight partisans, for which they were allowed "the rations normally approved for hunting detachments (*Jagdkommandos*), including chocolate," at first generally, then "from case to case, according to performance."[15] Instead, he said that "only once to my knowledge was FStGA 7 issued weapons; that was in a particularly dicey situation with the breakthrough of the Russians at Zaporozh'e [on October 14, 1943]. Other than that, we were 'armed' only with spades and shovels."[16]

Rosahl, emphasizing that he remembered "the conditions in FStGA 7 … still very well,"[17] mentioned neither mistreatment nor shootings. This recollection suggests that the prisoners in FStGA 7 under Major Knobloch were treated with less brutality than those in other FStGAs, which contributed to fewer absences without leave and desertions and resultant punitive measures. Attempts to defect to the Red Army were also rare, according to Rosahl. He states that "we wore no insignia that were known to the Red Army on our uniforms. Nevertheless, the fear of being in Soviet prisoner of war camps was so high that I have only once heard of prisoners going over to the Red Army." Rosahl noted an additional impediment to cooperative actions by the prisoners was the fact that "among the prisoners, mutual distrust reigned constant."[18]

Although the conditions in FStGA 7 may have been less brutal

than those in other FStGAs, executions were still carried out. On April 2, 1943, Karl Sikora (b. December 1, 1921) of the 2nd Company of FStGA 7 was sentenced to death for desertion. The verdict of the court of the Standortkommandantur of Zaporozh'e was confirmed on May 1, 1943, by the Commander of the Army Group South Rear Area (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*) but was later commuted to 10 years in prison.[19] Herbert Keller (b. February 12, 1923) of the 3rd Company of FStGA 7 endured a similar experience. He was sentenced to death for absence without leave on May 18, 1943; however, although the verdict of the court of the municipal commander in Rostov was confirmed on June 11, 1943, his sentence was commuted to 12 years in prison.[20] On the other hand, Rudolf Endres (b. September 26, 1919), also of the 3rd Company of FStGA 7, was executed on July 15, 1943, after having been sentenced to death by the court of the municipal commander in Zaporozh'e on May 4, 1943, for alleged treason.[21] The same court ordered the execution of Schütze Heinrich Ballmann (b. January 9, 1916), of the 2nd Company of FStGA 7, on September 2, 1943; he was beheaded on August 17, 1943, in Dresden. The execution was taken over by the court of the 408th Division in Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland).[22] On August 27, 1943, the court of the municipal commander in Dnepropetrovsk gave Rudolf Schultz of the 2nd Company of FStGA 7 the maximum penalty for desertion; however, Schultz was convicted in absentia and the sentence could not be carried out.[23] Another prisoner from FStGA 7, Rudolf Beer (b. November 4, 1923), was executed on December 22, 1943, in Dubovaia Balka.[24]

FStGA 7 took advantage of the opportunity to send "incorrigible" prisoners to Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*). In the Field Penal Camps, convicts were subjected to harsh conditions of internment. However, their time in the camps was not counted against their sentences, which they would still be expected to serve in full after the end of the war.[25] In addition, a request could be made to the military police to intern incorrigible prisoners in concentration camps. One such case was that of Willi Schmidt, who was transferred from KWG Dubno to FStGA 7 in Zaporozh'e on April 18, 1943. A Luftwaffe court sentenced him to several years of prison for "subversion of fighting power"

(*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) and absence without leave. Due to his unruly behavior, he was transferred to Feldstraflager II via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna on December 29, 1943. After Schmidt had spent 10 months there in detention, another statement from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna was sent to the Gestapo, which resulted in his internment in a concentration camp. Schmidt survived imprisonment in the concentration camps at Gross-Rosen and Flossenbürg.[26] The total count of the transfers carried out from FStGA 7 to the penal camps is unknown. It is also uncertain how many prisoners were rewarded for good behavior by being sent to "front probation" with a normal combat unit or a specially created unit like Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[27]

After the breakthrough of the Red Army at Zaporozh'e in October 1943, FStGA 7 was deployed in a series of retreating maneuvers, resulting in heavy casualties; these retreating actions were broken up by intermittent entrenchments. FStGA was transferred to the First Armored Army in late 1943, then to the Sixth Army beginning on January 1, 1944. Rosahl, who had earned the privilege of working as a sentry by January 1944, reported that

> the forced marches were the worst during the muddy period. Through malnourishment and forced labor, weakened by diseases like spotted fever and dysentery, filthy and lice-ridden, our unit must have made a heartrending impression. Grunts whom we begged for bread were shocked by our desolate state. The weakened were eventually just left to lie there. The rest—to which I belonged—were able to bring themselves to safety across the Dniester into Bessarabia in April [1944]. With our last strength we reached a Romanian village in a snowstorm, where the farmers carried us from the street into their houses in order to save us from freezing to death.[28]

Rosahl was transferred to a regular naval unit in April 1944. His account provides a vivid example of how the deployments of FStGAs often led to high casualties through sudden, often rushed withdrawals, which were exacerbated by frequent failures of motorized equipment.

Several more death sentences were carried out against prisoners from FStGA 7 in 1944. Alfred Eidam (b. March 6, 1924), who was sentenced to death for absence without leave by the court of the municipal commander in Rostov on January 14, 1944, was executed on April 25, 1944, by Municipal Commander 456 Lemberg (today L'viv, Ukraine).[29] The death sentence for desertion given to Rudolf Köhler (b. September 26, 1919) of the 5th Company of FStGA 7 by the court of Korück 593 (the headquarters for the Sixth Army rear area) on May 18, 1944, was confirmed but was later commuted to 12 years in prison.[30] Similarly, Bernhard Wilczak (b. September 5, 1922), who was sentenced to death for the same offense on March 13, 1944, by the Armed Forces Commander Berlin, had his sentence commuted to 15 years in prison.[31]

After the destruction of Army Group South by the Second and Third Ukrainian Front of the Red Army in late August 1944, FStGA 7 was virtually obliterated. Thereafter, it was officially dissolved and the remaining prisoners were transferred to FStGA 18.[32] In the search registries of the German Red Cross, 317 prisoners from FStGA 7 were registered as missing.[33] This was the second-highest count among all FStGAs.

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NOTES

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3. The conference is also mentioned in Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh,

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4. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Dr. Thoms: Bericht über meinen Besuch bei der Feldstrafgefangenen-Abt. 7, H.Qu., den 21.6.1943, BA-MZA, WF-03/7430, Bl. 412–415.

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11. Ibid., Bl. 408.

12. Günther Rosahl, *Unruhige Zeiten: Jugenderinnerungen* (Kückenshagen, 2002), p. 64.

13. Ibid., p. 65.

14. Regulation for the implementation of prison sentences and other deprivations of liberty in the Armed Forces. From December 4, 1937 (Berlin, 1940), pp. 22, 35.

15. Feldstrafgefangenenabteilung 7: Schreiben vom 21.7.1943 an die Oberfeldkommandantur 397, Abt. Ia, BAMZA, WF-03/7430, Bl. 408.

16. Rosahl, *Unruhige Zeiten*, p. 65.

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19. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1056 of the photocopied

form).

20. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1055 of the photocopied form).

21. See Ralf Buchterkirchen, *"… und wenn sie mich an die Wand stellen." Desertion, Wehrkraftzersetzung und "Kriegsverrat" von Soldaten in und aus Hannover 1933–1945* (Neustadt: Region + Geschichte, 2011), p. 104. In the short biography there, Endres is falsely indicated as a member of a (nonexistent) "Field Gendarmerie-Unit 7." It is possible that the description of his execution "by beheading" is also incorrect, since Endres was buried in Zaporozh'e, where there was no guillotine.

22. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Heinrich Ballmann.

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26. See the short biography in Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, eds., *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Militärjustiz. Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgerichte, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig, 1999), p. 157.

27. For more information on Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995) and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

28. Rosahl, *Unruhige Zeiten*, p. 65.

29. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1055 of the photocopied form).

30. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 722 of the photocopied form).

31. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1107 of the photocopied form).

32. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 74.

33. Deutsches Rotes Kreuz—Suchdienst München: Vermisstenbildliste I C-F.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 8

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 8 in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam, in Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII, on September 10, 1942.[1] Like all FStGAs, FStGA 8 was deployed to the eastern front. It was transferred to the southern sector of the front, where it was assigned to Army Group (*Heeresgruppe*) B, which had been formed from Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) in July of that year. FStGA 8 was originally deployed around Valuiki (137 kilometers [85 miles] east of Kharkiv), where defensive positions were being constructed, presumably. Additional prisoners from the front and rear area of Army Group B were transferred to FStGA 8 via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Kiew (Kiev/Kyiv) and its Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Kremenchug as well as via KWG Dubno, when a direct transfer was not possible.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were supplemented with additional instructions on October 28, based on experiences up to that point—dictated the organization and strength of the FStGAs, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in FStGA 1. Little is known about the implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 8 due to the lack of available documentation. The first of nine numbered "Named Casualty Reports" (*Namentlichen Verlustmeldungen*) claims that in the period from October 15, 1942, until March 31, 1943, at least 101 prisoners in FStGA 8 were killed, wounded, or missing.[2] Of that, the greatest number were lost as the unit withdrew from the front during the Soviet attack on Khar'kov. The leader of the 4th Company of FStGA 8 described the withdrawal of his unit:

> Early on January 19, 1943, the small city of Urasov and the airstrip located nearby were attacked by Russian tanks and cavalry. The … FStGA had very few rifles at its disposal and was therefore forced to pull back to Kubiansk, 55 kilometers [34 miles] away. Due to heavy snowfall and darkness at night, parts of the company were scattered, as the unit marched continuously from early on January 1, 1943, around 8 a.m., until around 1 p.m. on January 20 without rest. In recognition of the exceptional difficulties … prosecutions for absence without leave were suspended, even when people were absent for several weeks.[3]

In the following months, April to October 1943, FStGA 8 appears to have suffered very few losses, probably because it was deployed to a quiet area far from the front line. The conditions in FStGA 8 at this time were briefly described by the Judge Advocate for the Commander of the Rear Area of Army Group South (*Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat beim Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Süd*), Dr. Thoma. The military jurist—known as an agitator—stated on the record that, in 1943, it had "occasionally" been reported to him that a sentence in FStGA 8 was "relaxation for the prisoners, and no punishment."[4] In August and September 1943, FStGA 8 was assigned to build positions in Kiev, as indicated by the death sentence against prisoner Reinhold Heilig of the 5th Company, FStGA 8, who stated that he had been abducted from Kiev on September 24, 1943, by Soviet partisans in German uniforms.[5]

Further Soviet attacks near Kiev on November 6, 1943, forced FStGA 8 to withdraw once again. The surviving "Named Casualty Reports 2–9" record about 270 losses for the period of October 4, 1943, to July 27, 1944, many of whom were missing, rather than killed or wounded. Such records are missing for the remaining months of the war. FStGA 8 remained on the eastern front until the war's end; its final location was in Silesia with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*).[6]

There are no records indicating how many prisoners were sent to the Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*) from FStGA 8 after being deemed "incorrigible." Prisoners who were sent to the Feldstraflager would remain in the camps until the end of the war,

but their time there would not count against their sentences, which they would still be expected to serve in full after the war.[7] A Penal Camp Company (*Straflagerkompanie*) was added to FStGA 8 in the late summer of 1944, when similar companies were also added to other FStGAs.[8] There is also no information about prisoners from FStGA 8 who were sent to "front probation" with a normal combat unit or with specially formed units like Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[9]

There are only a few accounts of death sentences handed down against prisoners from FStGA 8. Alfred K. (b. July 1, 1921) was executed on March 23, 1944, in WG Anklam. He deserted from FStGA 8 during a retreat in early 1943 and eventually went into hiding in Germany.[10] The verdict was issued by the court of the Swinemünde Branch of the Coastal Commander of the Western Baltic (*Küstenbefehlshaber westliche Ostsee*) on January 31, 1944. Hans-Werner Zühlsdorf (b. February 26, 1924) was executed for desertion on July 12, 1944, at the firing range on Klepazowskstrasse in Lemberg (then also known as Lwów; today L'viv, Ukraine).[11] The verdict was handed down by the court of Higher Pioneer Leader (*Höheren Pionierführer*) 14. FStGA 8 prisoner August Wagner was executed at the shooting range at Poppenweiler in Ludwigsburg on October 28, 1944.[12] Eight days before, the court of Higher Pioneer Leader 23 had sentenced Albert H., a member of the penal camp company of FStGA 8, to death. He was charged with continually shirking duty because he was constantly noticed illegally smoking, wearing a dirty uniform, saluting sloppily, and committing other disciplinary infractions. In his case, the execution was temporarily suspended because he was transferred to work in a concentration camp.[13] Prisoners like Albert H. who had been sentenced to death were sent to "Transitionary Internment I [*Zwischenhaft* I]" in Mauthausen.[14]

Unlike Albert H., sailors Felix Buchardt Held (b. May 11, 1923), Egon Klielz, and Hermann Stockfisch (August 21, 1922), who had fled FStGA 8 together on August 14, 1944, were shortly after sent to their deaths. After the verdict was passed by the Linz Branch of the Court of the Naval Command Italy (*Zweigstelle Linz des Gerichts des Marinekommandos Italien*) on January 8, 1945, the three men were executed on the Kagran shooting

range in Vienna on February 13.[15] The case of Wilhelm Larmann shows that executions continued in FStGA 8 right up to the end of the war. A member of the penal camp company, Larmann was sentenced to death by the court of the 17th Infantry Division on April 6, 1945, for "subversion of fighting power" by feigning illness.[16] He was executed on April 10, 1945, in Schmottseiffen (today Pławna Górna, Poland). The entire 5th Company, as well as 25 men of the 1st and 20 men of the 4th Company of FStGA 8, were forced to watch the execution as a deterrent.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1973), p. 114.

2. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 1 der FStGA 8, in BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).

3. Statement of the company commander at court-martial, quoted in Andreas Wagner, *"In Anklam aber empfängt mich die Hölle …" Dokumentation zur Geschichte des Wehrmachtgefängnisses Anklam 1940–1945* (Schwerin, 2000), p. 44. See also Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina." Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 617.

4. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Dr. Thoma: Bericht über meinen Besuch bei der Feldstrafgefangenen-Abt. 7, H.Qu., den 21.6.1943, BA-MZA, WF-03/7430, Bl. 412–415. See also the entry for FStGA 7.

5. The verdict is reproduced in Hermine Wüllner, ed., *"… kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein." Todesurteile deutscher Wehrmachtsgerichte. Eine Dokumentation* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 213–220. It should be

noted that the death sentence was confirmed by the General for Special Tasks at the Army High Command, who was the responsible member of the court at the time. Execution was no longer an option, since Heilig escaped from Armed Forces Detention Center Proskurow with three other inmates on February 25–26, 1944.

6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 114.

7. See **Feldstraflager I–III**.

8. See the case of Wilhelm Larmann, for whom FStGA 6 "[requested] Feldstraflager custody on August 25, 1944, as a result of his bad leadership." On November 10, 1944, he arrived at the second (penal camp) company of FStGA 8. The verdict against Larmann is reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," pp. 179–193. For information on the penal camp companies, see **FStGAs 19** and **FStGA 21**.

9. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995). See also **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

10. This case is documented in Wagner, "*In Anklam*," pp. 44–49. See also Walmrath: "*Iustitia et disciplina*," p. 616.

11. Todesurteile-Kartei der BA-ZNS (Bl. 694 of the photocopied form).

12. WASt: Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für August Wagner. He was eventually imprisoned in WG Bruchsal.

13. See Thomas Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug: Der Umgang der Deutschen Wehrmacht mit militärgerichtlich verurteilten Soldaten," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz: Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), p. 462.

14. For information on Zwischenhaft I, see Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 232; and Hans-Peter Klausch, *Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen, in: Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

15. See Ralf Buchterkirchen, *"… und wenn sie mich an die Wand stellen," Desertion, Wehrkraftzersetzung und "Kriegsverrat" von Soldaten in und aus Hannover 1933–1945* (Neustadt: Region + Geschichte, 2011), pp. 78, 103.

16. Feldurteil des Gerichts der 17. Inf.-Division StL. 69/45 gegen Wilhelm Larmann vom 6.4.1945, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," pp. 179–193.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 9

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 9 on September 10, 1942, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] Like all FStGAs, FStGA 9 was deployed to the eastern front. It was subordinated to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), where it was temporarily placed into service with the Third Panzer Army and the 330th Infantry Division, respectively. Its service with the "Army Troop North Russia" (*Heerestruppe Nordrussland*), documented by Georg Tessin, began at the end of 1943 or beginning of 1944.[2]

When FStGA 9 arrived at Army Group Center, it was composed of a staff and five companies. Each company consisted of about 35–40 permanent staff members and about 75 prisoners. Once the unit was in service, each company received about 60 additional men who were sentenced to the FStGA in the front or rear area of Army Group Center. These prisoners were transferred from Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow when a direct transfer to FStGA 9 was not possible.[3]

The guidelines issued to the FStGAs by the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) on April 14 and 15, 1942—which were expanded on October 28, based on the experiences in the FStGAs up to that point— provide information about the staff and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and service. These guidelines are described in detail in **FStGA 1**. It appears that these guidelines were implemented with the requisite harshness in FStGA 9, as is indicated by the seven "Named Casualty Reports" (*Namentliche Verlustmeldungen*) that were issued between October 7, 1942, and March 31, 1944. In the first quarter of this

period (from October 7 to December 31, 1942), three prisoners died from "circulatory system failure" and one from "general bodily weakness," euphemisms that certainly indicate that they died from some combination of hard labor, malnutrition, and abuse. Three prisoners were shot during alleged "escape attempts" during this period, and two more were executed.[4]

In the second quarter (January 1 to March 31, 1943), one prisoner died of cachexia and another of "circulatory system failure/heart weakness." Two additional death sentences were carried out. Six other prisoners died due to "lawful use of weapons."[5] These deaths stemmed from the standing order to the guard personnel that "the staff is required to immediately use weapons at every attempt at resistance, incitement, or flight. A preceding warning shot is not required. In order to prevent escape attempts … certain areas are to be established, in which prisoners will be shot immediately without the order to halt."[6] The number of prisoners who were executed in the FStGAs and Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*) was eventually so high that Form 3705 43 2 A was printed to inform the relatives of the deceased. The form, which the guards would fill in with the prisoner's name, notified his relatives that he "has died as a result of a disciplinary measure which resulted from his own actions. Obituaries … are forbidden."[7]

"Named Casualty Report No. 3" from FStGA 9, which covered the third quarter (April 1 to June 30, 1943) counted one death from "heart weakness" and five from "lawful use of weapons."[8] In addition, two men died from a mine explosion and one fell victim to an enemy aerial attack. On May 10, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller—the General for Special Tasks at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) responsible for the FStGAs—visited the Third Panzer Army High Command (*Panzerarmeeoberkommando*, or PAOK 3). Müller wanted to see how the penal servitude of the prisoners in FStGA 9 was being carried out with the Third Panzer Army, as well as in the special "front probation units," the 550th Infantry Division and Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. During this visit, the commander of the Third Panzer Army, Generaloberst Georg-Hans Reinhardt, described the operation of FStGA 9 as "good," whereas the administration of FStGA 14, which was also under his overall

command, was "not carried out harshly enough" and the unit was "filled with too many incorrigible elements."[9]

The next "Named Casualty Report" covered the four months between July and October 1943. In this period, a prisoner died of "circulatory system failure," another was killed by partisans, and three were killed "by lawful use of weapons during flight."[10] In addition, two executions were registered. The last two months of the year were covered by "Named Casualty Reports No. 5" and "No. 6." During this period, two prisoners died from pneumonia and two from "heart failure" or "circulatory collapse." There were no shootings registered during this period, but nine prisoners were reported as "killed in action."[11] Thus, the number of prisoners who were killed as a result of "enemy action" through the end of 1943 was rather small.

Around the beginning of 1944, FStGA 9 was transferred to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), where it went into service with the I Army Corps of the Sixteenth Army. The developments there during the first quarter of 1944 are documented in "Named Casualty Report No. 7." One death was reported due to an accident, one prisoner was shot "in flight," and another was executed.[12] The significant decrease in shootings that began in November 1943 continued through March 1944. Because of the lack of sources, it is unclear whether this decrease was the result of effective deterrence because of the shootings earlier in 1943 or if efforts to ensure the working strength of the prisoners resulted in better conditions and fewer escape attempts (and, therefore, fewer shootings).

The Change Reports re: The Identity Tag Index (*Veränderungsmeldungen zum Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis*) of FStGA 9 indicate a large number of transfers within the unit. These changes may have been the result of the so-called ranked punishment, in which prisoners who demonstrated good behavior could be "promoted" within the ranks of the unit, leading to better conditions and, eventually, recommendation for "probation with the [regular] troops."[13] Conversely, there was also the potential for "demotion into lower classes for poor behavior."[14] In FStGA 9, the 5th Company was used for transfer to the Field Penal Camp, where conditions were

even worse than in the FStGA. Time spent in the Feldstraflager did not count against the prisoner's sentence, which he would be expected to serve in full at the end of the war. Thus, documents often refer to "transfer to the 5th Company for eventual transfer to a Field Penal Camp."[15] The total number of prisoners from FStGA 9 who were sent to the Field Penal Camp is unknown. It is also unclear how many prisoners were sent to "front probation" with regular combat units or special units like Probationary Unit 500.[16]

At the beginning of 1944, the Sixteenth Army formed the "promoted" prisoners from FStGAs 3, 9, and 14 into two battalions, with "about 900 total prisoners," that were given the names "Army Group Probationary Battalions III and IV"— the men promoted from FStGA 9 were sent to the latter.[17] However, by the beginning of May 1944, Battalion IV had already been dissolved, after which the men were returned to the FStGAs; it is possible that the same occurred in Battalion III. The reason for the dissolution of the battalions is unknown. In any case, at the beginning of September 1944, General Müller reaffirmed that service in the FStGAs was to be done "essentially without weapons, but under dangerous conditions" and that the prisoners were to work "basically as a construction unit, providing operational and military support under pioneer units." Only in "special cases" should "selected prisoners be temporarily armed for service in a Quick Reaction Company (*Eingreifkompanie*)."[18]

FStGA 9 had established at least one Quick Reaction Company after the dissolution of Army Group Probationary Battalion IV. The testimony of prisoner Hans Nussbaum, who was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for desertion or absence without leave (records conflict), reveals the nature of the service in the "3rd Quick Reaction Company" within FStGA 9:

> On March 7, 1944, the company carried out a counterattack in the forest near Polotsk-North. The company suffered great losses and wounded, including the company commander, as well as many missing. After the battle the absence of Nussbaum was noted. It was impossible for the company commander to establish his whereabouts as the fighting had dragged on for several hours in dense forest without a clear view. Nussbaum was recorded as missing … Nussbaum had

> the possibility to report back to the company or to another unit. Because neither has happened, it must be assumed that he has deserted.[19]

Nussbaum had, in fact, reported to another unit, where he suffered a relapse of jaundice. In the hospital, he concealed his status as a prisoner so that he would not have to return to FStGA 9. As a result, he was charged with absence without leave and forgery and was sentenced to an additional year and a half in the penitentiary.

There is no reliable information about the number of deaths in FStGA 9 between April and September 1944. In the first half of October, the unit was transferred from the eastern front to the western front (like FStGAs 3, 4, 6, 14, 15, 16, and 19), where it was assigned to build defensive works in the border area with France and Belgium against the advancing Western Allied troops. Shortly before the transfer to the west, at least two death sentences were carried out. On September 2, 1944, Heinrich Braun was shot by a firing squad in Riga, and, on September 20, Alfred Bach died in the same manner.[20]

On the western front, FStGA 9 was put into service with Army Group B in the Eifel Mountains in the Lower Rhine region.[21] Their assignment was to dig trenches and foxholes. Even at this late stage the shootings of prisoners did not end. On December 23, 1944, Herbert Schöberl (b. January 14, 1921) was shot for desertion.[22] On February 5, 1945, Fredy Paul (b. June 9, 1924) and Johann Ramsauer (b. March 23, 1926) were executed in Wolsfeld after they were convicted by a court-martial.[23] The same fate befell Wilhelm Bolz (b. March 23, 1921) on March 3, 1945, in an unknown place near Neuenahr.[24]

Somewhat more is known about the death of Ewald Giessen (b. on June 9, 1909, in Wesel), who was shot “in flight” at 8:30 p.m. on March 14, 1945, in Hilgenroth.[25] Together with other members of FStGA 9, he was housed in a barn owned by the Spriestersbach family. The following description, published by the Idstein War Cemetery, was based on their report.[26] According to the report, several prisoners had escaped from the barn to beg for food. On March 14, Giessen sneaked out of the barn with one of his comrades, either to beg for food or to escape. However, the guards

were waiting outside and shot them both. The guard who shot Giessen, who was also from Wesel, sat in the Spriestersbachs' kitchen crying, rationalizing to himself that he had to shoot Giessen since his superiors were watching him. Giessen was buried on March 15 in a corner of the Hilgenroth Cemetery away from the other graves. His comrade was sent to the hospital in Bad Schwalbach with a gunshot wound to the stomach; he died shortly after. Two days after the death of Giessen, on March 17, two additional members of FStGA 9—Wilhelm Schwarzloh (b. January 12, 1917) and Günter Voss (b. April 27, 1924)—were shot for desertion.[27]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 150.
2. Ibid.
3. BArch PA, Bd. 49901–49903.
4. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 1 der FStGA 9, BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).
5. Ibid.
6. OKH (Chef H Rüst u. BdE) Az. B 13 n 30 HR (IIIa) Nr. 2110/42 vom 7.9.1942 (10. Mob.-Sammelerlass), S. 9, BAMA, RH 14/31, Bl. 130.
7. Reproduced as "Muster 2 zu Nr. 529" in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), 364.
8. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 3 der FStGA 9, WASt, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).

9. Pz.AOK 3 KTB Ia Nr. 6, Bd. 2: 1.4. —31.5.1943, BAMA: RH 21-3/171.

10. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 4 der FStGA 9, BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).

11. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 5 der FStGA 9, BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).

12. Namentliche Verlustmeldung Nr. 7 der FStGA 9, BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 196 (FStGA 6–9).

13. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 189.

14. Ibid., Bl. 191.

15. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 9 (Bd. 49903, Mai 1944). See also **Feldstraflager I–III**. Their predecessor organizations, the Straflagerabteilungen of the Wehrmachtgefängnisse, are described, for example, in **WG Glatz**.

16. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995). See also **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

17. Obkdo. H.Gr. Nord Ia/Id Nr. 1926/44 geh. vom 19.2.1944, BA-MA, RH 20-18/770.

18. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 vom 4.9.1944 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen), BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

19. Feldstrafgefangenen-Abt. 9, 3. Kompanie, O.U., den 3.12.1944, BA-MA, C 1817 (Untersuchungsakten des Gerichts der 276. V olks-Gren.Div. gegen Hans Nussbaum).

20. BArch PA, Sammlung “Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall” (MüT), Mitteilungen für Alfred Bach und Heinrich Braun.

21. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 150.

22. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 9 (Bd. 49902, Bl. 144).

23. Ibid., Bl. 320.

24. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Wilhelm Bolz.

25. Standesamt Dickschied, Eintrag Nr. 5/1945.

26. "Giessen, Ewald," *Kriegsgraeberstätte Idstein*, at www.kriegsgraeberstaette-idstein.de/Totendaten/giessen-ewald.htm.

27. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1115 f. of the photocopied form).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 10

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 10 on April 26, 1942, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz in coordination with the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The unit was sent to the eastern front by the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH), where it was subordinate to Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*). Prisoners from this area of the front were sent to FStGA 10 during its deployment; if a direct transfer was not possible, they were sent via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Kiev.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines for the FStGAs, issued April 14 and 15, 1942—which were expanded on October 28, based on the experiences with the FStGAs up to that point—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These instructions are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**. The recommended deployment of the FStGA prisoners "in dangerous conditions, to the hardest work … in the operational area of the fighting troops"[2] was clearly implemented in FStGA 10, with severe consequences, as indicated by the 42 casualty reports for the period of January 1, 1943, until August 15, 1944.[3]

Ten casualty reports covering the period between January 1 and September 25, 1943, which refer to deployment at the Kuban bridgehead (Kuban-Brückenkopf), near Novorossiisk, indicate nearly 280 losses as a result of death or wounds, most of which were the result of "enemy action." Other deaths resulted from exhaustion or malnutrition due to the hard work the prisoners were required to perform and the insufficient rations they received.

Among the casualties for the given period, 5 court-martial executions were also listed as well as 21 prisoners who were shot by the guards "in flight" or in "selfdefense."[4] One episode highlights daily life in FStGA 10. Thomas Kryzaniak, who fled FStGA 10 in September 1943, depicted the unit as follows:

> We laid in tents in a fruit garden. The first sergeant said "eat the fruit and die!" One morning as we were receiving coffee, a comrade saw an apple lying on the ground. He bent over and picked it up. But when he saw that the apple was half-rotten he dropped it again. The first sergeant saw this. He took his pistol, cocked it, and said to the prisoner, "do you also know that I can shoot you now?" The prisoner tried to immediately answer "yes sir," but then the gunshot rang out and hit the man in the head above his nose.[5]

It is unknown whether the pointed gun was fired or if it had gone off involuntarily. The first sergeant could point to his orders "to summarily crack down … on resistance."[6] The families of prisoners who were shot while in a FStGA were sent a copy of Form 3705 43 2 A, which informed them that their relative "while a prisoner … had been shot as a disciplinary measure as a result of his own actions" and that "announcements of death or obituaries … are forbidden."[7]

To compensate for the high casualties that occurred at the Kuban bridgehead, two replacement companies were formed in WG Torgau-Fort Zinna as early as May 1943. These prisoners reached FStGA 10 on June 3, 1943.[8] FStGA 10 deployed to clear bridgeheads to the First Armored Army as of September 25, 1943, and, as of December 8, 1943, to the Eighth Army. Casualty reports 11 through 42 indicate losses of approximately 355 men for the period from September 25, 1943, until August 15, 1944. As of January 1944, there were also many listed as "missing" in these reports.

It is surprising that in this period, only nine of the shootings were reported to have been of prisoners "in flight." This pronounced decline could indicate that the conditions in FStGA 10 improved by the fall of 1943, resulting in fewer escape attempts. The possible improvement of conditions may have resulted from

the scandalous exposure of the conditions in FStGA 16, likewise deployed to the southern section of the eastern front, by Oberfeldarzt Dr. Katsch. The horrible conditions in that unit were deemed to be detrimental to productivity and military purposes. The ripples of this scandal reached the highest military positions. Katsch also mentioned in that regard a "Directive of the Army Sanitation-Inspector of July 24, 1943, concerning the monitoring of medical conditions of military prisoners in field penal facilities."[9]

There is no information indicating the number of prisoners from FStGA 10 who were deemed "incorrigible" and sent to Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*).[10] At the same time, it is also uncertain how many prisoners were sent to "front probation" as a result of good behavior, either with regular combat units or with the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[11] Two letters from the leader of the 2nd Company of FStGA 10 demonstrate the type of information that was relayed to the receiving unit when a prisoner was transferred from the FStGA. These letters concern Franz Herbert Charles de Beaulieu, who served a seven-month sentence in FStGA 10 for "subversion of fighting power" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) and insubordination. The commander's evaluation of de Beaulieu from October 13, 1943, notes that "he made every effort to cope with the demands at the building site. He is not an outspoken, snappy soldier, his performance in drilling exercises is average. He always maintained a soldierly attitude [toward] superiors. Compared to his comrades, he exhibited restraint on that day. All in all, [de Beaulieu] is the intellectual type of soldier who had a spoiled and soft upbringing. He has an open and honest disposition."[12]

Along with this letter, enclosed with the personal papers of a prisoner relocated to Reconnaissance Unit 339, was a letter on the finding in the prisoner's court-martial. The company commander highlighted the most serious aggravating circumstance: "The critical treatment of all aspects of the war and the spreading of his opinion to his colleagues poses a great danger. In this it should be especially considered that he is personally and spiritually drawn to Jewish-related circles."[13]

While there are no known death sentences under wartime

jurisdiction against members of FStGA 10 in 1943, a few accounts of such sentences in 1944 are available. Thomas Kryzaniak was beheaded on March 27, 1944, in Brandenburg-Görden Prison after he was sentenced to death by the court of the Armed Forces Command (*Wehrmachtkommandantur*), Berlin.[14] On May 23, 1944, Johannes Smolinski of the 3rd Company of FStGA 10 was executed for desertion in Lemberg (then also known as Lwów; today L'viv, Ukraine). The verdict was passed down by the court of the town commander (*Stadtkommandantur*) of Lemberg on April 3, 1944.[15] Walter Böhning (b. June 2, 1923) was executed by firing squad on August 1, 1944, in the forest north of Bahmut, in present-day Moldova.[16]

The death sentence given to Georg Rohrmüller by the court of the 106th Infantry Division on July 28, 1944, for absence without leave was confirmed by the Supreme Commander of Air Fleet 6 on September 15, 1944. However, his execution was temporarily stayed for "probation" with a work detail considered important to the war effort in the Mauthausen concentration camp (*Zwischenhaft* I).[17] Siegfried Graf's (b. April 11, 1922) death sentence for desertion by the court of Armed Forces Command, Berlin on June 28, 1944, was confirmed by Himmler on September 4, 1944, but was also stayed for service in Zwischenhaft I.[18] Graf died on April 15, 1945, in Mauthausen.

It is no coincidence that the casualty reports for FStGA 10 end on August 15, 1944. The unit was destroyed along with the German Army Group Southern Ukraine during the major Soviet offensive against the combined German-Romanian forces that began later that month. The few remaining prisoners from FStGA 10 were sent to FStGA 18.[19] They were not redeployed.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–*

1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 183.

2. OKH Chef H Rüst u. BdE, Az. B 13 n 30 HR (IIIa) Nr. 2110/42 vom 7.9.1942, S. 9, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 130.

3. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 197 (Feldstrafgef .Abt. 10).

4. The leader of the FStGA could call for courts-martial (*Standgerichte*), based on §13a of the Wartime Code of Procedure, if it were deemed necessary "for compelling military reasons." See Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv Abt. Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958), p. 199. For general information on Wehrmacht courts-martial, see Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), pp. 80–83; Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), pp. 411–415; and Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 207–215, 811.

5. Quoted in Norbert Haase, *Deutsche Deserteure* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1987), p. 27.

6. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA: WF-03/32406, Bl. 191.

7. Reproduced "Muster 2 zu Nr. 529" in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), 364.

8. Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1999), p. 100.

9. Activity report of the consulting internist to the army doctor of the Sixth Army for the third quarter of 1943, BAMA, RH 12-23/70.

10. For additional information about the Feldstraflager, see **Feldstraflager I–III** and **WG Glatz**.

11. For additional information about Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

12. 2 ./Feldstrafgefangenenabt. 10: Beurteilung des Funkers H. C. de Beaulieu vom 12.10.1943, reproduced in Eberlein, Haase, and Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland*, p. 101.

13. Letter of the company commander of the 2./FStGA 10 vom 3.9.1943.

14. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1095 of the photocopied form).

15. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1079 of the photocopied form).

16. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Walter Böhning.

17. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 151 of the photocopied form). For information on Zwischenhaft I, see Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 232; and Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

18. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1088 of the photocopied form).

19. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 105.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 11

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 11 in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II.[1] It was deployed to the eastern front with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), taking the place originally intended for FStGA 12. The unit, "about 800 men" strong, was subordinated to the LVI Army Corps at the end of November 1942.[2] Army Group Center had previously informed the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) that "the possibility of accommodating and utilizing additional penal units also exists [this] winter. The transfer of additional units, however, is only requested if a smooth and productive work deployment is guaranteed through the provision of a sufficient number of personnel—who are fully suitable as guards—with each unit."[3]

There had already been problems with the prisoners' productivity in FStGAs 2 and 5, which had both been deployed to the central section of the front. These problems were blamed on inadequate numbers and quality of guards.[4] The General for Special Tasks at the OKH who was responsible for the FStGAs, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, had indicated in his guidelines of October 28, 1942, that "few personnel suited for use as guards, who have been trained in the prisons, remain available" and that "it is therefore necessary to train qualified guards in the prison and use them to train a new generation of guards within the units [at the front]."[5]

Once it was deployed to the front, FStGA 11 received additional prisoners from WG Anklam (and presumably other WGs in Germany). Convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group Center were also incorporated into the unit at that time. If they could not be transferred directly to FStGA 11, they were collected and transferred via Wartime Armed Forces Prison

(*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow and its Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Smolensk.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by General Müller on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in more detail in **FStGA 1**. Little information concerning the specific implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 11 is available. It is known that the unit remained in the central area of the front, with its final deployment near Danzig (today Gdańsk, Poland).[6]

The Soviet liberation of occupied Belarus, which began with the launch of Operation Bagration on June 22, 1944, resulted in the destruction of Army Group Center and FStGA 11. Many men in the unit went missing on or shortly after this date. Sailor Hans M., who was 19 and who had been sentenced to a year in prison for insubordination and resistance, was reported missing at Starossalia (today Starosel'e, Brianskaia oblast', Russia) on June 23, 1944.[7] Franz K., who had been transferred to FStGA 11 from WG Anklam, had been sentenced to a year in prison for perjury. He succeeded in fleeing during troop movements on July 1, 1944.[8] The 20-year-old naval Lance Corporal S., who had received five years in prison for breaking and entering, escaped by different means. As a straggler on a march toward the rear, he joined up with a regular combat unit and then took part in a successful small-scale counterattack. As a result, his sentence was commuted to "front probation" with Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 on September 22, 1944.[9] Although FStGA 11 reported "heavy defensive actions … on the front line" in the fall of 1944, the unit did not suffer as high a casualty rate as it had in the summer, unlike other units, such as FStGAs 2 and 15.[10]

Beyond the case of Lance Corporal S., there are no available accounts to indicate how many prisoners from FStGA 11 had their sentences commuted to front probation with regular combat units or Probationary Unit 500.[11] Similarly, there is no documentation of the number of prisoners who were deemed "incorrigible" and

transferred from FStGA 11 to "custody" in a Field Penal Camp (*Feldstraflager*), where they were subjected to even worse conditions. Their time in the Field Penal Camp would not count against their sentences, which were still to be served in full at the end of the war.[12] However, at least one example indicates that prisoners from FStGA 11 were sent to the Field Penal Camp.[13]

Despite the general lack of source material, there are two examples from FStGA 11 that illustrate how the strict application of penal regulations shaped service in a FStGA. The first example concerns the connection between stays in field hospitals and the calculation of prison sentences. For prisoners in the FStGAs, treatment in a field hospital had to occur "under secure guard" and in the same section of the front or army group rear area (*Heeresgebiet*).[14] Generally, the nearest KWG was responsible for their transfer to the hospital. However, the course of the war—which led to hasty retreats, cutoff transport connections, and other problems—increasingly prevented compliance with this regulation. The case of Grenadier Heinrich Kampmann, who was sentenced to a 10-year prison term for "subversion of fighting power" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) through self-mutilation, demonstrated the difficulties these circumstances created. An officer of the 3rd Company of FStGA 11 reported Kampmann on December 23, 1944, for having stayed in an unguarded hospital for 15 days. As a result, 15 days were added to the end of his sentence, moving his release date from September 7, 1954, to September 22.[15]

The second example concerns dealings with postal transportation and censorship.[16] In October 1944, the authorities of FStGA 11 refused to give prisoner Ernst Röstel a letter from his mother, because the censor apparently found its contents objectionable. His mother had told him that of the 2,200 people in his hometown, "many from Wurzbach have fallen [in combat]." She added that "it will all be over quickly, then we will rejoice if we can celebrate the festival of peace."[17] It is unsurprising that such seemingly "defeatist" remarks did not pass the censor; in fact, it is perhaps more surprising that in the sixth year of war the letter was not destroyed or filed away but returned to Wurzbach via the *Feldpost*, stamped "returned to sender for official reasons."[18]

This strict compliance with regulations within a penal system in which permanent hunger, difficult working conditions, and frequent shootings all dominated—as well as the constant threat of the possibility of transfer to a Field Penal Camp, where conditions would be even worse—parallels the similar situation in the area of military judicial criminal proceedings. Alongside the proverbial "speedy trial," there were also excessively protracted and meticulous investigations, even when the circumstances and required sentences seemed clear from the beginning. Denunciatory formulations could also emerge in the findings of these drawn out investigations, which were similar to the verdicts pronounced in the "speedy trials." Historians detect here a "curious synthesis of authoritarian formality and Nazi-justice arbitrariness."[19] The compliance with formal standards can be understood as more than the result of "Prussian thoroughness." A persistent "judicial" and "procedural certainty," alongside the terror in certain spheres, was deemed necessary and appropriate for guaranteeing the functionality of the whole system of "educational," penal, and probationary units of the Wehrmacht.

The adherence to legal formalities facilitated the rehabilitation of offenders who still appeared to have the potential to be useful soldiers. The strict adherence to codified procedural regulations simultaneously promoted the extensive, frictionless participation of men who came from the more traditional judicial service of the Weimar Republic and did not agree with all aspects of Nazi ideology, goals, or methods. They could cling onto this legal window dressing and block out the terror that loomed behind the facade. Those who were deemed "enemies of the Volk" or "Wehrmacht" and permanently unsuitable for military service were threatened with "eradication" through transfer to a Field Penal Camp or regular concentration camp or simply through execution.

Evidence concerning the exact number of prisoners from FStGA 11 who were sentenced to death and executed is limited. Heinrich Ackmann—who had been sentenced to death for collaborative desertion by the court of the Higher Pioneer Leader (*Höherer Pioneerführer*) 18 on November 13, 1943—could not be executed despite the confirmation of his death sentence on December 5, 1943, because he had still not been captured.[20]

Walter Bunge and Paul Abramsohn of the fourth company of FStGA 11, both of whom had also been sentenced to death, avoided execution because they escaped during a Soviet offensive in the summer of 1944, while being transported from KWG Minsk to Molodechno, where their sentences were to be carried out.[21] Helmut Ströll (or Ströhl) was executed by firing squad for "subversion of fighting power" on September 2, 1944, having been sentenced to death by the court of Field Command (*Feldkommandantur*) 186 on August 8, 1944.[22] Richard Behnke, another member of FStGA 11, was executed on October 8, 1944.[23] On October 19, 1944, Karl Leiterholt (b. October 18, 1922) was shot by a firing squad at Spandau Prison in Berlin. His sentence, for desertion, had been handed down by the court of Armed Forces High Command Berlin (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber Berlin*).[24]

On December 8, 1944, the commander of the Third Panzer Army, Generaloberst Erhard Raus, stayed the execution of two other members of the 1st Company of FStGA 11, Horst Broschinski and Heinz Hermsdorf, who had been sentenced to death for desertion.[25] The verdict had been pronounced by the court of the XXVI Army Corps on November 30, 1944. By that time, it appeared advisable (due to the drastic losses of personnel) to decrease the number of executions to a minimum, only carrying out those deemed necessary for effective deterrence. Those who were spared execution were to be utilized in armaments production or "front probation." It is unknown whether Broschinski and Hermsdorf were sent to work deployment considered important to the war in the Mauthausen concentration camp (*Zwischenhaft* I)[26] or to "special probation"[27] in combat. The men were threatened with "death in installments" as the military sought to maximize the exploitation of "human material."

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen*

Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3 (Osnabrück, Biblio, 1974), p. 214.

2. Telex AOK 4 Abt. Ia an LVI. Pz.K. vom 12.11.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/25743, Bl. 129.

3. Ibid.

4. For similar examples, see the entries for FStGAs 3 and 4.

5. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

6. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 214.

7. See the report from the 3rd Company of FStGA 11 from September 29, 1944, reproduced in Andreas Wagner, *"In Anklam aber empfängt mich die Hölle…" Dokumentation zur Geschichte des Wehrmachtgefängnisses Anklam 1940–1945* (Schwerin: Politische Memoriale, 2000), p. 25.

8. See Maria Fritsche, "Die militärgerichtliche Verfolgung von Fälschungsdelikten in der Deutschen Wehrmacht," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz: Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Perlentaucher, 2003), p. 315.

9. See Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina." Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 245.

10. See report of FStGA 11 of August 13, 1944, contained in a court document (BArch PA, 36611), quoted in Walmrath, "*Iustitia et disciplina*," p. 250.

11. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

12. For additional information, see **Feldstraflager I–III**.

13. See Walmrath, "*Iustitia et disciplina*," p. 246.

14. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

15. See Hermine Wüllner, ed., *"… kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein." Todesurteile deutscher Wehrmachtsgerichte: Eine Dokumentation* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 221.

16. Although prisoners in the WGs could receive a letter every two weeks and send a letter every three weeks, the FStGA prisoners could only receive one letter and send one letter every six weeks. In both cases, "all incoming and outgoing mail is liable for inspection by superiors." Later, FStGA prisoners were allowed to send and receive mail "only in urgent family, business, and judicial matters." See OKW 54 e le Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str. II Str. 1397/42 vom 15.4.1942, BArch PA, Sammlung WR.

17. Quoted in Rainer Lütgens, "Wehrmachtgefängnis und Feldstrafgefangenenabteilungen—Feldpost aus dem Strafvollzug der Wehrmacht," *Rundbrief des Deutschen Altbriefsammler-Vereins* 487 (September 2010): 171. Feldpost forms for WGs Anklam and Germersheim as well as FStGA 11, which show the respective post and visitation policies, are reproduced in ibid., pp. 172–174.

18. See Lütgens, "Wehrmachtgefängnis und Feldstrafgefangenenabteilungen," p. 177.

19. Ulrich Baumann and Magnus Koch, "'… kommt es auf Einzelheiten insoweit auch nicht an.' Drei Fallstudien in zeitgenössischer und erinnerungspolitischer Perspektive," in *"Was damals Recht war …" Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht*, ed. Ulrich Baumann und Magnus Koch, in association with the Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas (Berlin-Brandenburg: Bebra, 2008), p. 52.

20. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 690, 695 of the photocopied form).

21. See Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 127.

22. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 726 of the photocopied form).

23. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Richard Behnke.

24. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1096 of the photocopied form).

25. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 37 of the photocopied form).

26. For information on Zwischenhaft I, see Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 232; and Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

27. After the period of "special probation," which consisted of deployment to Probationary Unit 500 (or, from the summer of 1944, SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger) on the front for a maximum of three months, it would be decided whether the prisoner was to be executed or transferred for an additional period of "front probation." See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 85, 261; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), pp. 125–129; and Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 233.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 12

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 12 on November 1, 1942, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] The unit was deployed to the eastern front with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*). Convicts from the nearby area—including Army Groups A, B, Don, North Ukraine, and South Ukraine—initially came to FStGA 12 primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno, if a direct transfer was not possible. Other prisoners came from KWGs Kiew (Kiev), Makejewka (Makeevka), and Odessa after the establishment of those prisons. Like other FStGAs, FStGA 12 received additional transports of replacement prisoners from WGs in Germany as needed.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**. Along with FStGA 16, FStGA 12 was subordinated for a long period of time to the newly re-created Sixth Army. The recommended utilization of the FStGA prisoners "for the hardest labor in the most dangerous conditions … in the area of the fighting troops"[2] was not applied as brutally in FStGA 12 as it was in FStGA 16. The difference in conditions between the two units is demonstrated by the report of Oberfeldarzt Dr. Katsch, who inspected FStGA 12 on August 14, 1943, while it was located in Sambek, near Taganrog. He noted "only limited severe malnourishment" and recorded that "the collective state of the unit

makes a far better impression than FStGA 16."[3] In his quarterly report for the period from July to September 1943, the doctor returned to his inspection of FStGA 12. He conceded that he had seen "very emaciated figures and people underweight" but concluded that "altogether the nourishment and public health conditions, by the standards which are suitable for a FStGA … are not objectionable."[4]

At roughly the same time, prisoners Hans Dublizyk, Harry König, Waldemar Mühlhausen, and Alfred Leisten remarked on the conditions of internment in FStGA 12 from an entirely different perspective. In late August or September 1943, the four prisoners allowed themselves to be taken prisoner by the Soviets. Their captors gave them the opportunity to appeal to their comrades who stayed behind with a leaflet (*Flugblatt*). The leaflet, dated September 19, 1943, bore the heading, "Soldiers of FStGA 12! Read this letter from Russian imprisonment."[5] In the name of the four German prisoners, various incidents from FStGA 12 were recalled: "You have surely not forgotten how in July of this year, as we were at Sambek, the boss of the second company, Hauptmann Merkel, gunned down the soldier Gerlach only because he couldn't work anymore due to his physical weakness. Was that just?" The families of prisoners who were shot in the circumstances described in the leaflet were notified with Form 3705 43 2 A. This form, which was filled in with the name of the prisoner, noted that the deceased, "as a prisoner has … been shot as a disciplinary measure brought about by his own actions…. Announcements of death and obituaries … are forbidden."[6]

The four escaped convicts also discussed the calisthenics the prisoners were required to perform in addition to their work as well as the "house punishment" of decreased rations already practiced in the WGs: "Still today, you rail on the leader of the first company, Hauptmann Aschmudat, who often punishes you with exercises in blazing heat with full packs. There, with raised pistol, he threatens to shoot everyone who, completely exhausted, can no longer keep up. Was this just? Do you still remember how the leader of the fourth company, Oberleutnant Mayer, again and again decreased our daily rations if we could not live up to the work standards? Is this somehow just? No, and again no!"

The leaflet concluded with the invitation to voluntarily surrender

to the Soviets in order to hasten the end of the war. This call was particularly directed toward FStGA 12 prisoners, who were referred to by name in the leaflet: "Comrades! Convince yourself whether it is worth it to save your life. Germany can no longer hold out in the war. But before the war is over, many Germans will perish…. The end of the war will come about more quickly if more soldiers lay down their arms…. Right now, while the German Army is in retreat, you all have the possibility to give yourself up as prisoners."

Retreats certainly offered better possibilities for fleeing across the line than guarded work deployments. However, the prisoners who surrendered to the Soviets did not find themselves "far from every danger," as was described in the leaflet. Their bodies, weakened by their time in the FStGA, were not able to hold up in the difficult conditions in the Soviet prisoner of war camps. It appears that none of the four prisoners who ostensibly authored the leaflet ever returned to Germany. Two of them appeared in the list of missing soldiers of the Tracing Service of the Red Cross. Alfred Leisten was listed as missing without a location as of September 1944, and the corresponding entry for Waldemar Mühlhausen read only "Soviet Union 9/43."[7]

Apart from the pursuit of "concepts of punishment and deterrence," FStGA 12 also aimed to employ "concepts of reform and education" for field prisoners with good conduct, the so-called climbers, who were eventually to be sent back to service with normal combat units. These men could be "in emergency … under the leadership of the unit staff" called up for "repelling enemy attacks" or "for smaller operations."[8] FStGA 12 appears to have been quite successful in this area. At any rate, Oberfeldarzt Dr. Katsch recorded in his report of August 14, 1943, that "two companies were deployed at the front line with weapons."[9]

On August 20, 1943, just six days after the quoted entry, the only recorded execution of a member of FStGA 12 took place. The victim, Rudi Bortscheller (b. May 12, 1923), was executed by firing squad in Nikolaev (today Mykolaïv, Ukraine).[10] It is certain that additional prisoners from FStGA 12 were executed during the course of its deployment; however, due to a fragmented and poorly preserved documentary record, it is impossible to determine specific information about further executions. Similar issues

prevent the determination of how many prisoners from FStGA 12 were sent to the Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*) where they were subjected to still harsher conditions of internment. Their time in the Field Penal Camp would not count against their sentence, which they were still expected to serve in full at the end of the war.[11] There is also no documentation of the transfer of prisoners who exhibited good behavior to "front probation" with regular combat units or the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[12] FStGA 12 remained in the southern sector of the front until the end of the war. After numerous withdrawals, the unit ended up in the area of Budapest. While Georg Tessin states that FStGA 12 was destroyed in Budapest, the report of a former prisoner suggests a different fate.[13] Hans Joachim H., a religious opponent of the Nazi regime, was sentenced to four-and-a-half years in prison by the court of the 192nd Division in Prague on January 12, 1945, for absence without leave, and transferred to the prison company of FStGA 12.[14] His testimony from March 8, 1948, states that "in the area of deployment, the Danube marshes, I came down with malaria. Despite frequent bouts of illness, I had to participate in the whole retreat through Hungary and Austria. In May 1945, we were freed through the sudden breakthrough of the Americans in the Steiermark (Styria). With that the saddest period of my life was over."[15]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3:* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 250.

2. OKH Chef H Rüst u. BdE, Az. B 13 n 30 HR (IIIa) Nr. 2110/42 vom 7.9.1942, S. 9, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 130.

3. Oberfeldarzt Prof. Dr. Katsch, [Dienst-]Tagebuch August

1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

4. The consultant internist with Armeearzt 6, Erfahrungsbericht 3. Quartal 1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

5. The leaflet is quoted and partially reproduced in Hans-Peter Klausch, "'Man lässt Euch schuften wie die Tiere.' Die Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen (FGA) im Spiegel des Flugblatts," *Informationen. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift des Studienkreises Deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945*, 34, no. 68 (2009): 15.

6. Reproduced as "Muster 2 zu Nr. 529" in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), 364.

7. Suchdienst des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes München, Vermisstenbildliste CF 259 und CF 260.

8. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MZA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

9. Oberfeldarzt Prof. Dr. Katsch, [Dienst-]Tagebuch August 1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

10. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Rudi Bortscheller.

11. For more information, see **Feldstraflager I–III**.

12. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

13. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 250.

14. For the creation of prison companies in FStGAs beginning in the late summer of 1944, see **FStGA 21**.

15. Testimony of Hans Joachim H. from March 8, 1948, reproduced in Jörg Kammler, *Ich habe die Metzelei satt und*

laufe über … Kasseler Soldaten zwischen Verweigerung und Widerstand (1939–1945): Eine Dokumentation, 2nd ed. (Fuldabrück: Hesse, 1985), p. 56. A testimony from another prisoner from FStGA 12 can be found in ibid., p. 134.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 13

The Wehrmacht probably formed FStGA 13 on January 5, 1943, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland) through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The unit was subsequently deployed to Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*) on the eastern front, where it was subordinate to the Second Army in 1944 and 1945. Convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group Center were transferred to FStGA 13 primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ) and its Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Smolensk.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in FStGA 1. For many FStGAs, including FStGA 13, there is little documentation or research on the application of these guidelines. Specific information is only available for the last months of 1944 and early months of 1945.

A letter from FStGA 13 dated January 5, 1945, reveals how the instructions for "deployment to the hardest labor under the most perilous conditions possible … in the deployment area of the fighting troops" were implemented in the unit.[2] However, the document also illustrates how "ideas of reform and education" were applied, in addition to the "ideas of atonement and deterrence." "Reform and education" were practiced in the case of prisoners who, "having been recognized through good conduct and work performance," would show themselves "in deployment on

the front as an ordinary and bold soldier." These prisoners would receive a "recommendation for probationary deployment" along with a suspension of their original sentence.[3] The January 1945 letter deals with the case of Albert Dröge, who had attempted to withdraw himself from deployment on the front through falsification of documents, for which he was given a two-year prison sentence in September 1944. FStGA 13 requested that Dröge, who had been a member of the Nazi Party, receive a "suspension of sentence under assignment to the 560th Infantry Battalion z.b.V." For the grounds of this transfer, unit leadership wrote:

> [Dröge] was transferred on November 1, 1944 to incarceration with the unit and has belonged to the first (deployment) company since then. He has proved himself to be useful and reliable in office and field work. He regrets his crime earnestly and has sought, with success, to make amends for it. Despite his somewhat physically weak predisposition, he has always exhibited a laudable zeal [for work]. He showed himself to be a soldier especially conscious of his duty during a nightly work deployment, which was quite casualty-heavy for his company, at the front line in December 1944. He is suitable for [service with] the regular troops again.[4]

The request was granted and Dröge was transferred with the 560th Infantry Battalion z.b.V. This unit was one of the field battalions of Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. For most of 1944, the standing order was that "the probationary teams [were] … always to be transferred to the 500th Infantry Replacement Battalion, currently in Skierniewice in the Generalgouvernement. From there they [were] transferred to the field battalion."[5] In order to guarantee the quickest possible deployment to the front, prisoners sent to "front probation" apparently bypassed FStGA 13 and were assigned directly to the 560th Infantry Battalion z.b.V., which was also deployed to the central sector of the front. By October 17, 1944, 149 former prisoners from FStGA 13 had arrived in the 560th Infantry Battalion z.b.V. They were spread out among the five companies of the probationary battalion.[6] Many of

them were reported missing in the casualty-heavy fighting in the last six months of the war, among them Dröge.[7]

There is no information as to how many prisoners in FStGA 13 were deemed "incorrigible" and transferred to the Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*), where they faced even harsher conditions. Their time in the Field Penal Camps would not count against their sentence, which they were still expected to serve in full after the end of the war.[8] There are a small number of records of death sentences handed down against prisoners from FStGA 13 by courts-martial. Prisoner Karl Behnke was executed in Briansk on July 5, 1943. A death sentence against Michael Haas was carried out on February 1, 1944, in WG Glatz.[9] Fritz Hallermöller was beheaded three days later in Köln-Klingelpütz prison.[10] The court of the 526th Division in Wuppertal had convicted Hallermöller of desertion on December 20, 1943. Joachim Bauer (b. May 6, 1924) and Werner Böhland (b. December 8, 1920) were executed by a firing squad on March 7, 1944, in Pinsk.[11] Bauer had been convicted of desertion, and it is possible that Böhland had faced the same charge.

A large number of prisoners from FStGA 13 were sentenced to death in late 1944 and early 1945. The court of Higher Pioneer Leader (*Höherer Pionierführer*) 10 sentenced 13 members of the unit to death in the five weeks from November 30, 1944, until January 3, 1945—mostly for desertion.[12] All of the sentences were confirmed by the commander of the Second Army (as the presiding judge) between December 6, 1944, and January 9, 1945. The first three death sentences were carried out on December 21, 1944, and on January 4, 1945, in Schröttersburg (today Płock, Poland). Information about the remaining 10 sentences is unavailable, possibly as a result of the Soviet Weichsel-Oder Offensive, which commenced on January 12, 1945. Comparing FStGA 13 with other units, such as FStGAs 4 and 6, shows that 13 death sentences in little more than a month was an unusually high figure.[13]

While the execution machinery was in operation in FStGA 13, another member of the unit, Walter Jamroszyk (b. September 5, 1921), awaited a decision on his fate back in Germany. The court of the 526th Division had sentenced him to death on two counts of desertion. However, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, as

commander of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) and presiding judge in his case, granted him "special probation" with SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger, which functioned as a probation unit within the Waffen-SS. The grounds for this pardon, as recorded in the confirming decree of March 7, 1945, read: "The [Reichsführer-SS] has stayed the implementation of the death sentence only with the expectation that this would be an incentive to the convicted to prove himself worthy of a future pardon through exceptional readiness for action, good conduct, and fortitude."[14] Prisoners sentenced to special probation would serve a maximum of three months, after which it would be determined whether their death sentence would be carried out or they would be sentenced to further front probation.[15] Whether Jamroszyk ever went through this procedure is unknown.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück, Biblio, 1974), p. 278.

2. OKW 54 e le Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H/Str. II Str. 1397/42 vom 15.4.1942, BArch PA, Sammlung WR.

3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 189, 192.

4. Letter of Field Penal Unit 13 to the court of Höheren Pionierführers 10 from January 5, 1945, BA-MA, Gericht der Division Nr. 409, Nr. 54. In der "1. (Einsatz-)Kompanie" wurden offenbar jene Strafgefangene zusammengefaßt, die wegen guter Führung zu den "Aufgestiegenen" zählten. Sie sollten "im Notfall […] unter Führung des Stammpersonals mit der Waffe zur Abwehr feindlicher Angriffe, unter Umständen auch zu kleineren Unternehmungen eingesetzt

werden können." (OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/ Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.).

5. OKH Ch H Rüst u. BdE 54 e 10 Strafv. i. Kr.—Trupp.Abt. (Str II) Str 2499/42 vom 29.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/33, Bl. 5.

6. The transport of replacements is documented in the Veränderungsmeldungen zum Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis for Inf. Btl. 560 z.b.V. (BArch PA, Bd. 84376–84380).

7. For more information on Probationary Unit 500, see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), pp. 291–296.

8. For additional information, see **Feldstraflager I–III**.

9. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilungen für Karl Behnke und Michael Haase.

10. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 454 of the photocopied form). For additional information, see **WG Anklam**.

11. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilungen für Joachim Bauer und Werner Böhland.

12. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 691–694 of the photocopied form).

13. For additional information, see **FStGA 4** and **FStGA 6.** These were the units with the highest known numbers of executions.

14. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 457 of the photocopied form).

15. See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 85, 261; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthausund Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen,

1993), pp. 125–129; and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 233.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 14

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 14 on January 5, 1943, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II.[1] The unit was deployed to the eastern front with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), where it was subordinate to the Third Armored Army. Its subordination to Army Group North Russia (*Heeresgruppe Nordrussland*), attested by Georg Tessin, took place in late 1943.[2] While FStGA 14 was stationed in the central sector of the front, it received convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group Center, primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefangnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ) and its Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Smolensk, if a direct transfer was not possible. After it was transferred to Army Group North Russia, prisoners were sent via KWG Wilna (Vilnius) and its Reception Center in Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia).

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in the entry for **FStGA 1**. There is only fragmented documentation concerning the implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 14. According to testimony by Joachim T.—who had been assigned to FStGA 14 since its creation in WG Anklam and served part of his one-year prison sentence in the unit through September 1943—FStGA 14 followed the instruction that the prisoners were to be utilized "in the area of the fighting

troops," for "the hardest work possible."[3] This work included tasks such as "felling trees, constructing bunkers and digging [anti-]tank ditches," during which Joachim T. and his comrades had sometimes "come under fire." Each man had a quota of 6 meters (almost 20 feet) of trench to be dug each day or 1 meter (3.3 feet) of antitank ditch. Joachim T. noted that "it was not allowed to go home before the work was completed." When Joachim T. was sent to the "front probation" with Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500, in the summer of 1943, he had to report to the unit's infirmary on arrival because of edema in his legs due to malnutrition and hard labor in FStGA 14. Nonetheless, he thought that the conditions in FStGA 14, considering the situation of the war, were "humane," noting that his immediate superior in the unit was "an Oberfeldwebel, a former estate manager, a very decent man who had never harassed the men."[4]

Schütze Ernst Grzik (b. June 21, 1920) had less luck with his superiors. A message from FStGA 14 states that his death near Semenkovo on February 23, 1943, occurred when he was "shot through justified use of weapons for continued insubordination."[5] Grzik was not detained and presented for court-martial but was instead summarily executed. His family received a copy of Form 3705 43 2 A, informing them of his death. The form notified the recipient that the deceased "as a prisoner has … been shot as a disciplinary measure as a result of his own actions…. Announcements of death and obituaries … are forbidden."[6]

Despite this incident, FStGA 14, similar to FStGA 7, seems to have been less brutal than other FStGAs. This assessment is corroborated by the statement of Joachim T., as well as a report from the commander of the Third Armored Army, Generaloberst Georg-Hans Reinhardt, on May 10, 1943. General der Artillerie Müller arrived that day in order "to obtain an immediate impression of the implementation of Armed Forces imprisonment" by inspecting FStGA 14. Reinhardt criticized the regime in FStGA 14 as "not conducted harshly enough."[7]

In the course of his discussion with Müller, Reinhardt expressed concern that FStGA 14 "was pervaded with too many incorrigible elements."[8] However, no documentation exists to indicate how many prisoners in FStGA 14 were deemed "incorrigible" and sent to Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*), where they would face

even more difficult conditions. The time spent in the Field Penal Camp would not count against their sentences, which they were still expected to serve in full at the end of the war.[9] It is also unclear how many prisoners were sent to "front probation" with a regular combat unit or—as in the case of Joachim T.—to Probationary Unit 500.[10]

It is certain that early in the deployment of FStGA 14, an "armed platoon" was formed from prisoners who were promoted for good behavior, the so-called climbers. Joachim T., who belonged to this formation, reported that it was released "completely equipped"[11] with rifles and ammunition. General Müller ordered that "in emergency, prisoners"— particularly the "climbers"—"with the leadership of the staff are also to be deployed with arms for repelling enemy attacks, [as well as] for smaller operations under certain circumstances."[12] After the unit was transferred to Army Troop North Russia in October 1943, members of FStGA 14, along with men from FStGA 3, formed "Army Group-Probationary-Battalion III"[13] on February 3, 1944. However, this new formation—like "Army Group-Probationary-Battalion IV," formed from members of FStGA 9—was apparently dissolved at the beginning of May 1944.[14] A combat deployment of FStGA 14 mentioned by Walmrath on April 7, 1944—in which at least one prisoner was killed—could have referred to Army Group-Probationary-Battalion III.[15] In the summer of 1944, FStGA 14 added a Quick Reaction Company, in which prisoner Heinz Brathering was mortally wounded on July 15, 1944.[16]

Most of the few known death sentences handed down against prisoners from FStGA 14 came from its period of deployment near Polotsk in 1944. A sailor, who was being considered for "front probation," was sentenced to death for desertion on March 11, 1944, by the court of Army Field Command (*Heeresfeldkommandantur*) 749 in Polotsk. The execution took place on March 31.[17] The same court also sentenced Willy Bauer (b. November 3, 1922) to death for desertion on April 14, 1944.[18] The commander of the Sixteenth Army confirmed the sentence on April 25, though it is unclear if or when it was carried out. Another prisoner was apparently court-martialed and shot for desertion near Polotsk a short time later, although accurate information on this case is lacking.[19]

FStGA 14 was one of the eight FStGAs transferred to the western front in October 1944 to build a defensive position against the advancing Western Allied troops in the border area with France and Belgium. Shortly before the unit was redeployed, on October 4, another death sentence was carried out in Riga on the shooting range at the Kreuzkirchenkaserne. The court of the Wehrmacht Local Commander (*Wehrmacht Ortskommandantur*) Riga had sentenced the executed prisoner, Max Rauer (b. July 28, 1918), to death for desertion on September 21.[20] An additional death sentence given by the same court to Heinz Bärkefeld on September 5, for desertion, was confirmed on September 25; however, his sentence was later commuted to 12 years' imprisonment.[21]

FStGA 14's final deployment in the west was with Army Group G, under the command of the Nineteenth Army in the Upper Rhine region.[22] The last of the executions of a member of FStGA 14 occurred there. Hubert Stengel (b. March 30, 1921), of the 5th Company of FStGA 14, was executed by firing squad on March 21, 1945 after a field court-martial for the 106th Infantry Division had sentenced him to death for desertion.[23] His grave is located in the military cemetery at Bühlertal-Oberbühlertal.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 3: Die Landstreitkräfte 6-14* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 308.

2. Ibid.

3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.

4. Author's interview with Joachim T. of June 25, 1992,

subsequently cited as "Bericht Joachim T." The grounds for his sentence were based on a petty crime. To improve the rations, he and his comrades had stolen some sacks of potatoes.

5. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Ernst Grzik.

6. Reproduced as "Muster 2 zu Nr. 529" in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), 364.

7. KTB P z.AOK 3 Abt. Ia vom 10.5.1943, BA-MA, RH 21-3/171.

8. KTB P z.AOK 3 Abt. Ia vom 10.5.1943, BA-MA, RH 21-3/171.

9. For more information, see **Feldstraflager I–III**.

10. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995).

11. Bericht Joachim T.

12. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

13. Obkdo. H.Gr. Nord Ia/Id Nr. 1926/44 geh. vom 19.2.1944, BA-MA, RH 20-18/770.

14. For additional information, see **FStGA 3** and **FStGA 9**.

15. See Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina." Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 251.

16. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Heinz Brathering.

17. See Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina,"* p. 210.

18. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 976 of the photocopied form).

19. See David Forster, "Die militärgerichtliche Verfolgung von Eigentumsdelikten in der Deutschen Wehrmacht," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz. Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Perlentaucher, 2003), p. 335. The leader of the FStGA could refer to §13a of the Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung Standgerichte if it appeared to be relevant "for compelling military reasons." See also Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2: Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958), p. 199; Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Bundesarchiv Abt. Zentralnachweisstelle, 2012), pp. 80–83; Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), pp. 411–415; and Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 207–215, 811.

20. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1074 of the photocopied form).

21. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1062 of the photocopied form).

22. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 308.

23. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 152 of the photocopied form).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 15

The Wehrmacht formed FStGA 15 in early January 1943 in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] It was subsequently deployed to the eastern front with Army Group Center, where it was utilized primarily by the Fourth Army but occasionally also by the Ninth Army. Convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group Center were transferred to FStGA 15 via primarily Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ), if a direct transfer was not possible. Reserve Replacement Battalion (*Landesschützen-Ersatz-Bataillon*) 12 in Mainz served as the reserve pool for the guard personnel of the unit.[2]

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by General der Artillerie Eugen Müller, the general for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**. Comparatively few sources are available for determining the precise implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 15. As in the other FStGAs, the men were to be sent "to the hardest work … under especially unfavorable and dangerous conditions."[3] These conditions resulted in deaths soon after the initial deployment of the unit to the front. The causes of death listed in the casualty reports of FStGA 15 from early 1943 reflect the hard labor and insufficient nutrition the prisoners received. Among the recorded causes of death were "indulgence in self-procured spoiled meat (crow)," "circulatory debilitation by

general state of exhaustion," "acute heart debilitation," "circulatory debilitation as a result of dysentery," and "severe state of exhaustion."[4]

Along with the punishment and deterrence brought about through the conditions in the unit—which were to be "deliberately worse [than those experienced by] the front fighters"—FStGA 15 was also responsible for preparing suitable prisoners within the unit for armed combat. This program of selecting prisoners with good conduct, the so-called climbers, was in pursuit of "notions of reform and education." These men were to be called up primarily "in emergency … under the leadership of the [FStGA] staff" for "repelling enemy attacks" or "for smaller operations."[5] A letter from FStGA 15, in which 13 climbers were reported missing, illustrates the nature of their employment: "On August 1, 1943, a probationary company was formed within FStGA 15 by order of the commander of the 268th Infantry Division, Generalleutnant Greiner. The same was formed in the combat group of the 286th ID and was deployed on August 6, 1943 southwest of Viaz'ma."[6]

It is unknown how many prisoners from FStGA 15 were granted a suspension of their sentence for "front probation" with a normal combat unit or a battalion of the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 after a deployment in this "probationary company" (or its predecessors).[7] It is also unknown how many prisoners of FStGA 15 were deemed to be "incorrigible" and selected for "transfer into a (Field) Penal Camp [*Feldstraflager*]," [8] where conditions were even harsher than in the FStGA. Their time in the Field Penal Camp would not count against their sentence, which they would still be required to serve in full after the end of the war.[9]

The case of one such prisoner, Josef Kerner, is relatively well documented. Before being conscripted in the army, Kerner was "sentenced to four months [in] prison per [charge] by civil court for refusal to work and for theft." As a soldier, the unskilled laborer was sentenced for desertion three times: once to 18 months in prison, once to 6 weeks in close arrest, and then again on April 1, 1943 (along with military larceny) to 3 years in prison. The last punishment was served with FStGA 15, where he was seen as having a "baseless, weak, and dishonorable character," as a "shirker without the will to fight," and as a "lazy, unwilling, and

yellow soldier." His "cleanliness and order" was "denoted with dirtiness and his whole conduct was assessed as insufficient."[10] In January 1944, Kerner delayed being treated for frostbite in order to allow his condition to become serious enough to require referral to a field hospital, which he succeeded in doing.

After 10 days of treatment in a field hospital in Borisov, which was presumably a section of KWG Borissow, Kerner returned to FStGA 15 on February 2, 1944. On January 31, 1944, a report had already been filed against him, suggesting his frostbite had been self-inflicted. On February 7, he received seven days' close arrest because he had "gone absent without leave from his work post and placed himself in a Russian house." At the same time, custody in a penal camp was applied to him in the form that had been threatened in a written warning. On March 14, he received another seven days of strict custody, this time because he "relieved himself on his bivouac and wet a fellow prisoner lying underneath him."[11] Another seven days strict custody followed on March 30, because Kerner delayed treatment for louse-eczema and, because of which, "the sickness [had] worsened." On that day the unit requested the command of the field penal camp custody with the 260th Infantry Division because Kerner would have represented "a great danger to the discipline of the troops."[12] Before that matter could be decided, first came the court-martial proceedings for the alleged self-mutilation in connection with his frostbite.

The field court martial of the 260th Infantry Division declared the 23-year-old guilty and sentenced him to death for "subversion of fighting power (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*)—self-mutilation." The reasoning for this was that "the act … is capable of undermining and impairing the discipline and the deployment abilities of a FStGA to a great extent. Additionally, the … tactic used is very simple and, as is currently shown in the present case, capable of 'catching on.'" In fact, several other prisoners had done the same. The report continued: "The protection of the decent German soldier, who puts at stake and sacrifices his life, requires a ruthless crackdown. Therefore, it is to be recognized on [issuing] the death sentence—which the court is persuaded in favor of—that elements like the defendant [would be], even after a successful conclusion to the war, only a burden."[13]

The defense attorney assigned to Kerner applied for a clemency

and commutation to a prison sentence. He protested that Kerner's work ability "was not impaired by the frostbite for long," and, as a result, "at the present time deployment to such necessary work [is] not prevented."[14] Though the death sentence from the commander of the 260th Infantry Division was approved and the plea for clemency was rejected, the commander of the Fourth Army recommended a commutation of the sentence and a retrial for "shirking," a less serious offense than self-mutilation.

The case was retried by the court of Festen Platz Borissow (Field Command 516). Their verdict of June 6, 1944 read: "The self-mutilation that was brought about intentionally or through deterioration of frostbite symptoms is a nuisance. This phenomenon can now be regularly observed in the FSt-GAs and is not easy to combat, since intent … is in many cases difficult to prove. On this it appears to be necessary to crack down on the clearly-established cases in order to head off the further expansion of this abuse."[15] The court deemed a five-year prison sentence to be adequate punishment for Kerner.

A second judicial review by the Fourth Army, which had authority over the matter, agreed with the recommendation of the court. However, the commander of the Fourth Army overrode the second verdict as well on June 23, 1944, and sentenced Kerner to three weeks of close arrest. This decision led to disputes between FStGA 15, the courts of the 260th Infantry Division, and Festen Platz Borissow on one side and AOK 4 and its judicial reviewers on the other. Though these controversies were based on differing legal evaluations of the factual findings, the lenient outcome had not presumably been influenced by acute labor requirements of the Fourth Army—to which Kerner's attorney had alluded in his plea for clemency. It is unknown whether Kerner knew about the commander's decision in his case. Similarly, little is known about the decision regarding his internment in a Field Penal Camp.

By the summer of 1943, increased losses due to "aerial bomb fragments" and "mortar fragments" were registered in FStGA 15, which indicated a deployment near the front.[16] The heavy casualties that Georg Tessin records in 1944[17] occurred after the last surviving casualty records (July 2, 1944) during the "withdrawal of the middle section" of the front in the face of the Soviet offensive in Belarus (Operation Bagration).[18] With more

than 300 prisoners missing in the area of the front between Vitebsk, Mogilev, and Minsk, FStGA 15 had the third-highest number of missing prisoners of all FSt-GAs recorded in the Tracing Service of the German Red Cross.[19]

The collapse of Army Group Center created the opportunity for some of the members of FStGA 15 to escape and survive—including Karl Holzapfel and Josef Kerner. At that time, they were among 10 internees of KWG Minsk, for whom the former court of Field Command 516 in Borissow searched with special importance: "The criminal proceedings of the local court hung over these prisoners. It consistently concerned difficult cases, to a large part final death sentences."[20] Yet, the outcome of the investigations indicated that prisoners from "Minsk military prison, on the transport from Minsk to Molodechno, [had] been attacked by the Russians. The internees are scattered."[21]

After the heavy losses in the middle section of the eastern front, the remnants of FStGA 15 were transferred rearward for "renewal" in WG Germersheim. From there, the unit wrote on September 28, 1944, to the Armed Forces Information Office in Berlin: "After renewal of essential personnel, the department submits new dog tag directories for the staff and the first through fifth companies. The dog tag directories to this point went totally missing through enemy activity and thus could not be completed."[22] It is possible that this loss of records is the reason that few death sentences from FStGA 15 during this period are known.

Luftwaffe soldiers Gerhard Becker (b. May 29, 1920), Heinrich Reitz (b. November 23, 1921), and Hans Nansen (b. January 26, 1923) were sentenced to death for cooperative desertion from the 3rd Company of FStGA 15 by the court of Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) XXVII in Smolensk on June 28, 1943. The execution took place on November 19, in WG Torgau-Fort Zinna.[23] Aloys Berghoff (b. June 9, 1921) was beheaded on March 17, 1944, in Posen (today Poznań, Poland) after he was sentenced to death by the court of the Armed Forces Commander (*Wehrmachtkommandantur*) Posen.[24] Johann Podmoranski was executed on April 18 (or possibly 28), 1944, in Borissow after the court of the 299th Infantry Division sentenced him to death.[25] Horst Salewski (b. May 6, 1920), of the 1st Company of FStGA 15, was sentenced to death by the court of the navy

(*Kriegsmarine*) in Berlin and executed by guillotine in Brandenburg-Görden Prison on May 22, 1944.[26]

FStGA 15 was among the eight FStGAs transferred to the western front in September and October 1944. It was deployed in the border region with France and Belgium to build positions against the advancing Western Allied troops. The deployment area for FStGA 15 was initially the area around La Bresse in the Vosges, where the unit was subordinated to Army Group G. That region soon became a focal point for fighting in the west. As a result, both battalions of Probationary Unit 500 that were deployed in the west as well as Grenadier Battalions 291 and 292 z.b.V. were thrust into combat there.[27] In January 1945, six prisoners of FStGA 15 in that area of deployment allegedly succeeded in fleeing the unit.[28] Near the end of the war, FStGA 15—as well as FStGAs 14 and 19—was deployed with the Nineteenth Army in the Upper Rhine region.

SOURCES See Source, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 18.
2. BArch PA, Namentliche Verlustmeldungen FStGA 14–19.
3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 190.
4. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 157 (FStGA 15).
5. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.
6. Feldstrafgefangenenabteilung 15—Bewährungs-kompanie: Namentliche Verlustmeldung über Mannschaften o.D., WASt,

Namentliche Verlustmeldungen FStGA 14–19.

7. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995) and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

8. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

9. See **Feldstraflager I–III** and **WG Glatz**.

10. Feldkriegsgericht der 260. Inf.Div. St.L.Nr. 159/44 vom 11.4.1944, reproduced in Hermine Wüllner, ed., "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein." Todesurteile deutscher Wehrmachtsgerichte. Eine Dokumentation* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 114–116.

11. For similar incidents, see **FStGA 17**.

12. Sorré, Oberleutnant u. Kp. Fhr., Stellungnahme vom 27.4.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 120.

13. Feldkriegsgericht der 260. Inf.Div. St.L.Nr. 159/44 vom 11.4.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," pp. 114–116.

14. Heeresjustizinspektor d.R. Albrecht, Gnadengesuch vom 11.4.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 116.

15. Field verdict of the court of Fester Platz Borissow (F.K. 516) Nr. 95/1944 vom 6.6.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," pp. 121–123.

16. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 157 (FStGA 15).

17. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 18.

18. BArch PA, Verlustmeldungen Nr. 157 (FStGA 15).

19. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 18.

20. Court of Field Command 516 St.L. Nr. 52/44 u.a., O.U., den 4.10.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 127. According to this record, a prisoner from FStGAs 2 and 5, and prisoners from FStGA 11 were also among the 10.

21. Abwicklungs- und Betreuungsstab, Sachgebiet: Sicherungstruppen und Splittergruppe, vom 27.9.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 127.

22. BArch PA, Bd. 49913 (Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 15).

23. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Gerhard Becker, Heinrich Reitz und Hans Hansen.

24. WASt, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Aloys Berghoff. For information on executions of court-martialed prisoners by beheading, see **WG Anklam**.

25. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 250 of the photocopied form).

26. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1276 of the photocopied form).

27. See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 281–291.

28. See Thomas Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug: Der Umgang der Deutschen Wehrmacht mit militärgerichtlich verurteilten Soldaten," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz. Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Perlentauscher, 2003), p. 457.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 16

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 16 in March 1943 in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The unit deployed to the eastern front for service with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*), where it was subordinated to the Sixth Army. Additional convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group South were transferred to FStGA 16; in cases where direct transfers were not possible, the prisoners were usually sent via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) Kiev.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**.

Hauptmann Friedrich Böttger was responsible for the implementation of these guidelines in FStGA 16 as well as the unit's deployment and leadership. Böttger was transferred from Infantry Replacement Battalion 10 in Dresden to WG Torgau-Fort Zinna in the middle of 1941, when he still held the rank of Oberleutnant, so that he could be familiarized with the Wehrmacht corrections system. In the fall of 1941, he took over a company of the offshoot Armed Forces Prisoner Unit (*Wehrmachtgefangenen-Abteilung*, WGA) Wolfen, which, due to its location (Lager Marie über Bitterfeld), was also designated

WGA Bitterfeld. In the summer of 1942, Böttger took over leadership of FStGA 16 and remained in command until it was dissolved at the end of the war.[2] Böttger (who had by then been promoted to Hauptmann) was transferred to WG Glatz to form FStGA 16. After the war, in regard to the deployment of the unit with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*), Böttger stated: "I was deployed with this unit as its leader in April 1943 to dig trenches behind the front, ca. 150 kilometers [93 miles] east of Stalino [today Donets'k, Ukraine]. Several months later we were withdrawn and the unit was deployed temporarily at the bridgehead in Nikopol'."[3]

The report of Fritz D. discusses the detail of these deployments in the southern section of the eastern front. Fritz D. traveled with Hauptmann Böttger from Glatz to Stalino. Fritz D., who was sentenced to two years in prison for absence without leave, wrote about that time: "We had to bury corpses there, clear mines, build tank ditches and so on. My strength was nearly out, I was in pain, I was malnourished. If you could not accomplish the intended work, you were hit and didn't get the watery soup." Fritz. D. was eventually transferred into KWG Dubno with a transport of "malnourished and sick [prisoners]." He stayed there for "recovery," meaning the restoration of work strength. However, Fritz D. was soon sent to the front again: "It didn't take long before I collapsed. I was struck with a rifle butt, and I couldn't recover my breath."[4] He was diagnosed with open pulmonary tuberculosis and had to remain in the care of a field hospital (*Lazarett*) until well after the end of the war.

The disastrous consequences of the combination of insufficient rations, long and hard labor, and harassment by the staff were reflected in the reports of the consulting internist with Armeearzt 6, Oberfeldarzt Dr. Katsch. He first encountered members of FStGA 16 on July 9, 1943, in KWG Makejewka (Makeevka) and noted: "52 men from Field Penal Unit 16 have arrived who were pulled out of the Div.-Arzt [i.e., the Third Mountain Division] as no longer fit for deployment. Of these, 51 are most severely malnourished. Yesterday the Standortarzt sent 14 directly to field hospital 776 because they to some extent could no longer remain on their feet or displayed severe hunger edema. The rest of the prisoners [of FStGA 16] are quite miserable, some underweight by

up to 20 kilograms [44 pounds]."[5]

On July 14, 1943, Dr. Katsch traveled to FStGA 16, located in Lotikovo (today Lotykove, Ukraine), to carry out a "study of the health, work, and nutritional conditions" of the unit "on special orders" of commander of the Sixth Army. "Some 30 percent" of the prisoners were in a "catastrophic state of malnourishment."[6] Dr. Katsch gave the commander a report two days later. This report ordered a continuation of the study. Katsch returned to FStGA 16 on July 23, this time accompanied by Armeerichter Kowarzik and Hauptmann Löhrmann of the OKW. The following day, Katsch and the Armeerichter met with the Pioneer Leader (*Pionierführer*) of the "Mieth Group," under whose command FStGA 16 was deployed at the time.

In his activity report for the period of July to October 1943, Katsch wrote of FStGA 16 that "three cases of death have occurred. Numerous cases of hunger edema, even more numerous cases of extreme exhaustion with dried, exfoliated skin, shaggy hair, underweight by up to 20 kg. Festering wounds from work accidents or gunshots healed very poorly, which was apparently for the majority of the cases wrongly attributed to prisoners manipulating their wounds."

Katsch described the vicious cycle that resulted from the treatment of the prisoners: "Psychological reactions were pronounced with some of the severely malnourished: a dull apathy from which they did not report their sickness, on the one hand, and indifference to orders or lack of cleanliness in dress and in physical posture on the other. Here they incurred particularly unfavorable judgments and special punishments (partially through food deprivation), through which they descended into a hopeless cycle of harm."[7] For some, this "cycle of harm" led directly to death by exhaustion; others undertook futile escape attempts or simply quit obeying orders. In both cases, a death sentence often resulted, or the prisoner was shot "as a disciplinary measure resulting from his own actions,"[8] as it was called on the form used to notify next of kin.

In the above-cited postwar statement by the former leader of FStGA 16, Hauptmann Böttger, there are no hints as to the catastrophic internment conditions in the unit. In regard to other

events, it merely says that "as a result of the quick advance of the Red Army, in which the unit was without weapons, we experienced great material—and through enemy activity also human—losses. Therefore, I submitted to the Generalkommando, Corrections Division [*Abteilung Strafvollzug*] a new formation of the unit. The new formation was approved and was to be prepared in the homeland."[9]

As a result of Böttger's statement, the "majority of the personnel and all the prisoners" were divided among the other FStGAs in the southern section of the front. The "rest of the personnel" returned around May 1944 to WG Glatz to carry out the reorganization of FStGA 16, which was to begin in August 1944 in Rokitnitz, in the Sudetenland (today Rokytnice v Orlických horách, Czech Republic). After the reorganization was completed, Böttger surrendered leadership of the unit because his appeal for release from the penal system, which, in his words, he "no longer felt physically up to," was granted.[10] It is possible that Dr. Katsch's suggestion that "procedures be taken" against the commander of FStGA 16 was based on his previous report.[11] However, Katsch's suggestion had little effect on Böttger or his career. He found further military employment and retained the rank of Hauptmann. In the last days of the war, he commanded Reserve Battalion (*Landesschützenbataillon*) 4.

The newly reformed FStGA 16 was spared redeployment on the eastern front. Instead, it was among the eight FStGAs transferred to the western front in the fall of 1944. FStGA 16 was deployed with the First Airborne Army in the Lower Rhine region. Between December 1944 and February 1945, six death sentences for desertion, handed down by the court of the Generalkommando of the LXXXVI Army Corps, were confirmed. These sentences were carried out in Walbeck, near the Dutch border.[12] In January 1945, the same court issued three other death sentences, which, in two cases, were commuted to lengthy prison sentences. In the other case, the convicted was given over to the Gestapo for work deployment in a concentration camp.[13] In the case of a fourth death sentence, handed down in February 1945 for subversion of fighting power (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*), the prisoner was still awaiting a decision on his appeal for clemency. Finally, another death sentence, on March 24, 1945, was handed down by the field

court of the Airborne Army Troops against Gerhard Klimek, for desertion. The sentence, although it was confirmed on April 26, was commuted to "special probation."[14] Though there are some fragmented records of prisoners from FStGA 16 who were sentenced to death, there are no records of how many prisoners were deemed "incorrigible" and transferred to Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*),[15] or how many were sent to "front probation" with a regular combat unit or the specially created Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 as a result of good behavior.[16]

More than three years after the end of the war, a former military prisoner named Paul G. accidentally encountered the former leader of FStGA 16, Hauptmann Böttger—whom he recognized from his time in WGA Wolfen—at a company party in Dresden. Due to the mistreatment he had suffered there, Paul G. went to the police. In the course of the trial, the issue of death sentences carried out during Böttger's tenure in FStGA 16 was raised. The verdict against him stated that the court had heard "the accounts of about 18 internees sentenced by court-martial to death by firing squad. This court-martial was the responsibility of the officer of the camp, and therefore also of the defendant. [Böttger] twice participated in the execution of these sentences. The condemned had attempted to flee. The other prisoners were required to witness the executions to show them what would happen to them if they were also to attempt to flee."[17]

The term "court-martial" may have been used in error. The leaders of FStGAs were authorized to call for courtmartials under §13a of the Wartime Penal Process Regulation (*Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung*), if it seemed to be necessary "for imperative military reasons."[18] However, it is questionable whether the 18 death sentences mentioned here were all handed down by a court-martial. As a rule, proper military courts were supposed to be available for such proceedings. The court of the 79th Infantry Division, which at the time represented the "Combat Command of the Bridgehead at Nikopol'," sentenced four members of FStGA 16 to death for desertion in December 1943. In one case, the execution was commuted to probation, while two other convicts, Herbert Scholz and Franz Morgen, were executed on December 29. The fourth verdict was confirmed on January 16, 1944, by the court martial, though it is unknown whether the

sentence was actually carried out.[19]

There are no accounts of death sentences issued to prisoners from FStGA prior to December 1943. Böttger stated in the course of interrogations that he could only remember two executions. However, six additional death sentences against members of FStGA 16 were entered in January 1944 alone.[20] At least two of these death sentences handed down by the court of the Local Commander (*Ortskommandantur*) 456 (formerly located in Rostov but by then located in Lemberg; then also known as Lwów; today L'viv, Ukraine). Both of these sentences were carried out: Rudolf Naake was executed on April 25, 1944, and Reinhold Bardischefsky was shot by a firing squad in Lemberg on May 22.

Böttger was sentenced to eight years in prison on March 5, 1949, for "an infraction of Control Council Directive No. 38, Paragraph II, Article II, No. 8 in concomitance with a crime against humanity," by the Landgericht Dresden.[21]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 44.

2. For additional information, see **WG Donau**.

3. Vernehmung von Friedrich Böttger durch das Kriminalamt Dresden vom 9.7.1948, BArch, KZuHafta Torgau, Bd. 1.

4. Testimony of Fritz D. vom 3.7.1946, reproduced in Jörg Kammler, *Ich habe die Metzelei satt und laufe über … Kasseler Soldaten zwischen Verweigerung und Widerstand (1939–1945): Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Fuldabrück: Hesse, 1985), p. 33.

5. Oberfeldarzt Prof. Dr. Katsch, [Dienst-]Tagebuch Juli 1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

6. Ibid.

7. Activity report of the consulting internist with the Armeearzt of the Sixth Army for the third quarter of 1943, BAMA, RH 12-23/70.

8. Printed as "Muster 2 zu Nr. 529" in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), 364. Relatives of the deceased were instructed by this form that "death notices or obituaries" were forbidden.

9. Interrogation of Friedrich Böttger by Kriminalamt Dresden of July 9, 1948, BArch, KZuHafta Torgau, Bd. 1.

10. Ibid.

11. Activity report of the consulting internist with the Armeearzt of the Sixth Army for the third quarter of 1943, BAMA, RH 12-23/70.

12. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 46–48 und Bl. 1186 of the photocopied form).

13. For the option, as of June 1944, to temporarily commute the execution of a death sentence to "probation" with a work deployment considered important to the war in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp, see Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 232; Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

14. Prisoners whose sentences were temporarily stayed for "special probation" were deployed to the front for a maximum of three months with the Probationary Unit 500—or from the late summer of 1944, with the SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger—after which it was decided whether the death

sentence was to be carried out or the prisoner's sentence would be commuted to "front probation." See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), pp. 85, 261; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), pp. 125–129; and Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 233.

15. For additional information, see **Feldstraflager I–III** and WG Glatz.

16. See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500* and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

17. Verdict of the Landgericht Dresden of March 5, 1949, against Friedrich Böttger, in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, ed. C. F. Rüter, vol. 9 (Amsterdam, 2007), p. 267.

18. See Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster, 1958), p. 199; Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, pp. 80–83; Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), pp. 411–415; and Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 207– 215, 811.

19. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 132 and 134 of the photocopied form).

20. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1055, 1057, and 1079 of the photocopied form).

21. Verdict of the Landgericht Dresden of March 5, 1949, against Friedrich Böttger, in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, p. 265.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 17

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 17 on March 20, 1943, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Anklam through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II.[1] The Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) deployed the unit to the eastern front with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*). Convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group South were transferred to FStGA 17; if they could not be sent directly to the unit, they were transferred primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) Kiev.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the OKH on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, and the prisoners' treatment and deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**.

A report written by Karl Baumgardt indicates that these guidelines were implemented in an especially harsh manner in FStGA 17. Baumgardt, whose death sentence for desertion was commuted to a prison sentence, was among the first prisoners who were sent from Anklam with FStGA 17 to Sukha Kam'ianka, near Izium in the Donbass region. He recalled that, while the unit was deployed there, "we mostly had to dig trenches, lay out barbed-wire barriers, clear mines, and haul wounded out of the forward area, for long periods of time and in dangerous areas." It is likely that recovering soldiers' corpses was the primary task, because his report continues: "Occasionally I only had an arm, the thigh, and

sometimes only the head of a grunt in my tent tarp."[2] As for the FStGA's own losses, he writes: "Many of us [were killed] in the mine clearing teams."[3]

The guards frequently got drunk and vented their rage on the prisoners. Baumgardt remembered that "if we hadn't excavated enough of the fire trench in front, then they flailed on us with a rifle butt. A couple times my legs got really swollen from rifle butt hits."[4] The prisoners were often unable to complete their work due to exhaustion and insufficient food rations. Baumgardt recalled that the prisoners were badly malnourished, leading them to resort to desperate means: "At the front they occasionally court-martialed and shot some [prisoners] for stealing bread. We were definitely hungry…. Sometimes I hungrily grabbed bread from the pockets of Russians or our [dead] soldiers who had been lying there, bloated, for several days. It literally tasted like corpses. We chowed down on it."[5] As a result, the prisoners were frequently affected by diarrheal diseases. While the field prisoners deployed in the north operated in fiercely cold weather, torturous thirst was common in the southern section of the front. Baumgardt reported that he had not only "shaved and washed"[6] with his own urine but also drunk it. As the Red Army conducted an offensive in the south in the late summer of 1943, Baumgardt was able to escape from FStGA 17 and allowed himself to be taken prisoner by the Soviets.

During that offensive, FStGA 17 withdrew to Krivoi Rog (today Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine). There, it received the order to create a second reception center. Aviator Werner Klein (b. May 5, 1920), who had arrived in a replacement transport from WG Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland) to FStGA 17 on December 8, 1943, took part in this operation. According to the statements Klein made in an interrogation on May 2, 1944, the workday amounted to around nine hours (not including the time it took to distribute and collect work implements and march to and from the work site), with a half-hour lunch break. Afterward, some prisoners were forced to exercise "a half hour in full pack" while wearing gas masks as punishment for various infractions. Such infractions included a prisoner picking up "cigarette butts or pieces of bread off the ground on the march out or in"[7] or missing an article of clothing or equipment in the weekly roll call—even if it had been stolen. For most prisoners, however, the workday ended around 4:00 p.m.

This work period was presumably due to the early sunset in winter. Klein also experienced the same torturous hunger and appalling living conditions that Baumgardt reported.

As a general precept, the military corrections system sought "the easiest, most frugal lodging in solitary or collective imprisonment."[8] Collective imprisonment was particularly sought during field imprisonment. FStGA 17 came across a collective farm (*kolkhoz*) around the beginning of 1944 that was secured by barbed wire and posts. Klein's company was locked in a stable. He indicated that he "could [only] wash once a day," done after working "in a pond 300 meters [984 feet] away from the lodging." Due to the "insufficient personal hygiene," he and other prisoners eventually reached a "moral and physical low," which led to the spread of vermin—which brought the "appearance of infectious diseases amongst the prisoners." With this, "the greater part of the prisoners [refrained from] reporting a sickness" out of fear because, in the event that the unit doctor wrote that the internee was not sick, they ran the risk "of being punished with tougher internment" conditions by the company commander,[9] which meant an additional decrease to their already hunger-inducing rations.

The combination of hunger, sickness, and poor hygiene culminated in disgusting lodging conditions. Werner Klein stated:

> At 6 p.m. was inspection by the officer on duty, and after he left the billets were closed. At 8 p.m. was a communal visit to the latrine and following that was lights out. To relieve ourselves in the middle of the night we used a sawed-through gas tank, but it was not big enough to accommodate the needs of all the prisoners. And so nearly every night this tank overflowed and the urine spilled on the ground, spreading an unpleasant smell. For want of sufficient rations and out of hunger bordering on madness, we all ate whatever was in reach, regardless of whether it was corncobs, red turnips, or potato peelings. In doing so we all got worse diarrhea, which … was particularly problematic in the middle of the night. Since it was forbidden to use the urinal—that is, the gas tank—during the night for solid waste, and since we also feared more punishment, many of the prisoners were so weak-willed that they relieved themselves in underwear, tissues, or a shirt

and then threw it away.[10]

Despite the horrible conditions, Baumgardt gave a positive description of the relations among the prisoners in 1943: "We did not give each other any trouble. The camaraderie was good. We were in agreement: we wanted nothing to do with Hitler."[11] By contrast, Klein reported of a progressive demoralization of the prisoners, including "scuffles" during ration distribution and "cases of theft among comrades." These thefts "increased from day to day" and included bread as well as pieces of clothing and equipment. To escape these conditions, he fled the unit along with Aviator Willi Lehwalder (b. June 6, 1915) on February 12, 1944. Both were recaptured later that month and were sentenced to death for desertion on June 8, 1944. At the end of 1944, both were imprisoned in WG Anklam. It is unknown whether their death sentences were carried out.

The counterintelligence (*Abwehr*) daily report of the Sixth Army of July 15, 1944, recorded two other escape attempts: "In the area of Sserpeni [today Şerpeni, Moldova], two members of FStGA 17 escaped on July 13. There is suspicion that they defected."[12] FStGA 17 was wiped out in August 1944 during a major Soviet offensive (the Jassy-Kishinev Offensive) that destroyed Army Group South Ukraine.[13] The unit was not reformed. The German Red Cross lists 360 men missing from FStGA 17, the highest number of missing reported from any FStGA.[14]

Aside from those handed down against Werner Klein and Willi Lehwalder, only three other death sentences are known to have been given to members of FStGA 17. On January 5, 1944, Eugen Hoffmann was sentenced to death for desertion by the court of the Local Command (*Standortkommandantur*) in Rostov. The sentence was carried out on May 26.[15] Four days prior, on May 22, Fritz Keller was beheaded in Brandenburg-Görden Prison after he was sentenced to death on April 6 by the court of the Kriegsmarine in Berlin for subversion of fighting power (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*).[16] Josef Weidenkopf (b. October 6, 1922) was sentenced to death for desertion by the court of the 320th Infantry Division on July 19, 1944. Although his sentence was confirmed on September 30, it was later commuted to a 10-year

prison sentence.[17]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

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NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 72.

2. Report of Karl Baumann (pseudonym for Karl Baumgardt), cited in Norbert Haase, *Deutsche Deserteure* (West Berlin: Rotbuch, 1987), p. 102.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Wehrmachtgefängnis Gla[t]z, Vernehmung des Fliegers Werner Klein vom 2.5.1944, reproduced in Hermine Wüllner, ed., *"… kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein." Todesurteile deutscher Wehrmachtsgerichte. Eine Dokumentation* (Nomos: Baden-Baden, 1997), p. 233.

8. Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.

9. Wehrmachtgefängnis Gla[t]z, Vernehmung des Fliegers Werner Klein vom 2.5.1944, reproduced in Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 233.

10. Wüllner, "… *kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein*," p. 234.

11. Report of Karl Baumann (pseudonym for Karl Baumgardt), cited in Haase, *Deutsche Deserteure*, p. 102.

12. Ic-Tagesmeldung der 6. Armee vom 15.7.1944, BAMA, RH 20-6/698, Bl. 58.

13. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 72.

14. Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, Suchdienst München, Vermisstenbildliste I C-F.

15. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1055 of the photocopied form).

16. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 1276 of the photocopied form). Military death sentences had been carried out by beheading in Berlin in great numbers since the beginning of the war and against members of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) from the spring of 1943 to the fall of 1944. For additional information, see **WG Anklam**, **WG Bruchsal**, and **FStGA 1**.

17. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 255 of the photocopied form).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 18

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 18 in early 1943 (probably in March) in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) XII.[1] The Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) deployed the unit to the eastern front with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*). Convicts from the front and rear areas of Army Group South were transferred to FStGA 17; if they could not be sent directly to the unit, they were transferred primarily via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Dubno and its subordinate Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) Kiev.

The Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines of April 14 and 15, 1942— which were expanded by the General for Special Tasks responsible for the FStGAs at the OKH on October 28, based on the initial experiences with the FStGAs—dictated the organization and strength of the unit, the selection of the prisoners, their treatment, and their deployment. These guidelines are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**.

The OKW order of April 15, 1942, stated that FStGA prisoners were to work 10 hours a day, even on Sundays and holidays. However, on May 2, 1943, the XXXXII Army Corps, to which FStGA 18 was subordinate, decided that the prisoners would be allowed 24 work-free hours per week, in which the men were to be "educated and cared for."[2] Nonetheless, the prisoners were quickly deployed (in the OKW's words) "to the hardest labor, under the most perilous circumstances … possible in the deployment area of the fighting troops."[3] The implementation of this order is indicated by a casualty report from July 25, 1943. That day, prisoner Josef Meier was shot by a guard "in a disciplinary action resulting from

his own behavior," as the notification form sent to the prisoner's next of kin read. The location of Meier's death was reported only as "at the front line (location unknown)."[4]

By that time, court-martial executions were already being carried out in FStGA 18. Fritz Liebisch (b. September 28, 1918) and Max Schwabl (b. May 29, 1921) of the 2nd Company of FStGA 18 were executed for desertion in the village of Zarozhnoe, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Kharkiv, on July 22, 1943.[5] The next day, Otto Behringer (b. December 8, 1922), Robert Löhrengel (b. July 8, 1921), Willi Sarg (b. July 19, 1921), and Robert Schäffauer (b. January 20, 1922) were executed by firing squad for the same offense.[6] All of these death sentences were handed down by the court of the 39th Infantry Division—to which FStGA had been subordinated in July 1943—which was at that time engaged with the Red Army along a static front east of Kharkiv.

FStGA 18 withdrew westward in response to the Soviet offensive around Kharkiv in August 1943. During the withdrawal, on September 18, 1943, two members of the unit— Waldemar Knappe (b. June 1, 1921) and Paul Knott (b. November 21, 1919) —were executed for desertion at KWG Dubno.[7] These verdicts were also issued by the court of the 39th Infantry Division. Another escapee managed to get all the way back to Germany before he was recaptured. He was beheaded in Vienna on October 8, 1943, after being sentenced to death by the court of the 39th Infantry Division.[8] The records of the court also included a 10th death sentence for a member of FStGA 18 during the period from July 15 to October 15, 1943, which was commuted to 12 years in prison.[9]

The (presumably complete) list of 10 known death sentences (9 carried out) during this period offers a point of comparison with a "normal" military unit, revealing the extent of the judicial terror within the FStGAs. For example, the 253rd Infantry Division—which was sent to the eastern front after the campaign in France, serving there from June 1941 to May 1945—kept quite thorough records of its death sentences. Despite the fact that the 253rd Infantry Division had more than 10 times more men than FStGA 18, it only passed 14 death sentences in all of 1943, only 8 of which were carried out.[10]

FStGA 18's subordination to the 39th Infantry Division ended when the latter was dissolved in the fall of 1943. In the first half of 1944, FStGA 18 was subordinate to different divisions of the Sixth and Eighth Armies along the southern section of the front. The deployment locations of the unit for this period can be reconstructed from the death sentences issued during this period. The surviving court documents indicate that the retreat movements of FStGA 18 took it from Kirovohrad (today Kropyvnyts'kyi, Ukraine) across the Bug River in the direction of Tiraspol, then to Kishinev (today Chişinău, Moldova), and finally to Iaşi (German: Jassy), in Romania.

On January 31, 1944, the court of the 282nd Infantry Division sentenced the prisoner Franz Schmied (b. April 15, 1915) to death for absence without leave. This verdict, confirmed by the commander of the Eighth Army on February 20, was later commuted to 12 years in prison. However, Albert Grabowski (b. July 2, 1924) sentenced to death for desertion by the same court on May 6, 1944, was not so fortunate. The verdict was subsequently confirmed by the commander of the Sixth Army on May 22, and Grabowski was executed on May 30, in Kishinev. The commander also declined to extend clemency to Willi Grzegoreck (b. May 20, 1923), who was sentenced to death for desertion by the same court on June 15, 1944. He was executed on July 7, in Kishinev.[11] Erich Hawlick was sentenced to death on June 2, 1944, for desertion and looting by the court of the 79th Infantry Division. Following confirmation by the commander of the Eighth Army, the execution took place on June 22.[12]

The court of the 376th Infantry Division handed down death sentences against Ernst Dörfler and Matthias Gassner for absence without leave on June 5, 1944. However, their sentences were commuted to probation by the commander of Army Group Wöhler (formerly part of the Eighth Army).[13] The same court sentenced Walter Kubis of the 1st Company FStGA 18 to death for desertion on August 9, 1944. Unlike Dörfler and Gassner, Kubis's sentence was confirmed by the commander of the 376th Infantry Division and carried out on the same day.[14] It is unclear whether the death sentence handed down against Willi Kampschulte by the court of the 376th Infantry Division for subversion of fighting power on August 9, 1944, was carried out.[15] Another member of FStGA 18,

19-year-old Horst Henze was beheaded on June 19, 1944, in Brandenburg-Görden Prison. He had been sentenced to death by the court of the Armed Forces Command (*Wehrmachtkommandantur*) Berlin for desertion and other offenses on May 5, 1944.[16]

FStGA 18 sustained heavy losses in the summer of 1944 as a result of the Soviet offensive that began on August 20, 1944 (the Jassy-Kishinev Offensive), which destroyed Army Group South Ukraine. The majority of the 262 prisoners from FStGA 18 who were recorded missing by the German Red Cross went missing in eastern Romania, in locations including Iaşi, Bârlad, and others.[17] Unlike FStGAs 7 and 10, which were in the same area, FStGA 18 was not completely destroyed; it absorbed the remaining prisoners from those units.[18]

After the destruction of Army Group South Ukraine, FStGA 18 was once again subordinated to Army Group South. During this period, Georg Ermentraut joined the unit. His 10-year prison sentence for desertion was commuted to a 10-year jail sentence. According to his words, the internees of FStGA 18 were treated like "the scum of the earth on bread and water" and sent to construct defensive positions, where they were "pushed back and forth across the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border."[19]

Additional death sentences were recorded in this last period of FStGA 18's existence. Anton Boos (b. October 1, 1921) was shot on December 11, 1944, on the Deuthen parade ground, after he was sentenced to death for desertion by the court of the 461st Division, Zweigstelle Allenstein. Richard Stemmle (or Stemmler), 22 years old, met the same fate in Ulm on March 21, 1945, after he was convicted of desertion by the 465th Division.[20]

In the deployment area of FStGA 18, Richard Storch was sentenced to death on December 1, 1944, by the court of the commander of Army Area Hungary (*Befehlshaber im Heeresgebiet Ungarn*) for "cowardice before the enemy." In his case, the execution was stayed and he was transferred "to Gestapo Vienna."[21] This phrase referred euphemistically to his transfer to Transitional Custody (*Zwischenhaft*) I—war-related forced labor in the Mauthausen concentration camp. This unit, established by the Luftwaffe on June 1, 1944, and taken over by the army six

weeks later, was intended to preserve valuable manpower, especially those who were skilled in technical jobs.[22]

FStGA 18 operated until the end of the war and continued its assignment of transferring potentially useful soldiers back to the front. Georg Ermentraut was deployed for four months digging trenches at the front and was sent to a four-week operational assignment with Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 at Olmütz (today Olomouc, Czech Republic). Ermentraut, serving with the last remaining troops of Probationary Unit 500, was involved in the final skirmishes of the war at Olmütz between May 6 and May 8, 1945.[23] Information is not available about the final days of FStGA 18's operation.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), pp. 44, 72, 105; and Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1982), p. 80.

2. Gen.Kdo. XXXXII. A.K. vom 2.5.1943.

3. OKH Chef H Rüst u. BdE, Az. B 13 n 30 HR (IIIa) Nr. 2110/42 vom 7.9.1942, S. 9, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 130.

4. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Josef Meier.

5. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 102 of the photocopied

form).

6. Ibid., Bl. 101–103 of the photocopied form.

7. Ibid., Bl. 102 of the photocopied form.

8. Ibid., B1. 101 of the photocopied form.

9. Ibid.

10. See Christoph Rass, *"Menschenmaterial": Deutsche Soldaten an der Ostfront. Innenansichten einer Infanteriedivision 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), pp. 294– 299, 445. In the period from September 1939 until February 1945, a total of 42 death sentences (25 of which were in reserve troop sections) were given to members of the 253rd Infantry Division. Of these, 18 were executed. Seven executions were from the front troops, while the other 11 were from the reserves.

11. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 241 of the photocopied form).

12. Ibid., Bl. 131 of the photocopied form.

13. Ibid., B1. 275 of the photocopied form.

14. Ibid., Bl. 276 of the photocopied form. The location of execution was apparently Vulpeşti, northwest of Kishinev, in present-day Moldova.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid. Court-martial death sentences had been issued in Berlin since the beginning of the war and in the Replacement Army from the spring of 1943 and the fall of 1944, most of which were carried out by beheading. For additional information, see **WG Anklam**, **WG Bruchsal**, and **FStGA 1**.

17. Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, Suchdienst München, Vermisstenbildliste I C-F.

18. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, pp. 74, 105, 183.

19. Report of Georg Ermentraut, cited in "'Sie haben etwas

gutzumachen.' Ein Tatsachenbericht vom Einsatz der Strafsoldaten, 13. Fortsetzung" *Der Spiegel* 18 (May 1, 1951).

20. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 436 of the photocopied form).

21. Ibid., Bl. 491 of the photocopied form.

22. See Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 232; and Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 86.

23. See "'Sie haben etwas gutzumachen'"; and Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 19

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 19 in April 1943 by the conversion of Field Penal Camp (*Feldstraflager*) III—which had been created by Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) IV in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Torgau-Fort Zinna on August 1, 1942—into a FStGA.[1] Prior to this conversion, the 237 remaining prisoners in Feldstraflager III had been transferred to Feldstraflager I. The decision to convert this unit was the result of the increasingly dire shortage of manpower at the front. The transfer of prisoners deemed "incorrigible" from the Field Penal Camp to the front was an attempt to alleviate this shortage.[2] These prisoners were transferred to the FStGAs with the hope that they could eventually be reformed and sent to "front probation," where they would serve with a regular combat unit.

FStGA 19 was initially attached to Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) and was deployed near Leningrad, where the prisoners worked on the construction of bunkers and defensive positions as well as retrieving dead and wounded soldiers.[3] It operated under the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) guidelines, which are discussed in detail in **FStGA 1**. The guiding principle of those instructions—that the prisoners were to be kept "under the hardest living and working conditions"—led to a high number of escape attempts, absences without leave, and other types of avoidance of service in FStGA 19.[4]

Thirteen prisoners from FStGA 19 were executed in the period from June to December 1943. Johann Waldmann (b. July 21, 1910), Heinrich Lathan (b. October 6, 1922), and Heinz Mitzner (b. July 23, 1921) were executed for desertion on June 9, 18, and 22, 1943, respectively, after being sentenced to death by the court of the 58th Infantry Division.[5] On August 10, 1943, Kurt Brichta (b. June 3, 1921) and Kurt Steinert (b. January 30, 1914) were

executed by firing squad. The court of the 21st Infantry Division had sentenced both men to death for "collective subversion of fighting power" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) under §5, Abs. 1 (3) of the Special Wartime Military Code (*Kriegssonderstrafrechtsverordnung*), which dealt with withdrawal from military service "through deceptive, calculated means."[6] Adolf Klosa was shot for desertion in Volosovo (Leningradskaia oblast') on August 18, 1943, after he was sentenced to death by the court of the commander of the Eighteenth Army Rear Area (*Kommandeur des rückwärtigen Armeegebiets*, Korück, 583).[7] The next two death sentences came from the court of the 24th Infantry Division. Hans-Joachim Wähling (b. February 5, 1924) and Günther Krautwald (b. November 7, 1920) were sentenced to death for desertion and executed on August 23 and September 13, 1943, respectively.[8] Three other soldiers were executed as a result of verdicts issued by the court of the I Army Corps (*I. Armeekorps*): Heinrich Schwarz (b. May 22, 1919) on September 28, 1943, Kurt Lüttich (b. April 24, 1921) on October 29, and Friedolin Haus (b. April 19, 1924) on November 1. Schwarz and Haus had been convicted of desertion, while Lüttich had been convicted of withdrawal from military service "through deceptive, calculated means."[9] Christian Sopp was executed on November 5, 1943, for desertion after he was sentenced to death by the court of the 24th Infantry Division. Karl Eichler was convicted of "absence without leave" by the court of the Eighteenth Army and sentenced to death on December 18, 1943.[10]

Although FStGA 19 applied a "concept of punishment and deterrence" in the treatment of its prisoners, it also pursued the goal of reforming the prisoners so that they could be used "again as useful, dutiful, honorable soldiers with the fighting troops,"[11] which represented a "concept of reform and education."[12] The application of such a concept was based on an order from the Eighteenth Army High Command (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK 18) from May 14, 1943. Under this order, prisoners who exhibited good behavior (referred to as "climbers") were to be "brought up, equipped, and educated for the so-called 'deployment groups [or] platoons.'" AOK 18 noted that these prisoners were "intended for combat deployment, for example [in] anti-partisan warfare."[13] In

FStGA 19, the formation of these "deployment platoons" apparently occurred in the 5th Company. On June 23, 1943, its "provisional strength" was listed as 1 officer, 17 noncommissioned officers, 33 other staff personnel, and 166 prisoners.[14] On July 12, 1943, its "combat strength" included 1 officer, 9 noncommissioned officers, 4 additional staff personnel, and 128 prisoners.[15]

Until January 1944, an "intervention company," which was separated from the "deployment platoons," was assigned to the 24th Infantry Division for "cleaning up" a "deep breakthrough,"[16] as its temporary commanders Hans von Tettau and Kurt Versock later recorded. "Probationary Company 19, formed out of FStGA 19," led by Tettau and Versock, was trapped in this counterattack together with the 225th Füsilier-Bataillon. Nevertheless, it was able to "free itself from a constantly attacking enemy in full sight" and, together with the 225th Füsilier-Bataillon, "fight [its way] back," along with all wounded prisoners, who were transported with them. In February 1944, "climbers" from FStGA 19 were combined with those from FStGA 4 in a temporary "Army Group-Probationary-Battalion I," which was transferred to "security on Lake Peipus."[17]

The example of a sailor named Fan indicates how the use of prisoners in an "intervention company" was intended to work from the military leadership's perspective. Fan had been sentenced to three years in prison for violently attacking a superior while drunk. As a member of the "intervention company" of FStGA 19, he was wounded by grenade fragments on July 18, 1944. As a result, on January 5, 1945, the Naval High Command (*Oberkommando der Marine*, OKM) granted him a conditional suspension of his sentence for "probation on the front" with Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. One of Fan's accomplices had already been transferred from FStGA 19 to Probationary Unit 500 in November 1944.[18]

The existence of the "intervention company" shows that FStGA 19 achieved "successful reforms" and transformed prisoners into useful soldiers. However, this was only true for some prisoners. For example, the case of Kanonier Martin Krammer demonstrates that many prisoners from FStGA 19 were not capable of being successful soldiers after constant hunger, long hours of physical

labor, and other hardships. It was noted that "in January 1944 [he had not taken] the available opportunity to prove himself in the intervention company."[19] Due to his constant reticence—primarily due to hunger—Krammer was detained and transferred out of the unit and was "deployed to digging work at the front line"[20] with FStGA 19. The sentence he received later for subversion of fighting power noted:

> He went, however, very slowly, required all of maybe five minutes rest, and explained to the noncommissioned officer: "If it is too slow for you, then order a car. And if you shoot me dead, I'll go as it suits [me]." … [When] the officer of the court wanted to question [him], he feigned insanity; he indicated that he was the Count of Luxembourg, was born in the year 1400, his father had red hair, and so forth. As his company commander … tried to influence him with benevolent persuasion, [Krammer] interrupted him multiple times and demanded a piece of bread in the interest of public health.[21]

Krammer was declared a "simulator" (*Simulant*) by an army psychiatrist. The court of the XXXVIII Army Corps of the Eighteenth Army sentenced him to death for subversion of fighting power on August 18, 1944. In the verdict, the court-martial also remarked on the morale of the prisoners in FStGA 19, indicating a general concern about increasing defiance by the prisoners: "In the last few months the propensity of prisoners in the FStGA toward insubordination is increasing in dangerous ways. The delinquent portion of the prisoners take the hard battles on the front as cause to act fresh and act in an insubordinate manner toward the [unit] staff."[22]

Perhaps as a deterrent to this trend, Krammer's sentence was carried out on the day he was convicted. Nine death sentences for desertion and absence without leave had been handed down against members of FStGA 19 between late April and mid-July 1944. However, six of them were commuted to prison sentences of between 10 and 15 years. Only two, Hans Bergemann and Bruno Arnold, were executed, on May 26, and June 1, 1944, respectively. Meanwhile, Heinz Heitmüller, who had been sentenced to death

for desertion on July 14, 1944, had escaped and was still at large.[23]

In the fall of 1944, FStGA 19 was among the eight FStGAs that were transferred from the eastern to the western front to build defensive positions against the advancing Western Allied troops in the border area with France and the Benelux countries. Under the command of the Nineteenth Army, FStGA 19 was sent to dig trenches, initially in the Vosges, near St. Dié and La Bresse, and then later in the Upper Rhine region.[24]

In this final phase, FStGA 19 returned to the concentration camp methods that had been used in its previous iteration as Feldstraflager III. The report of Peter Schilling, who was sent to FStGA 19 for desertion in late 1944, indicates the nature of this change:

> Upon reaching [the unit], the commander of the F[St]GA curtly and concisely informed me that I would surely not live a long life in his unit. In F[St] GA 19 the murder of prisoners was a daily occurrence. I witnessed, as one of our prisoner attendants ordered a comrade to go out over a pre-marked line —which we were not allowed to cross—to get a leaflet that had been blown from a propaganda grenade. As the prisoner hesitated and pointed out the restricted line, the watchman threatened to shoot him for failure to follow orders. As the prisoner then moved out, he was gunned down from behind as he crossed the demarcation line; that is, "shot during escape." Similar things occurred daily. In addition, rations were minimal, such that one could speak of an extermination by hunger.[25]

The reference to a daily occurrence of such "incidents" may be an exaggeration, especially since Schilling was apparently only "in the F[St]GA a very short time,"[26] since he fled after being wounded by a shell fragment. Some court-martial executions have been corroborated, however. On November 17, 1944, Paul Hagenow, Helmut Skott, and Max Glöckner of the 3rd Company of FStGA 19 were shot after having been sentenced to death for cooperative desertion by the court of the 708th Volksgrenadier Division in Allarmont.[27] On January 9, 1945, prisoners Werner Mensch (b. October 7, 1926) and Ernst Otto (b. June 24, 1910)

were sentenced to death by the court of the Nineteenth Army; they were executed on January 29, 1945.[28]

Werner Krauss was a convicted resistance fighter of the "Red Chapel" (*Rote Kapelle*), who had been initially sentenced to death by a court-martial before his sentence was commuted to five years' imprisonment. He cites FStGA 19 as an example of how the FStGAs on the western front were, "along with the personnel, encircled and overrun by the enemy." He supports his statement with information in the "Secret Reports on the Disposition of the F[St]GA," which he was able to look through during his duty as a prison scribe (August 1944 to March 1945) of the 7th Company of WG Torgau-Fort Zinna.[29] However, no independent sources confirm the details of Krauss's imprecisely dated account. It is possible that instead of being overrun, many of the prisoners in FStGA 19 voluntarily surrendered to the Allies during their retreat.

Among the last members of the unit, who built trenches and antitank obstacles in the area of Freiburg im Breisgau, were three Communist resistance fighters who had been sentenced to death by a court-martial. Eduard Czamler, Heinrich Schifer, and Johann Schaubmair of Linz had had their sentences commuted to 10 years in prison by Hitler because they had children at home. A so-called Prison Company (*Zuchthauskompanie*) had been formed in FStGA 19 in late August or early September 1944.[30] The three men were transferred into this company from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna on March 1, 1945. Czamler and Schifer were taken prisoner by the French in late April 1945. Schaubmair also survived; he indicated April 22, 1945, as the end of his internment in the Wehrmacht penal system.[31]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

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KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 80; and Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 124.

2. For additional information see **Feldstraflager I–III** and **WG Glatz**.

3. See the short biography of Walter Holländer, printed in Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, Wolfgang Oleschinski, eds., *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: G. Kiepenhauer, 1999), p. 116.

4. See the short overview of the organization and the assignments of the military prisoner platoons, the Probationary Corps, and Army Sondereinheiten, Berlin, March 16, 1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.

5. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 111–113 of the photocopied form).

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8. Ibid., Bl. 91 and 93 of the photocopied form.

9. Ibid., Bl. 26 and 29 of the photocopied form.

10. Ibid., Bl. 20 and 92 of the photocopied form.

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13. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 8671/43 geh. vom 14.5.1943, BAMA, WF-03/24402, Bl. 61.

14. KTB 21. Inf.Div. Abt. Ia, Nr. 19, S. 306, BA-MA, RH 26-21/96.

15. Anlagen zum KTB 21. Inf.Div. Abt. Ia, Nr. 19, BAMA, RH 26-21/97.

16. *Geschichte der 24. Infanterie-Division 1935–1945*, ed. Hans von Tettau und Kurt Versock (Stolberg, 1956), p. 108. See also Horst Voigt, "'Die 'verlor'nen Haufen.' Sondertruppen zur Frontbewährung im 2. Weltkrieg. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Geschichte, Teil I," in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch* 28 (1980): 270.

17. AOK 18 Abt. Ia Nr. 2044/44 geh. vom 24.2.1944, BAMA, RH 20-18/772.

18. See the description of the case in Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina." Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 250, 622. For information on the "500ers," see Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995) and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

19. Verdict of the court of the XXXVIII Army Corps of August 18, 1944, against Martin Krammer, partially reproduced in Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 753.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 19 of the photocopied form); BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Hans Bergemann.

24. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 124.

25. Peter Schilling, "'Ich musste selber etwas tun,'" in *"Ich musste selber etwas tun." Deserteure—Täter und Verfolgte im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Geschichtswerkstatt Marburg e.V. (Marburg: Schüren, 2000), p. 154.

26. Ibid.

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29. Report from the estate of Werner Krauss, reproduced in Norbert Haase and Brigitte Oleschinski, eds., *Torgau—Ein Kriegsende in Europa* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), p. 46. See also Werner Krauss, *Briefe 1922 bis 1976*, ed. Peter Jehle (Frankfurt am Main: Perlentaucher, 2002), p. 947.

30. See **FStGA 21**.

31. See Siegwald Ganglmair, "Widerstand und Verfolgung in Linz in der NS-Zeit," in *Nationalsozialismus in Linz*, ed. Fritz Mayrhofer and Walter Schuster, vol. 2 (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 2001), p. 1439.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 20

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 20 on October 1, 1943, in Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland), through the commander of Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) VIII.[1] The Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) placed FStGA 20 into service on the eastern front, with Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*). Convicts from the area of Army Group Center were sent to FStGA 20; when a direct transfer was not possible, they were sent via Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ).

There is only a limited amount of fragmented information available on FStGA 20. We know that on November 22, 1943, the prisoner F. Brackemeier was shot during an escape attempt.[2] Paul Wacker, who came to FStGA 20 via KWG Wilna in early 1944 after being sentenced to a year in prison (originally to be served in Feldstraflager II but later commuted to service in the FStGA), reported that the men in the unit were deployed to "armed combat against partisans in the Pripyat Marshes."[3] FStGA 20 was attacked by partisans in April 1944, resulting in the death of one prisoner from the 5th Company.[4] On September 1, 1944, Hans Bürger, a prisoner in the 5th Company, was shot "in flight."[5] On July 24, 1944, Alfred Nüske (b. July 19, 1919) escaped from the unit. He also belonged to the 5th Company, which at that time was deployed in Ołdaki, Poland. Nüske was recaptured in Berlin and was sentenced to death for desertion in Torgau on February 15, 1945, by the court of the Armed Forces Command (*Wehrmachtkommandantur*) Berlin. Although the sentence was confirmed by the commanding general of Defense District III on March 29, 1945, he was not executed before the end of the war.[6] The last-known location in which FStGA 20 was in service was East Prussia. On January 25, 1945, Army Group Center was

redesignated as Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), to which FStGA 20 remained subordinated for the rest of the war.[7]

The 5th Company reveals a feature that distinguishes FStGA 20 from all other similar units. On December 19, 1943, the general for Special Tasks at the OKH responsible for the FStGAs gave a written order to FStGA 20 that its 5th Company was to be used as a probationary unit for prisoners from the Field Penal Camps (*Feldstraflager*).[8] Until that time, prisoners who had been classified as "incorrigible" had been sent to the field penal camps, where they would remain for the rest of the war under extremely strict conditions; their time in the Field Penal Camps would not count against their sentences, which they would still be expected to serve in full at the end of the war.[9] The camps' jurisdiction had applied explicitly to probationary prisoners of "*all fitness levels*."[10]

From December 19, 1943, on, the "mixed" FStGA 20 would be responsible for convicts from the Field Penal Camps who had been classified as "suitable for work and conditionally capable of service in the Replacement Army [*Ersatzheer*]."[11] Apparently, the purpose of this measure was to prevent prisoners from becoming too weak to serve as laborers at the front (where there was a severe shortage of labor), as often happened with those interned in the Field Penal Camps. In addition, prisoners who would have otherwise been the responsibility of the WGs due to their decreased fitness level could now be sent to "field enforcement" through FStGA 20.

In hindsight, the restructuring of FStGA 20 as a unit in which prisoners of lower fitness levels could potentially perform effective services and the creation of a mixed unit had an experimental character: it could be examined whether prison enforcement (*Gefängnisvollzug*) and prison camp probation (*Straflagerverwahrung*) could take place within a field penal structure. However, a principle formulated in September 1941 opposed such an arrangement, noting that "bringing together … *trainable* soldiers … with *untrainable criminals [Rechtsverbrecher]* or *those who are not trainable in the foreseeable future* … would achieve the opposite of the intended purpose" of the field penal system.[12] In fact, it had already been

demonstrated during the normal operation of the FStGA system that the frequent lack of opportunities to place prisoners who behaved badly in separate accommodations could become a problem for military discipline and the "training process."[13] On the other hand, there was an advantage to such a restructuring: the creation of a penal camp company within the FStGA could reduce the number of lengthy prisoner transports and the amount of long-distance correspondence, since the transfer of prisoners from the field penal system into the Field Penal Camps—and their return in the event of an "improvement"—could take place within a single unit.

In fact, as the case of FStGA 21 demonstrates, by the summer of 1944, it had been decided to equip all—or at least most—FStGAs with penal camp (or prison) companies.[14] It would, however, be an exaggeration to view FStGA 20 as a sort of "pilot program" in this respect. The decision to add these companies to the existing field penal units was based not on the results in FStGA 20 but rather on the increasingly desperate situation at the front and the desire to bring all possible reclaimed prisoners of different categories (those in prison, those in the penal camps, and those in the penitentiaries) into service at the front.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

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2. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für F. Brackemeier.

3. Paul Wacker, "Stationen meines Lebens" (unpublished manuscript from November 24, 1988), cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), p. 105.

4. See Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina": Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 251, 390.

5. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Hans Bürger.

6. See the short biography of Alfred Nüske in Eberlein, Haase, and Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland*, pp. 141–143.

7. Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen*, p. 146.

8. See Eberlein, Haase, and Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland*, pp. 66, 188. Aside from the special regulations applied to the Straflager company, the general OKW and OKH regulations for FStGAs applied to FStGA 20 as well; for more information on these regulations, see **FStGA 1**.

9. See **Feldstraflager I–III**. For the forerunner organizations, the Straflagerabteilungen of the WGs, see, for example, **WG Glatz**. See also Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 170.

10. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942 (Abschrift), BA-MA, H 20/497.

11. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 vom 4.9.1944 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen), BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 83. See also Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich, vol. VI: 19. Dezember 1941 bis 9. Mai 1945* (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1995), pp. 280–284.

12. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 469 Gr R Wes Nr.

1327/41 vom 21.9.1941, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 817. Emphasis in original.

13. See the entry for **FStGA 7**.

14. For the creation of penitentiary companies, see **FStGA 21** and **WG Bruchsal**.

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 21

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 21 in March 1945 through the conversion of Field Penal Camp (*Feldstraflager*) I, which was in service at that time with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) in Hungary.[1] The five companies of FStGA 21 (at least according to plans) included a penal camp company (*Straflager-Kompanie*) and a penitentiary company (*Zuchthaus-Kompanie*).

The redesignation and reclassification of Feldstraflager I (which took place in a similar manner with Feldstraflager II) brought to an end the process of expanding and unifying the military penal system, which had begun in the late summer of 1944. Up to that time, prisoners who were sentenced to terms in penitentiaries, if their sentences were not commuted to prison terms, were classified as "unfit for combat," kicked out of the armed forces, and turned over to the Reich Justice Administration (*Reichsjustizverwaltung*, i.e. the civilian penal system). They were often sent to prison camps in Emsland—where they lived in conditions that were "similar to those in the concentration camps"—for what was deemed "probation."[2] Their time there did not count against their sentence, which they were expected to serve in full at the end of the war.

Early on, there were already critics of the idea of returning penitentiary prisoners to Germany. As one naval court put it, "undesirable elements … may find it preferable to be sentenced to the penitentiary rather than prison."[3] The Naval High Command (*Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine*, OKM) expressed the same concern in October 1942. However, the OKM did not see a possibility for "field penal service for these bad elements" because of the lack of suitable guards. It stated that "the guard personnel cannot be assembled in sufficient strength for supervision and maintenance of the prisoners, to prevent mutiny, unauthorized leave, and desertion."[4] It had, in fact, already become apparent in

some cases, such as those of FStGAs 3 and 4, that there was a shortage of adequate guard personnel. On October 6, 1942, General der Artillerie Eugen Müller of the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) stated that in view of the "the generally restricted availability of staff personnel" the FStGAs "unfortunately cannot be expanded."[5] Because field penal service for the penitentiary prisoners would have required increased numbers of guard personnel, it appeared inefficient from a military standpoint.

In fact, two detachments with about 4,600 total penitentiary prisoners from the Emsland camps had been formed outside the Wehrmacht and deployed to northern Norway (*Kommando Nord*) and the Atlantic coast of France (*Kommando West*), where they provided good results in the eyes of the German authorities. The men were sent to work on military construction projects under Organisation Todt, which included the construction of defensive works and construction and maintenance of military supply lines.[6] The Industrial Ministry, which was responsible for these units, expressed its satisfaction with the work done by these units to the Justice Ministry.[7]

It is unknown whether the experiences with Kommando Nord and Kommando West had any direct influence on the decision to use soldiers sentenced to penitentiary terms in the FStGAs. It is possible that the increasingly desperate military situation led the military leadership to resort to using these men. On September 4, 1944, General Müller gave the order for the large-scale transfer of penitentiary prisoners to penal service at the front. The special penitentiary companies were attached to the FStGAs in late August or early September 1944. According to Müller's order, "members of the field army who have been sentenced to a penitentiary term" were only to be handed over to the Reich Justice Administration if they were "the most uneducable asocials; homosexual repeat-offenders; elements which were dangerous to the community; or convicts who were not needed by the Wehrmacht for various reasons." In all other cases, "prisoners who were sentenced to the penitentiary" were to be sent "to the FStGAs or Feldstraflager under a conditional restoration of suitability for military service."[8]

A day after Müller's order, Heinrich Himmler, who had become the commander of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) on July 20, 1944, ordered that in his area of responsibility, the penal system was "to be placed without exception in the immediate service of the war effort": "Soldiers and army officials … who have been sentenced to prison are no longer to be … given over to the civilian justice system. They are either to be sent to the penitentiary companies of the FStGAs or turned over to the Gestapo and transferred to labor service in a concentration camp."[9] The prisoners selected for the penitentiary companies were to be those who could be considered for "front probation" with Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. Time served in the penitentiary company would only begin to count against the prisoner's sentence when they were transferred to Probationary Unit 500. The Kriegsmarine and Luftwaffe soon adopted the same practice.[10] The army sent a commission of military judges to the Emsland camps to evaluate the prisoners there for suitability for service in a penitentiary company in a FStGA, in Probationary Unit 500, or in the labor service at Buchenwald. Since the majority of the prisoners in the Emsland camps were already working in war-related industries, the transfer of prisoners to Probationary Unit 500 was very selective, while the transfer of prisoners to the FStGAs or labor in Buchenwald was much more common.[11] A similar practice was instituted for former service members who had been sentenced to the penitentiary because they were "unfit for duty on the Moor [i.e., in the Emsland camps]."

Alongside the integration of the penitentiary companies, the FStGAs also received penal camp companies, which in the special case of FStGA 20 had already been done in late 1943. In the process of a unification of the organizational structures, Feldstraflager I was reorganized as FStGA 21. If this change in the final weeks of the war had any practical effect it is unknown due to the lack of available sources. The prisoners in FStGA 21 were captured by American forces on May 8, 1945, and became prisoners of war.[12]

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

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6. The Kommandos Nord and West, which were also designated as "Einsatzgruppen," temporarily carried other names such as the designations "Wiking" and "X." See Frank Bührmann-Peters, "Ziviler Strafvollzug für die Wehrmacht: Militärgerichtlich Verurteilte in den Emslandlagern, 1939–1945" (PhD dissertation, Osnabrück University, 2002), pp.

238–251.

7. See Rainer Möhler, "Strafvollzug im 'Dritten Reich': Nationale Politik und regionale Ausprägerung am Beispiel des Saarlandes," in *Strafvollzug im "Dritten Reich": Am Beispiel des Saarlandes*, ed. Heike Jung and Heinz Müller-Dietz (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1996), pp. 87, 102.

8. OKH General z.b.V., Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/43 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen) vom 4.9.1944, S. 5, BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 84.

9. ChefHRüst u. BdE B 14c 20 Ag HR Wes (IV b/1) 2082/44 vom 5.9.1944, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 31. See also Erich Kosthorst and Bernd Walter, *Konzentrations- und Strafgefangenenlager im Dritten Reich. Beispiel Emsland. Dokumentation und Analyse zum Verhältnis von NS-Regime und Justiz*, vol. 2 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1983), pp. 1395–1401.

10. See Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), p. 190; and Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina,"* p. 234.

11. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstrupppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), p. 257; and Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 209.

12. Laut Aktenvermerk, WASt, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis Feldstraflager I (Bd. 49870).

FELDSTRAFGEFANGENEN-ABTEILUNG (FStGA) 22

The Wehrmacht established FStGA 22 in March 1945 through the conversion of Field Penal Camp (*Feldstraflager*) II into a FStGA. Feldstraflager II was deployed with Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) in Hungary at the time.[1] FStGA 22 consisted of five companies, including a penal camp company and a penitentiary company (at least according to plans). Whether this restructuring—the background of which was similar to that of FStGA 21—had any notable practical effect on the prisoners during the last weeks of the war is unknown due to the lack of available source material.

On May 4 or 5, 1945, FStGA 22 was marching from the Horn camp to Zwettl in Lower Austria.[2] The unit was captured by American forces shortly thereafter, and the men became prisoners of war.

SOURCES See Sources, **FStGA 1**.

Hans-Peter Klausch
Trans. Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 85; Georg Tessin, *Verbände und Truppen der deutschen Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1945, Vol. 4: Die Landstreitkräfte 15-30* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974), p. 168. The field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) of Feldstraflager I was transferred to

FStGA 21 on March 28, 1945 (see Norbert Kannapin, *Die Deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 1 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1980), p. 247.

2. According to notation found in documents in BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis Feldstraflager II (Bd. 49871).

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) BORISSOW

KWG Borissow (Russian: Borisov; today Barysaŭ, Belarus) was—along with Dubno and Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia)—one of the three KWGs that the Wehrmacht established in the occupied territories shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union (map 9b). The main criteria for the selection of locations for the KWGs in the northern, central, and southern rear areas of the eastern front were the existence of suitable prison buildings and proximity to "well-located transport hubs."[1] Under the "enforcement plan" of November 17, 1941, soldiers from "Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), its rear areas, and the Military Commander (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber*) Ostland" who were sentenced to "imprisonment of up to three months" by military courts were to be held at Borisov. Soldiers from those areas who were sentenced to terms longer than three months were to be held temporarily at Borisov and "transferred in regular transports" to Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Grudziądz.[2] From the end of 1942 at the latest, KWG Borissow, which from 1942 was under the command of Field Command (*Feldkommandantur*) 516, had control over a Reception Center (*Auffangstelle*) in Smolensk.[3]

From April 1942, the punishment of military prisoners was largely transferred to the front area in the form of the newly established field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*);[4] as a result, the responsibilities of KWG Borissow were expanded. From May 1942, it collected military prisoners from the area of Army Group Center who had been "ordered to serve in a Field Penal Battalion" and sent them onward to FStGA 2.[5] By October 1943, FStGAs 1, 5, 9, 11, 14, 15, and 20 had also been deployed in the central zone of the eastern front, and prisoners were sent to them from KWG Borissow as well.

However, prisoners also came to KWG Borissow from the FStGAs. The basis for this practice was derived from the guidelines for medical care in the penal battalions, in which was stated: "Hospital care for prisoners is carried out … under strict supervision in the army or army group rear area; a transfer to a hospital in the homeland or, respectively, to a replacement unit (here: Armed Forces Prison) is not to occur." Military prisoners who were "physically and medically unfit," according to the judgment of both the battalion doctor and the doctor of the higher division, were then to be "sent to the responsible Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis" for treatment. If the reports differed, the prisoner would remain with the battalion.[6] Under this order, large numbers of prisoners from the FStGAs were sent temporarily to KWG Borissow to recover their strength.

After the establishment of the penal units, regular transports of prisoners also left KWG Borissow for institutions within the Reich. These transports included prisoners who did not meet the minimum health requirements for the penal battalions[7] as well as officers and noncommissioned officers who were sentenced to prison terms of more than three months without deprivation of rank and were, therefore, to serve their sentences in military prisons in Germany.[8] Particularly common in these transports were military prisoners who were turned over to the civilian authorities for punishment pursuant to §102 Sections 1 and 3 of the Military Criminal Code (*Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung*).[9] In practice, these transports also included those who, because of their crimes, were considered to be "unworthy" of the military and were to be expelled from the Wehrmacht. Soldiers from the rear area of Army Group Center who received this sentence were sent "from KWG Borissow to the Sonnenburg Prison" in Neumark in Ostbrandenburg, from which they would then be sent to the prosecutor in Frankfurt an der Oder, who would send them for further punishment "in the *Strafgefangenenlager* [penal camp] Esterwegen."[10] One prisoner punished in this manner was Heinz Weinholdt, who was sentenced to death by the court of the 330th Infantry Division for deliberately rendering himself unfit for combat by self-mutilation; his sentence was subsequently commuted to 10 years imprisonment. His recollection of his time in KWG Borissow and the transport to the Sonnenburg Prison

gives an impression of the difficult conditions there:

> I came to Borisov …, where all who were sentenced by the military courts were collected. When the number of prisoners reached 100, they were sent on to Germany…. We were placed with about 30 men in a cell and were kept in handcuffs and shackles day and night. One was only uncuffed to tend to one's bodily needs, and then only the right hand; for this purpose, there was a basin in each cell. After a week, the number required for a transport was reached. We were loaded into freight cars, approximately 50 men per car. They were locked from the outside. We barely received anything to eat or drink. That was in May 1943, and it was pretty hot. When it rained, we collected the raindrops that fell through the roof in tin cans so that we would at least have something to drink. Many people died on the transport to Germany.[11]

Further transports from Borissow carried those who were considered "irredeemable" and, therefore, sentenced to the hardest form of punishment: imprisonment in the field penal camps.[12] It was ordered that "soldiers who are sent to the penal camps shall only be transferred via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna— with the exception of those who are in the area of the Field Penal Camps … who will be sent directly to the camps."[13] Because there was no field penal camp in the area of KWG Borissow, those in Borissow who were sentenced to the camps were sent via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, from which they were sent to the field penal camps in special transports. Finally, prisoners from Borissow were also sent to Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500, as was the case for other KWGs.

In the "Leaflet on Enforcement Facilities and Probationary Units" from September 4, 1944, by which point KWG Borissow no longer existed, the "accommodation of investigative prisoners and temporary detainees" was listed as a "purpose" of the KWGs.[14] It is safe to assume, however, that the KWGs had been used for investigative imprisonment before this date.[15] As a result, the KWGs, including Borisov, were often execution sites. At least 10 prisoners from FStGA alone were executed there. On October 3, 1942, Heinz Bartsch (b. August 13, 1920) and Werner Best (b. March 13, 1921) were shot in Borissow.[16] Alfred Goy (b. July 17,

1923) died before a firing squad there on December 23, 1943.[17] He was followed by Ernst Kasch (b. October 19, 1920) on January 5, 1944.[18] February 15, 1944, was the execution date for Peter Hendricks (b. January 18, 1923).[19] On April 28, 1944, Georg Kettler (b. December 2, 1923)[20] and Gustav Beuster (b. June 30, 1922) were killed by a firing squad in Borissow.[21] Alfred Jaschka (b. July 9, 1921) was executed by firing squad on May 3, 1944.[22] Finally, Philipp Lenhart (b. October 8, 1920)[23] and Johann Rothländer (b. January 7, 1916) were shot for desertion on May 18, 1944.[24]

The execution sites for additional prisoners from FStGA 5 are unknown, and, therefore, it can only be assumed that these executions also took place in Borissow. Executions also took place at the Reception Center of KWG Borissow in Smolensk. The following prisoners from FStGA 9 were executed at Smolensk: Herbert Neuschwender (b. August 16, 1922) and Art[h]ur Brendel (b. February 27, 1920) on January 22, 1943,[25] and Heinz Grewe (b. March 3, 1920) on May 18, 1943.[26]

While KWG Dubno and KWG Wilna were withdrawn in the face of the Soviet advance in August 1944 to Lemberg (then also known as Lwów; today L'viv, Ukraine) and Tarnów, respectively, KWG Borissow was moved to East Prussia. There it became known as KWG Wormditt after the village of the same name (today Orneta, Poland), in what was then Kreis Braunsberg.[27] The location of the prison there is not known; it is possible that the St. Andreasberg Hospital for Epileptics was used as a KWG. Later, on December 4, 1944, it was renamed Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis 203 in the Field Post Directory (*Feldpostübersicht*).[28]

SOURCES Primary source information about KWG Borissow is located in BArch PA; and BA-MA.

Additional information about KWG Borissow can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958); and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012).

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NOTES

1. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH, Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13, Bl. 3.

2. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 1156 (OKW, 17.11.1941, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 621.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, p. 613.

4. See also the articles for the individual FStGAs and Feldstraflager and **WGL Donau**.

5. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 432 (OKW, 4.5.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 1929/41 II. Ang. AHA/Ag H/ Str II), p. 238.

6. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

7. For the changes that took place at the end of 1943, see **FStGA 20**.

8. See also **WG Glatz** and Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, S. 576, also reproduced in Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht, 2. Aufl.* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 814.

9. Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg*, p.

204; and Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, pp. 180–190.

10. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 433 (OKW, 13.5.1942, 54 e 10 Bes. Geb. allg. Str 596/42 AHA/Ag H/Str II), S. 239. Along with Esterwegen, other *Moorlager* (moor camps) in the Emsland region were used for "custody" of former Wehrmacht soldiers who had been declared "unworthy of the military."

11. Interview with Heinz Weinholdt from 8.2.1993, cited in Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995), p. 100.

12. It reads: "In the case of ineducability, referral to the field penal camps, where the sentence will not run. Here greatly tightened conditions." (Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA: RH 14/37.) See also Beiträge zu den Feldstraflagern I–III.

13. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 433 (OKW, 13.5.1942, 54 e 10 Bes. Geb. allg. Str 596/42 AHA/Ag H/Str II), S. 239.

14. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen) vom 4.9.1944, BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

15. Normally responsible for investigative imprisonment in the occupied territories were the Kriegswehrmachthaftanstalten and the five large Wehrmachtuntersuchungsgefängnisse in Paris, Brussels, Akerhus (near Oslo), Ploieşti, and Belgrade.

16. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49889, Bl. 151).

17. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd.

49889, Bl. 75).

18. Ibid.

19. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49889, Bl. 84).

20. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49888, Bl. 165).

21. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49889, Bl. 75).

22. Ibid.

23. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 5 (Bd. 49890, Bl. 102).

24. Ibid.

25. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 9 (Bd. 49903, Bl. 21).

26. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis FStGA 9 (Bd. 49902, Bl. 209).

27. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten und -einrichtungen in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht*, ed. Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1953), pp. 7, 16.

28. See Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1982), p. 63.

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) DUBNO

KWG Dubno (map 9e) was—along with Dünaburg (Daugavpils) and Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ)—one of the three KWGs that the Wehrmacht established in the occupied territories shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union. The main deciding factors for the locations of these three KWGs—in the southern, northern, and central rear areas of the eastern front—were the existence of suitable buildings for housing prisoners and "convenient location to transportation hubs."[1] Under the "enforcement plan" of November 17, 1941, the purpose of KWG Dubno was to house prisoners from Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*), its rear areas, and the Military Commander (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber*) Ukraine, who were given sentences of up to three months imprisonment by military courts. Soldiers from these areas who were given longer sentences were transferred from Dubno "in regular, expedited transports" to Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtsgefängnis*, WG) Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland) in Lower Silesia. The KWG in Dubno had a Reception Center (*Auffangsstelle)* in Kiev.[2] Beginning in April 1942, the military penal system was largely transferred from the military prisons within Germany to the areas near the front,[3] in the form of the newly created field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*); as a result, the responsibilities of KWG Dubno increased. From May 1942, it collected Wehrmacht soldiers from Army Group South who had been sentenced to the penal battalions and sent them on to FStGA 1.[4] In this respect, by October 1943, FStGA 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 17, and 18 had also been deployed to the southern section of the eastern front.

Like other KWGs, Dubno also served as a temporary residence for prisoners from the nearby penal battalions who were unable to work due to stress, hunger, and abuse. The basis for this practice

was derived from the guidelines for medical care in the penal battalions, in which was stated: "Hospital care for prisoners is carried out … under strict supervision in the army or army group rear area; a transfer to a hospital in the homeland or, respectively, to a replacement unit (here: Armed Forces Prison) is not to occur." Military prisoners who were "physically and medically unfit," according to the judgment of both the battalion doctor and the doctor of the higher division, were then to be "sent to the responsible Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis" for treatment.[5] If the reports differed with each other, the prisoner would remain with the battalion. One such prisoner sent to KWG Dubno was Fritz D. from FStGA 16, who was no longer able to work due to malnutrition. He reported: "One day a column went to Dubno, and we undernourished and sick prisoners were driven [there]—70 kilometers [43.5 miles] by foot. In Dubno, they were supposed to let us recover, but we had to spend seven hours in the yard, double-timing. Every day, one saw deaths. Those who were near death were taken out at night to be shot."[6]

That last quote indicates that KWG Dubno was already used as a remand prison in 1943, although the "accommodation of remanded prisoners and those provisionally detained" was first mentioned as a responsibility of the KWGs in instructions from September 4, 1944.[7] Indeed, two shootings of prisoners in KWG Dubno have been documented. On September 18, 1943, two prisoners from FStGA, Paul Knott (b. November 21, 1919) and Waldemar Knappe (b. June 1, 1921), were executed for desertion.[8]

Even after the establishment of the field penal units, regular transports to the prisons within Germany continued. These transports carried either prisoners who were not healthy enough to be sent to the FStGAs[9] or officers and non-commissioned officers who had been sentenced to more than three months' imprisonment (without loss of rank) and were thus required to serve their sentences in the military prisons in Germany.[10] In particular, those soldiers who had been sentenced under §102 Abs. 1 and 3 of the military penal code (*Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung*) were sent back to Germany to be turned over to the civilian authorities.[11] In practice, these transports also included soldiers who were determined to be "unworthy" of the military due to their criminal sentences and who would thus be expelled from the Wehrmacht.

Soldiers under the authority of the Army Group South Rear Area Command (*Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebietes Süd*) who were given such sentences were sent from "KWG Dubno … to the Ratibor prison" in Upper Silesia, from which they were then sent via the prosecutor in Ratibor (today Racibórz, Poland) "to the *Strafgefangenenlager* [prison camp] Esterwegen."[12]

Further transports from Dubno to Germany carried those who were considered to be "irredeemable" and were thus sentenced to the hardest form of military punishment, imprisonment in the field penal camps.[13] The policy toward these prisoners was that "soldiers who were sent to the Field Penal Camps will be transferred only via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna— with the exception of those who can be transferred directly from the area of these Field Penal Camps."[14] Because there were no field penal camps in the area around KWG Dubno, soldiers from the area who were sentenced to terms in those camps were transferred from Dubno via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna. Finally, another unknown number of men were sent to Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. The associated risk to life and limb is illustrated by the example of Oberfeldwebel Andreas Seitz. On April 23, 1944, he was sentenced to five years in prison for alleged cowardice and was sent to KWG Dubno. On May 13, the chief of Luftflotte 4, his former unit, recommended him (apparently based on his previous good record) for transfer to the Probationary Unit.[15] On June 14, he was sent to Probationary Unit 500 at Tomaszów Mazowiecki; by August 6, he was registered as "killed in action" by the 550th Infantry Battalion.

As the Red Army advanced during that time, KWG Dubno was moved to Lemberg (then also known as Lwów; today L'viv, Ukraine). The closing of the prison at Dubno was ordered by the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) on August 24, 1944, with the accompanying order to send the prisoners held there to WG Bruchsal, where a processing center was established.[16] By September 31, 1944, KWG Dubno's field post number (*Feldpostnummer*) had been struck.[17]

SOURCES Additional information about KWG Dubno can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958); and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012).

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NOTES

1. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH, Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13, Bl. 3.

2. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 1156 (OKW, 17.11.1941, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 620 f.

3. See the entries for the individual FStGAs and Feldstraflager as well as **WGL Donau**.

4. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 432 (OKW, 4.5.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 1929/41 II. Ang. AHA/Ag H/ Str II), p. 238.

5. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

6. Lebenslauf von Fritz D. vom 3.7.1946, reproduced in Jörg Kammler, *Ich habe die Metzelei satt und laufe über … Kasseler Soldaten zwischen Verweigerung und Widerstand (1939– 1945): Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Fuldabrück: Hesse, 1985), p. 34. See also **FStGA 16**.

7. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 (Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen) vom 4.9.1944, BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

8. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 102 of the photocopied form).

9. For the changes at the end of 1943, see **FStGA 20**.

10. See **WG Glatz** and Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, p. 576, partially reproduced in Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 814.

11. See Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster, 1958), p. 204; and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), pp. 180–190.

12. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 433 (OKW, 13.5.1942, 54 e 10 Bes.Geb.allg. Str 596/42 AHA/Ag H/Str II), S. 239. In addition to Esterwegen, other Moor camps in the Emsland region were used for the "custody" of troops deemed "unfit for combat."

13. It reads: "In the case of ineducability, referral to the field penal camps, where the sentence will not run. Here greatly tightened conditions." (Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.) See **Feldstraflager I–III.**

14. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 433 (OKW, 13.5.1942, 54 e 10 Bes. Geb. allg. Str 596/42 AHA/Ag H/Str II), p. 239.

15. Der Chef der Luftflotte 4 A.B.L. 104/44—III—vom 13.5.1944, BArch PA, Inf.Btl. 550 z.b.V. Verlustmeldungen Mappe 2. See also Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500:*

Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); and **WG Torgau-Fort Zinna**.

16. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 455 (OKW —54 a 13—Truppen-Abt. [Str I] vom 24.8.1944), S. 249.

17. See Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1982), p. 77.

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) DÜNABURG

KWG Dünaburg (map 9b) in Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia) was, along with Dubno and Borissow (Borisov/Barysaŭ), one of the three KWGs that the Germans established in the occupied Soviet territories shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union. The KWGs were located in the northern, central, and southern rear areas of the eastern front, in preexisting prison buildings that were close to "well-located transportation hubs."[1] Under the enforcement plan of November 17, 1941, KWG Dünaburg was intended to hold Wehrmacht soldiers from Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), its rear areas, and the Armed Forces Commander (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber*) Ostland who were convicted under military law and sentenced to terms of three months or less. Soldiers sentenced to longer prison terms were to be held there and sent "in regular transports" to the Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*) in Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland).[2]

At the end of 1941, the prison was moved from Dünaburg to Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania), where it retained the same responsibilities. A Reception Center (*Auffangsstelle*) for prisoners sent to KWG Wilna (Vilnius) remained at Dünaburg. It is unknown whether the reception area in Dünaburg, which was open until at least 1943, and probably until 1944, also took in prisoners from nearby areas who had been sentenced to death, as was likely the case at the reception area in Smolensk of KWG Borissow.[3]

SOURCES Primary source information about KWG Dünaburg is located in BA-MA and BArch PA.

Additional information about KWG Dünaburg can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das*

Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958); and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012).

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NOTES

1. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH, Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13, Bl. 3.

2. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 1156 (OKW, 17.11.1941, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 621.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 3 (OKW, 2.1.1942, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 III. Ang. AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 2.

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) MAKEJEWKA

KWG Makejewka (map 9f) in Makejewka (Makeevka; today Makiivka, Ukraine) was established in the late summer of 1942.[1] It was one of three KWGs located in the southern part of the eastern front, along with KWG Dubno and KWG Kiew (Kiev/Kyiv). The reason for the existence of three separate camps in this area was the division of Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe Süd*) into Army Groups A, B, and Don in preparation for the Wehrmacht offensive against Stalingrad and the oil-producing regions of the Caucasus (Case Blue).

The responsibilities of KWG Makejewka, according to the orders of the Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) in January 1943, were the collection and transfer of soldiers in the Operations Area who had been sentenced to the field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA), field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*), and the military prisons in the Reich and holding soldiers from the area who were sentenced to prison terms of up to three months.[2] As with KWG Dubno, these orders resulted in KWG Makejewka establishing a cooperation with the armed forces prisons (*Wehrmachtsgefängnisse*) in Glatz (today Kłodzko, Poland), to which soldiers serving terms longer than three months were sent, and Torgau-Fort Zinna, from which soldiers were transferred to the penal battalions. KWG Makejewka also coordinated with the prison (*Zuchthaus*) Ratibor (today Racibórz, Poland), from which former Wehrmacht soldiers who were deemed "unworthy of the military" were sent to "custody" in the Reich Justice Administration (*Reichsjustizverwaltung*) camps in the Emsland region.

An additional function of KWG Makejewka was established by the guidelines for medical treatment of prisoners in the penal battalions and field penal camps: "Hospital care for military

prisoners and field prison camp inmates under strict supervision in the army area, i.e. near the front; transfer to hospitals in the Reich instead of transfer to special units [military prisons] is not allowed." Those prisoners who were determined to be "unfit physically and in health" for the penal battalions or internment in the field prison camps were to be sent to the "responsible KWG" for treatment; if the opinions of the doctors differed, the prisoner was to remain with the penal battalion or in the field prison camp.[3] Although field prison camps were not established in the southern area of the eastern front until the fall of 1944, large numbers of prisoners from the FStGAs were sent to KWG Makejewka to recover their strength, which had been depleted by overwork and undernourishment. On July 9, 1943, Oberfeldarzt Prof. Dr. Katsch, the internist of Armeelazarett 6, noted about a report from Oberleutnant Dr. Gaede on KWG Makejewka:

> 52 men have arrived here from FStGA 16, whom the division doctor [3rd Gebirgs-Division] declared to no longer be fit for service. Of these, 51 are in the worst state of malnourishment. Yesterday, 14 of them, who could no longer stand or had severe edema due to hunger, were sent immediately to Feldlazarett 776 by the field doctor. The rest of the prisoners [from FStGA 16] are very miserable, some as much as 20 kilograms underweight.[4]

By contrast, Katsch saw prisoners who originated at KWG Makejewka (i.e., those who had been sentenced to terms of less than three months) who were in "satisfactory physical condition, although they were entitled to smaller food rations than the prisoners in the FStGA."[5] The smaller rations for the "inmates of the Wehrmacht-Strafgefängnis [*sic*] in Makejewka" were justified by the fact that they were not sent "to work on the front line," as the prisoners in FStGA 16 were.[6]

As the Red Army prepared for the liberation of the Don-bass in the summer of 1943, KWG Makejewka was transferred to Odessa and renamed KWG Odessa.[7] At the latest, transfers to Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 began at that time. On May 4, 1944, the 561st Infantry Battalion noted that 20 men from KWG Odessa were sent there.[8] The total number of prisoners sent to "front probation" from Makejewka and Odessa, to a regular

combat unit or to Probationary Unit 500, remains unknown, as does the beginning date of the transfers to FStGAs and prisons on the home front. It is also uncertain when investigative prisoners and prisoners who had received death sentences first arrived at this KWG. Records for the transfer of prisoners sentenced to death only exist for KWG Odessa, but it is unclear to what extent KWG Odessa was used for this purpose.

On December 9, 1944, KWG Odessa was renamed Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis 205 in the Field Post Directory (*Feldpostübersicht*).[9] The location of this prison is unknown.

SOURCES Primary source information about KWG Makejewka is located in BA-MA and BArch PA.

Additional information about KWG Makejewka can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958); and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012).

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NOTES

1. Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 2 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1981), p. 279; Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, p. 613.

2. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH, Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13, Bl. 3.

3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MZA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

4. Oberfeldarzt Prof. Dr. Katsch, [Dienst-]Tagebuch Juli 1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

5. Ibid.

6. Erfahrungsbericht des Beratenden Internisten beim Armeearzt der 6. Armee für das dritte Quartal 1943, BA-MA, RH 12-23/70.

7. *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten und einrichtungen in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht*, Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1953), pp. 6, 14.

8. BArch PA, Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnis Inf.Btl. 560 z.b.V. (Bd. 84376, 4.5.1944); OKH—Ch H Rüst u. BdE 54 e 10 Strafv. i. Kr.—Trupp.Abt. (Str II) Str 2499/42 vom 29.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/33, Bl. 5.

9. Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht*, p. 279.

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) RIGA

KWG Riga (map 9b) first appears in the Field Post Directory (*Feldpostübersicht*) on November 2, 1944. Only four weeks later, its Field Post Number (*Feldpostnummer*) was struck.[1] Since the city of Riga was liberated by the Red Army on October 15, 1944, the KWG must have been closed in the first half of October. It is important to note, therefore, that the dates in the Field Post Directory are often only a vague hint as to the period in which a unit existed. Assignment and striking of field post numbers was often delayed. The transfer of KWG Dubno to the already-extant military detention center (*Kriegswehrmachthaftanstalt*, KWHA) Riga was probably completed by mid-1944; KWG Riga received the order to take over KWG Wilna (Vilnius), which was dissolved due to the proximity of the front, in early July 1944.[2]

A report from Heinz Drossel regarding KWG Riga's assumption of control over KWG Wilna offers a glimpse of the situation in the former. In March 1944, Lieutenant Drossel, who had served as the legal officer (*Gerichtsoffizier*) of the 561st Infantry Battalion of Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500 since the beginning of 1944, received the order to collect two prisoners sentenced to "front probation" (*Frontbewährung*) from "Wehrmachtsgefängnis Riga [*sic*]."[3] He recalled that "the prison is a gloomy building—but it is friendly compared to what takes place behind these walls. In the office, I set the papers down. The commandant, an older Hauptmann, signed [acknowledging] the reception of both. Then they were brought in. Outside I saw … what the daily routine is here. It was only '*marsch*, *marsch*'—emaciated shapes—and many blows. I seethed with rage. Then came a Feldwebel with my two. Faster—he hits them in the back with a leather strap."[4]

In March 1942, at the latest, a series of executions began at

KWHA Riga, which continued after the transfer of KWG Riga to the site. In the time between August 1944 and October 6, 1944, alone, the names of 15 prisoners from field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*), field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenenabteilungen*, FStGA) and Probationary Unit 500 who were executed at Riga are known; the actual number was surely higher.[5] In addition, there were the execution victims who were not from penal or probationary units. On August 8, 1944, when Hans Lasse from FStGA 6 was shot, there were more than 100 prisoners awaiting execution in the death cells of KWHA/KWG Riga.[6] The executed men from KWG Riga were buried in the Jewish cemetery, which was meant to stigmatize them even after death.

SOURCES Primary source information about KWG Riga is located in BArch PA.

Additional information about KWG Riga can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958); Heinz Drossel, *Die Zeit der Füchse: Lebenserinnerungen aus dunkler Zeit*, 2nd ed. (Waldkirch: Waldkircher Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001), p. 190; and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012).

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NOTES

1. Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1982), p. 287.

2. On April 24, 1944, KWHA Riga still existed, as is revealed in

a military judgment from the Luftwaffe. This judgment is reproduced in Norbert Podewin, ed., *Braunbuch. Kriegs- und Naziverbrecher in der Bundesrepublik und in Berlin (West)*. Reprint of the 1968 issue (3rd ed.), Table 24. KWG Riga was the last-known residence of Arnold Contzen and Karl Morgenroth, who were sentenced to death on September 23, 1944.

3. Drossel, *Die Zeit der Füchse*, p. 190.

4. Ibid., p. 190. One of the responsibilities of the Gerichtsoffizier was prosecution in military tribunals. It is notable that Drossel makes no reference to this fact.

5. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei and from the collection "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT) der WASt.

6. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Hans Lasse (Anlage: Grabmeldung WGO Nr. 55).

KRIEGSWEHRMACHTSGEFÄNGNIS (KWG) WILNA

KWG Wilna (map 9b) in Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania) was established in December 1941, taking the place of the former KWG Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia), for which it had previously served as a reception site (*Auffangsstelle*).[1] KWG Wilna held soldiers from Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), its rear areas, and Armed Forces Commander (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber*) Ostland, who were sentenced to prison terms of up to three months by military courts. Soldiers from this area who were sentenced to longer terms were sent to Wilna and then "transferred in regular transports" to the Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) in Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland).[2]

Beginning in April 1942, the punishment of soldiers who violated military law was largely transferred from military prisons within Germany to the area near the front, in the newly established field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*); as a result, the responsibilities of KWG Wilna were expanded. From May 1942, it was responsible for collecting prisoners from the area of Army Group North who were "ordered to serve in the Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen" and sending them on to FStGA 3.[3] By the end of 1943 and beginning of 1944, FStGAs 4, 6, 9, 14, and 19 were also operating in the northern area of the eastern front. Because the Field Penal Camps I–III were employed in the area of Army Group North from the beginning of 1943 until October 1944, they too received replacement transports via KWG Wilna in the course of the "immediate transfer," while "convicted prisoners for whom detention in a penal camp had been ordered" were instead to be brought without exception to WG Torgau–Fort Zinna, from which they were then to be sent off "in group transports to the field penal camps immediately upon their

request."[4]

Prisoners also arrived at KWG Wilna from the field penal battalions and field penal camps. Prisoners were being sent there mainly because of the guidelines for medical care of prisoners in these units: "Hospital care for prisoners and penal camp inmates will be carried out under strict supervision in the army area, i.e. in the area of the front; transfer to hospitals on the home front instead of to special units [e.g., WGs] is not allowed." Those prisoners and field penal camp inmates who were deemed by the doctors of the superordinate divisions to be "unfit physically or in health" were to be transferred "to the responsible KWG" for treatment; prisoners who received mixed opinions from the doctors were required to remain with their unit.[5] Under these orders, large numbers of men from the FStGAs and especially from Feldstraflager I, II, and III were sent to KWG Wilna to recover their strength.[6]

After the establishment of the field penal units, regular transports were sent from KWG Wilna to the detention centers (*Haftanstalten*) in the Reich. These transports included prisoners who did not meet the minimum health requirements for service in the field penal units[7] as well as officers and non-commissioned officers who were sentenced to terms of more than three months without loss of rank and were, therefore, to serve their sentences in the military prisons in Germany.[8] Especially common in these transports were soldiers who were turned over to the civilian authorities pursuant to §102 Section 1 and 3 of the Military Penal Code (*Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung*).[9] In practice, most of the soldiers on the transport were men who were determined to be "unworthy of the service" and discharged from the Wehrmacht. Soldiers from the rear area of Army Group North who received this punishment were sent from "KWG Wilna … to Zuchthaus [penitentiary] Wartenburg" (today Barczewo, Poland) in East Prussia, from which they were sent to the prosecutor in Allenstein (today Olsztyn, Poland), and then transferred "to the Strafgefangenenlager [penal camp] Esterwegen" in the Emsland district.[10]

The transfer of KWG Wilna in the early summer of 1944 was a dramatic event. A report about Georg Ermentraut, who was at that time waiting in KWG Wilna for confirmation of a 10-year prison sentence for desertion, summarizes the situation:

> The Russians entered the city and bombers plastered the unoccupied areas. 47 men were crowded into a small cell in the military prison, in which only half could lie down and the other half were forced to squat. The cells were on the first floor, but the guards had left. So had the head of the prison. He was in civilian life an executioner, from a place near Königsberg, and was forbidden to have a weapon because he had previously shot a prisoner in anger. The prisoners, fearing death, became a storm of flesh and blood, pounding against the door with their backs. The next day, the hangman had almost all of them back together and took them back. The 600 inmates in the prison were ordered to get dressed again and a Major took it upon himself to drive Ermentraut and a group of 50 investigative prisoners to Germany.[11]

While Georg Ermentraut eventually went from Germany to FStGA 18, the prisoners from Wilna, or at least some of them, were taken to Tarnów. There, the KWG was officially dissolved on August 24, 1944, and the prisoners were "transferred to the Wehrmachtgefängnis Bruchsal."[12]

Shortly beforehand, a new regulation on the transport of prisoners came into force. Through this regulation, the possibility of contact between civilians and soldiers was minimized. It was probably intended to minimize concerns that civilians, seeing the emaciated, shackled prisoners, would lose faith in a "final victory." Additionally, the pursuit of escapees would be more difficult. In any case, on July 24, 1944, "transport of military and investigative prisoners, inmates, and soldiers from the special field units … on public transportation and on DmW- and EmW-trains [was] strictly prohibited." Transports of six or more prisoners were only to be carried in "prisoner wagons or closed [military] wagons" on freight trains. Groups of five or fewer prisoners could be taken on the special trains for those on leave from the front and the Wehrmacht sections of passenger trains. The so-called Sperrwagen were especially used for this purpose, so that the prisoners would be protected from strafing attacks on the locomotive: "As long as Sperrwagen (not mail or package cars) are available, they [i.e., the prisoners] should be transported in the Sperrwagen."[13]

In WG Bruchsal, a reception area for prisoners from KWG Wilna was established. After it had finished its work, KWG Wilna

was (with some delay) struck from the Feldpostübersicht (Field Post Directory) on February 24, 1945.[14]

SOURCES Primary source information about KWG Wilna is located in BA-MA and BArch PA.

Additional information about KWG Wilna can be found in the following publications: Rudolf Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg. Sammlung der grundlegenden Gesetze, Verordnungen und Erlasse* (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1958), p. 204; and Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012), pp. 180–190.

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NOTES

1. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 3 (OKW, 2.1.1942, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 III. Ang. AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 2.

2. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 1156 (OKW, 17.11.1941, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 AHA/Ag/H [Str II]), p. 621.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 432 (OKW, 4.5.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 1929/41 II. Ang. AHA/Ag H/ Str II), p. 238.

4. Ibid., Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]), p. 577.

5. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 524/Gr.Str. Nr. III 872/42 vom 28.10.1942, BA-MA, WF-03/32406, Bl. 192.

6. These movements are documented in the Erkennungsmarkenverzeichnissen der BArch PA, Bd. 49870

(Feldstraflager I), Bd. 49871–49872 (Feldstraflager II), Bd. 49873 (Feldstraflager III).

7. Prisoners and penal camp inmates, who only received the status of unfit for service (*dienstuntauglich*), were sent back to Germany, discharged from the Wehrmacht, and entered into the civilian penal system.

8. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, S. 576, reproduced in Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 814.

9. Absolon, *Das Wehrmachtstrafrecht im 2. Weltkrieg*, p. 204; Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz*, pp. 180–190.

10. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 433 (OKW, 13.5.1942, 54 e 10 Bes.Geb.allg. Str 596/42 AHA/Ag H/Str II), p. 239. Along with Esterwegen, other Moorlager in the Emsland region were used for the "custody" of former soldiers declared "unfit for service."

11. Report on Georg Ermentraut, "'Sie haben etwas gutzumachen.' Ein Tatsachenbericht vom Einsatz der Strafsoldaten, 13. Fortsetzung," in *Der Spiegel* 18 (May 1, 1951). The information about the investigative prisoner killed suggests that—similar to other KWGs—death sentences were carried out.

12. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 455 (OKW —54 a 13—Truppen-Abt. [Str. I] vom 24.8.1944), p. 249.

13. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 413 (OKW —54 e 11—Truppen-Abt. [Str. II] vom 24.7.1944), p. 235.

14. Norbert Kannapin, *Die deutsche Feldpostübersicht 1939–1945. Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Feldpostnummern in numerischer Folge und deren Aufschlüsselung. Bearbeitet nach den im Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv verwahrten Unterlagen des Heeresfeldpostmeisters*, vol. 3 (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1982), p. 75.

STRAFVOLLSTRECKUNGSZÜGE (StVZ)

Strafvollstreckungszüge (StVZ) are first mentioned in the Wehrmacht "enforcement plan" of November 27, 1942, which came into force on January 1, 1943. Under that plan, prison sentences of up to three months should be served in the "Strafvollstreckungszüge of the divisions, armies, etc.," if the sentencing court so ordered.[1] This regulation applied only to enlisted men, officers, and noncommissioned officers (NCOs and the equivalent military officers who had not been deprived of rank, remaining responsible to the Military Prisoners' Units (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*) of the *Wehrmachtgefängnisse* (military prisons).[2]

In an OKH leaflet from January 24, 1943, which gave an overview of the "enforcement facilities in the area of the field armies," there is no reference to StVZs.[3] The first mention of "Strafvollstreckungszüge in the divisions" appears in another paper from March 16, 1943, and even then with the comment "number unknown."[4] The creation of StVZs must have begun in January 1943, as they were not suddenly created in all sections of the Wehrmacht but only on demand. For example, on February 21, 1944, the Third Panzer Army received an "order to the General Kommandos of all divisions to establish Strafvollstreckungszüge for service of prison sentences up to 6 weeks."[5] The great importance that the Wehrmacht leadership together with its legal section placed upon the introduction of the StVZs is reflected by the fact that the StVZs received a separate article in the July 1944 *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* (*Journal of Military Justice*).[6]

For the introduction of the StVZs, authorities were able to draw on experiences from earlier organizations that were established by individual units based on the regulations on "temporary enforcement" under §109 of the Military Criminal Procedure Code (*Kriegsstrafverfahrensordnung*, KStVO) and §55 of the

Wehrmachtdisziplinarstrafordnung (WDStO; Wehrmacht Disciplinary Penal Code). The later-Generalfeldmarschall Walter Model played a leading role. On March 20, 1942, as commander of the Ninth Army, Model ordered that soldiers sentenced to prison terms for whom "commutation of the entire sentence [to 'front probation'] did not appear justifiable," would "generally be sentenced to a partial service" and "expediently placed under intensified arrest, as this is a more effective form of punishment than imprisonment."[7] Model did not believe in the "more effective nature" of the intensified arrest only because of the "hard camp conditions" and a diet of only "water and bread."[8] The "service of a sentence in the form of imprisonment" was, in Model's view, "to be avoided because—for sentences of more than three months—transport to the Wehrmacht penal facilities in the Reich and transfer to special units" were connected. Additionally, "the regulated life in the penal facilities in the Reich could perhaps appear acceptable to some compared to the unpleasant conditions in which the troops here [i.e., at the front] must live, if the conditions of imprisonment in the Reich were not exacerbated." In other words, to avoid a transfer from the front, Model determined that an "arrest [of a criminal and disciplinary nature for] more than 10 days should be served in arrest facilities that should be created in each division, etc. Suitable officers are to be selected to lead these arrest facilities; they will be responsible for ensuring that the penalty follows the Wehrmacht enforcement plan (H. Dv. 3 g)."[9] Units were to report by May 1, 1942, where the "arrest facilities," as they were then known, would be located.

Model's plans were partially rendered obsolete by the "Führer-Order" of April 2, 1942, which moved the majority of the enforcement of military justice out of the military prisons and into the penal units—the field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*)—near the front. Transport to the Reich for prisoners serving sentences of more than three months could now be avoided by transfer to a field penal battalion. As a result, the "arrest facilities … in every division" ordered by Model were not created.[10]

Those who were arrested were, on the other hand, sentenced to short prison terms of less than three months or a multiweek "intensified arrest," after which a "front probation" was granted. In

the first case, it was possible to rely on the military prisons (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnisse*, generally located in the rear area of the front) and, in the second case, on the mobile army prisons (*Beweglichen Heeresgefängnisse*) and Military Detention Centers (*Kriegswehrmachthaftanstalten*), in which, according to regulations, "arrest penalties of any type"—legal or disciplinary —"up to six weeks" could be enforced.[11] However, these facilities were relatively far behind the front. The lack of labor during the arrest periods was also seen as a "weak point." The "idleness" and "greater security of life," based on the "experiences of the First World War"—according to Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt—created the danger that "unreliable and undutiful soldiers" would, therefore, have an incentive to seek such punishments.[12] At the same time, even Model recognized that the "intensified arrest" had negative effects on the eventual operational capacity. As Burkhardt later recorded, "the bodily state of those punished with intensified arrest was … impaired" when they were sent "back to the units pale and starved."[13]

Further disadvantages eventually resulted from the decreased number of the mobile military prisons, military detention centers, and military prisons as well as from the resulting transport costs. The military jurist Burkhardt explained: "Enforcement of arrest ran into technical difficulties in its execution due to mobile warfare in the East. It was almost impossible to find suitable locations for the service of arrest. Then it was also notably difficult that the punished must be withdrawn from the fighting troops; there were additional difficulties in transferring the punished to the next detention center, never mind later, when they had to find their unit again after serving their sentence. Thus, sometimes people were moved very far from their units during their punishment."[14]

On the basis of the "experiences of the front," according to Burkhardt, "first in the east, then also on other fronts, completely new forms of punishment [were developed] in the armies, corps, and divisions," which were given "the designation 'Strafvollstreckungszüge' (StVZ)."[15] Their eventual introduction was justified on the same basis as the field penal battalions and field penal camps: to create a similar form of short-term punishment for troops near the front that had an enhanced deterrent effect. This reasoning explains the introduction of the

StVZs, while at the same time fewer soldiers were being sentenced to short terms in the FStGAs.[16] Burkhardt summarized the composition of the inmates of the StVZs: "Those who were punished [with terms of up to three months] as well as disciplinary and legal arrests and arrest punishments, were sent to the StVZs to serve their sentence in place of prison time. It must be noted that these two types of prisoners are divided in their housing, while at work there is no way to distinguish between the two."[17]

The recommended separate housing of those arrested for disciplinary and criminal actions as well as the possibility to "earn benefits for diligence and special achievements" can be recognized as further developments of the field penal battalions and field penal camps into categories based on the progressive "graduated punishment" of the Weimar Republic.[18] It was also required that "*untrainable and irredeemable elements* [emphasis in original] … must be separated and sent to other forms of punishment by the Gerichtsherr."[19] This statement referred primarily to the field penal battalions, from which further transfers to "front probation" in *Bewährungstruppe* 500 or a field penal camp, with the prospect of future internment in a concentration camp, could occur. However, assignment to penal camps remained the exception, and terms in the StVZs became the norm "for first or minor offenses."[20]

The labor details of the StVZs were responsible for "the military needs"[21] of their respective areas of the front. The OKH noted at the beginning of September 1944 that, for the required "hard, physical labor possibly under enemy fire," an affiliation with the Pioneer Battalions would appear useful.[22] Burkhardt gave additional advice: "The time of work must be as long and the performance demanded as high as possible without deleterious effects on health; they must also work longer hours than the men in the units. They will work all day on Sunday."[23] The instructions for the StVZs issued by the Oberbefehlshaber West (Western Commander) Generalfeldmarschall Rundstedt on March 27, 1944, which came into force on May 1, 1944, stated that, in summer, the prisoners were to work 15 hours a day, and, in winter, 12 hours a day, in construction, mining, or munitions transport.[24]

The negative experiences caused by undernourishment in the

original form of "intensified arrest," and especially in the early days of the field penal battalions and field penal camps, resulted in the decision that, in the StVZs, "food supply [was to be] normal." With a view to maintaining fighting strength, a proposed decrease of the food ration was abandoned: "In the end … the *maintenance of fighting strength* [emphasis in original] must not be forgotten; it is alongside work. Allocation of light weapons other than handguns appears necessary so that the StVZs can be used immediately [in combat] in an emergency."[25] For the same reason, "doctors' visits" were to be ensured, so that all men in the StVZs remained "healthy and fit for hard labor."[26] In practice, hunger was nevertheless the rule in the StVZs, because the normal rations for the recommended labor quotas ("the most exceptional") were barely sufficient. It was explicitly noted that "supplemental food supply is impermissible."[27]

The terror that spread even to StVZs on the nonfighting fronts in the final weeks of the war is demonstrated in the example of the Greek island of Kos (then known by its Italian name, Coo). While the Wehrmacht evacuated Greece in the fall of 1944, German occupation troops remained on Kos and other eastern Aegean islands. A large number of them belonged to Bewährungstruppe 999. The occupation forces on the islands were soon cut off from regular supply. To maintain discipline among the starving troops, the local officers (including those in the StVZs) struck back. In the StVZs, the universally slim food rations were reduced to especially meager starvation rations, which often triggered despair. The "Commandant of the East Aegean," Generalmajor Wagener, reported the events in the StVZ on Kos in his Order of the Day on April 1, 1945:

> A large commando was assembled from the occupation forces on Coo and Marine Artillery Unit 624 to recapture 10 escapees from the StVZ on Coo who had fled into the hills. Despite great difficulties in the rugged and impassable hills, cold nights, and shortage of water and food supplies, the unit was able to track down and capture the escapees on the third day of their expedition. I express my gratitude to the officers and their capable men for their exemplary achievement and give my special recognition to the zeal which is solely to

> thank for their success. In recognition of their special achievement, I have awarded individual soldiers the Kriegsverdienstkreuz [War Merit Cross] 1st and 2nd Class and announced two promotions.[28]

Further details come from the report of Fritz Näther, who was forced to participate in the search commando. The Communist from Altenburg was sent to the X Fortress Infantry Battalion of Bewährungstruppe 999 after he was sentenced to a year and a half in prison in June 1934 for his resistance work. He reported:

> At midnight the planned pursuit of the escapees began. We could not imagine the hardships that would come. Day and night, from midnight Thursday to noon on Monday we went up and down through the hills, through tunnels, along slopes, through thick, thorny underbrush. A series of comrades withdrew due to broken bones from falls, one succumbed to a heart attack, one died in the hospital of exhaustion, two were mistakenly shot by their own comrades…. The result of this hunt was that … all of the escapees were captured…. On the return march … they had to carry the equipment of the officers and a badly wounded comrade. They marched back under constant abuse and beatings. In Pilly, they were taken in front of the comrades who had gathered there, as well as the curious local population, and once again abused and beaten.[29]

The numerical strength of a StVZ was generally between 20 and, at the most, 40–50 prisoners. The total number of StVZs was unknown, however, as the aforementioned OKH report from March 16, 1943, indicated. Seidler, who erroneously asserts that the StVZs were first established in 1944, says, without citing sources, that by the spring of 1944, almost every division at the front and at least every Army Corps in the rear areas had a StVZ.[30] Thus, there could have been hundreds more StVZs. This development seems possible because the results of the StVZs were not bad in the view of the Wehrmacht. At the least, in the *Journal of Military Justice* in the summer of 1944, the following description was published: "The experiences with the StVZs to this point are unreservedly good; the labor performance is generally recognized as respectable. The StVZs, after some initial

hesitation, were appreciated and adopted by all units. The results achieved to this point show that this new form of punishment with its new principles developed in accordance with the Wehrmachtstrafrecht [military criminal law], does not remove the punished from within the framework of the community, but ties them more firmly to the community."[31]

In his July 1944 article, Burkhardt noted that up to that point, no final central regulations for the StVZs existed: "The basic principles of this type of punishment must be derived from the intended purpose and determined by further experience."[32] On the other hand, regulations were provided for the special StVZs created for "volunteers from the east" (i.e., Soviet collaborators) "in the area of each Army and each Wehrmacht Commander."[33] Regarding the labor details, supply, and demotion in service rank, the instructions largely corresponded to those that had been given for the StVZs for German soldiers in Burkhardt's aforementioned article and by Commander West on March 27, 1944. Differences resulted mainly from considerations for security policy and racial ideology; for example, "commanders and staff [may] only [be] German." The commanding officer should have available "a German soldier for each 5 prisoners, and a German NCO for each 15 prisoners" and "the necessary number of translators." It was explicitly stated that "any integration with German StVZs must be avoided." Additionally, the separation of those arrested for disciplinary and criminal offenses was not required in the StVZs for "foreigners" as it was in the StVZs for German soldiers; "volunteers punished for criminal and disciplinary offenses are not to be divided within the StVZ."[34]

An expectation announced by Burkhart in his hymn of praise to the StVZs would not be fulfilled by either the StVZs for Germans or those for "foreigners." The military jurist had ended his article with the hopeful words: "Thus, the StVZs will contribute their part to the final victory."[35]

SOURCES Information about Strafvollstreckungszüge can be found in the following publications: Franz W. Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit der Deutschen Wehrmacht 1939–1945: Rechtsprechung und Strafvollzug* (Munich: Herbig,

1991); and Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoningh, 2005).

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NOTES

1. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]), p. 576.

2. It appears that the first StVZs for punished NCOs (without loss of rank) were created in 1944. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten und -einrichtungen in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht*, ed. Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1953), p. 5; *Die Sondereinheiten in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht (Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinrichtungen)*, ed. Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1952), p. 36.

3. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH. Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13.

4. Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzugs, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/37.

5. KTB P z.AOK 3 Abt. Ia Nr. 8, Bd. 2, vom 21.2.1944, BA-MA, RH 21-3/284. It remains unclear what cause was given for the sentencing restrictions to six weeks.

6. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," in *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht (ZWR)* 9 (1944), pp. H. 3, 108–115.

7. Oberbefehlshaber der 9. Armee—Abt. III—Az: 14 a/f vom 20.3.1942, BA-MA, RH 20-9/329.

8. *Vorschrift für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen und anderer Freiheitsentziehung in der Wehrmacht*. December 4, 1937 (unaltered reprint, Berlin, 1940), p. 33. The so-called intensification did not apply on the so-called good days (i.e., the first three days after arrest and then on every third day of arrest thereafter).

9. Oberbefehlshaber der 9. Armee—Abt. III—Az: 14 a/f vom 20.3.1942, BA-MA, RH 20-9/329.

10. Ibid.

11. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH. Merkblatt 2 vom 24.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 13/v. 13.

12. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," pp. H. 3, 109.

13. Ibid., p. 113.

14. Ibid., p. 110.

15. Ibid.

16. On a small number of short-term penalties in the FSt-GAs, cf. Fritz Wüllner Thomas Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug. Der Umgang der Deutschen Wehrmacht mit militärgerichtlich verurteilten Soldaten," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz. Urteilspraxis— Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), pp. 437, 457.

17. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," pp. H. 3, 112.

18. Ibid., p. 113.

19. Ibid., p. 114.

20. Ibid., p. 112.

21. Ibid.

22. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 551/Gr.Str. Nr. 363/44 vom 4.9.1944: Merkblatt über Vollzugseinrichtungen und Bewährungstruppen, BA-MA, RH 14/34, Bl. 82.

23. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," pp. H. 3, 112.

24. See Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz*, p. 365; Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit*, p. 166.

25. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," pp. H. 3, 113.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. At least in the Waffen-SS StVZs, decreased food rations were used as a disciplinary measure. See Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit*, p. 169.

28. Kommandant Ost-Ägäis Abt. II a vom 1.4.1945 (Tagesbefehl Nr. 81), BA-MA, RH 26/1007/20, Bl. 14.

29. Fritz Näther, *Meine Erlebnisse in der Bewährungseinheit 999,* no date (ca. 1960, unpublished manuscript, copy in possession of the author). See also Fritz Näther, "Altenburger Antifaschisten in der Bewährungseinheit 999," in *Heimatkalender 1960 für die Kreise Altenburg und Schmölln*, p. 71; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Geschichte der Bewährungsbataillone 999 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des antifaschistischen Widerstandes, Vol. 2* (Cologne, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1987), pp. 741–759.

30. See Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit*, p. 166.

31. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, "Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege," p. 115.

32. Ibid., p. 110.

33. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 547 (OKH, 23.9.44: Gen. d. Freiw.Verb. b. Chef Gen.St. d. H./OKH/ Gen.St. d. H./Org.Abt.—H/37676/44 g), p. 298.

34. Ibid.

35. Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat Burkhardt, “Wandlungen der Wehrmacht-Strafvollstreckung im Kriege,” pp. H. 3, 115.

UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNISSE (UG) BERLIN

Berlin played a major role in the Wehrmacht judiciary. The city not only hosted many military courts but also had especially important ones that could be called Wehrmacht special courts. In the German capital, there were numerous high command staffs, so there were also established military special courts. The regular military courts served units stationed in Berlin, mostly training units or the numerous subordinate departments and military schools. This situation created a need for large-capacity detention facilities, especially after the beginning of World War II.

In October 1936, the Reich Court-Martial (*Reichskriegsgericht*) was established in Berlin. It functioned as an Appellate Court of the Wehrmacht until August 1939 and was also responsible for alleged cases of treason. The Reich Court-Martial was considered the Supreme Court of the Wehrmacht. After the beginning of World War II, appeals and revisions were suspended and the Reich Court-Martial instead received special jurisdiction for cases of *Wehrkraftzersetzung* (subversion of fighting power), including for conscientious objection, espionage, and members of resistance groups in domestic and international territory. Because of the increasing number of bombing attacks on Berlin, the Reich Court-Martial relocated to Torgau in August 1943. Nevertheless, detainees for the court remained in Berlin.

Other courts were also active in the Berlin area. The Court of the Wehrmacht Headquarters in Berlin (*Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Berlin*) was a part of the special courts of the military. This court dealt primarily with deserters whom the authorities had seized in the territory of the German Reich. In addition, it dealt with cases in which a soldier had been sentenced by another military court, but the responsible commander had not verified the verdict (usually because the verdict was considered too lenient). The Army Central Court

(*Zentralgericht des Heeres*) was established in April 1944. It was intended to be involved in searches for deserters in the Reich territory and to punish political offenses and corruption. Near Berlin, in Bad Saarow, was the Field Court of the Air Force z.b.V. (*Feldgericht der Luftwaffe z.b.V.*) (z.b.V. means for special employment), which was responsible for the prosecution of political offenses by members of the Air Force. At the end of January 1945, the Flying Court Martial of Defense District (*Fliegendes Standgericht des Wehrkreises*) III, the Defense District that included Berlin, was added. At least 150 military judges were deployed in the military special courts and the numerous regular military courts of Berlin at any one time.

Before the war began and in its opening months, the Wehrmacht used part of the Berlin-Plötzensee Prison, in the Plötzensee district of Berlin. Plötzensee was one of the most important prisons of the German judiciary and the central execution site of the Reich Ministry of Justice. This changed in 1940: the Wehrmacht withdrew the prisoners from Plötzensee and henceforth used a substation of Plötzensee as a central remand prison (*Untersuchungsgefängnis*). The prison was located at Lehrter Street 61, which the Reich Ministry of Justice gave to the armed forces (map 4b). The Wehrmacht Remand Prison "Lehrterstrasse 61" was at the same time a Wehrmacht Detention Facility (*Wehrmacht-Arrestanstalt*).

In the same year, the Wehrmacht received a building in a nearby prison complex, which was also used by the judiciary and the Gestapo. This prison, on Lehrter Street 5 was sometimes referred to as the "Moabit cell jail" (*Zellengefängnis Moabit*). It was built in the middle of the nineteenth century as the most modern German prison in the district of Moabit and had individual cells, instead of mass quarters.

In 1943, the Wehrmacht detention system in Berlin was expanded: the prison at Lehrter Street 61 remained the main detention center but only took in officers as prisoners. The commander of the Remand Prison Berlin and all its ancillary facilities, Oberstleutnant Rudolf Maass, remained there, too. To increase the system's overall capacity, the Wehrmacht took over parts of the civilian prison Berlin-Tegel (in the Tegel district of

Berlin). This prison had detention rooms for up to 1,800 inmates. Thereafter, most of the remand prisoners of the armed forces (in the case of soldiers, mainly enlisted men and noncommissioned officers) were sent here. Hauptmann Walter Maetz was the prison commander. In addition, the Reich Ministry of Justice handed over a detention facility in the Berlin-Spandau prison, which was also used as an ancillary facility. The third (and smallest) prison was the detention building at Lehrter Street 5.

The Wehrmacht Remand Prisons in Berlin were part of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) and were under the command of the city commander of Berlin. Generalmajor (later Generalleutnant) Paul von Hase was the city commander from November 1940 to July 20, 1944. Von Hase was a coconspirator of Claus von Stauffenberg and was arrested on July 20, 1944, sentenced to death by the People's Court (*Volksgericht*) on August 8, and executed in Plötzensee. His successor was Oberst (later Generalmajor) Georg Hofmeister, who was city commander until April 20, 1945.

The remand prisons detained predominantly soldiers (including foreign "legionaries" of the armed forces) but also civilians (Germans and foreigners) and occasionally prisoners of war. Among the known civil detainees were 47 women and men of the Dutch Resistance, who belonged to the "Stijkel Group." As so-called Night and Fog Prisoners (*Nacht und Nebel*) they were condemned by the Reich Court-Martial and 32 of them were shot.

Remand prisoners were required to work. As a rule, simple activities, such as gluing bags, was carried out as individual work in the cells. In contrast to Justice Ministry detention facilities, the remand prisons had no armament factories affiliated with them and, contrary to the practice in the armed forces prison, no labor units were established for collective forced labor.

The food was limited and of poor quality. The prisoners were allowed to see daylight for only 20 minutes daily—that was when the "yard exercises" were performed. This meant a brief escape from the narrow cells for the prisoners. A contemporary witness reported that "it satisfied an elemental physical need for fresh air and physical activity. One could take a deep breath and step vigorously in a 'large circle,' which was a long oval shaped circle

the size of the yard; disabled and very old people walked in the ‘small circle,’ which was actually a circle in the middle of the oval tramped through countless prisoner footsteps. The supervising sergeant, who had to ensure that the inmates kept a regular distance and that there were no conversations held between inmates, stood where circle and oval touched.”[1] As of the winter of 1941, severe coal restrictions were implemented in detention. Essentially, the cells were heated for only two hours, like the workrooms. This situation led to illnesses and even frostbite every winter, especially on hands and feet. Because of the insufficient heating, the showers were operated only every few days, so the prisoners were often only able to thoroughly wash themselves once a week.

Until the end of 1942, the prisons were not fully occupied. Sometimes the prison authorities used vacant cells to create space between especially important prisoners to prevent communication. In the months after 1942, overcrowding became permanent. From 1944 on, the prison in Spandau was almost exclusively occupied by members of the armed forces, such that the Justice Ministry was forced to relocate its prisoners to other detention centers.

The atmosphere in the prisons was always tense: many were afraid of being punished with the death penalty. It was clear that even thefts and criticism of the war could be sanctioned as serious crimes. In addition, it was constantly noisy, because the acoustics made sounds seem louder: orders were shouted, the clogs of the prisoners rattled while walking, food pails scraped along the corridor, latches were constantly slammed, prisoners wept miserably. In addition, vermin, which lived mainly in the straw mattresses, plagued the inmates. This problem forced many to sleep without anything under them, or to sleep in a squatting position. Above all, from November 1943 on, the increasing air attacks on Berlin became a danger to life and caused psychological suffering. The prisoners were not brought into air-raid shelters or bunkers during raids but had to remain defenseless in the cells. Many inmates panicked, screaming for their lives and raging in the cells. In particular, those condemned to death were not able to endure this agony, as they wore chains and saw no chance to come out alive through the rubble. In fact, there were bomb hits on the prisons that caused deaths and injuries among the inmates. During

cleanup after the raids, prisoners had to help recover the dead, which increased their fear. The air strikes also led to further deterioration of conditions: many windows were broken, causing the cells to become still colder.

Transports to the trials were carried out in vehicles and closely guarded. Not only escapes were to be prevented but also suicides. To that end, several prisoners were often tied together. This was to prevent fugitives from being shot while fleeing.

In 1943 and 1944, the well-known anti-Nazi resisters Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Hans von Dohnanyi were imprisoned in the Wehrmacht Remand Prisons in Berlin: Bonhoeffer from April 5, 1943, to October 8, 1944, in Tegel, and von Dohnanyi from April 5, 1943, to August 22, 1944, in Lehrter Street 61 (Moabit). Both were killed on April 9, 1945, by hanging: von Dohnanyi in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, Bonhoeffer in the Flossenbürg concentration camp.

The Wehrmacht Remand Prisons in Berlin also served to detain prisoners sentenced to death: after some time, convicts who were to die by beheading or hanging were taken to the prison Plötzensee (in Berlin) or to the Brandenburg-Görden prison (west of Berlin).[2] Each of these prisons, which were subordinate to the Ministry of Justice, housed a guillotine and gallows. In Brandenburg-Görden, about 700 people who had spent their pretrial detention in the Wehrmacht Remand Prisons were beheaded or hanged. There were about 400 executed in Plötzensee.

Soldiers, and sometimes (but rarely) resistance fighters, who had been sentenced to death by shooting, remained in Berlin. The shootings took place on Wehrmacht shooting ranges, which were attached to army barracks, in particular, the barracks shooting range at Spandau-Ruhleben, which was located in a hilly landscape in the western area of Berlin (the so-called Murellen Gorge). In this place alone, at least 350 people died. Another frequently used shooting site was the Jungfernheide, a park in Berlin where the military also had a shooting range.

The total number of shootings is unknown, especially since the documentation for the year 1945 is incomplete, while at the same time the opportunities to impose death sentences was simplified. In February 1945, the armed forces judiciary even worried that it

would not be possible to empty the death cells on a regular basis. The armed forces headquarters in Berlin ensured that merely through the 12,000 soldiers stationed in Spandau, enough firing squads could be formed to carry out the expected rising number of shootings in a timely manner.

In April 1945, many prisoners were sent into combat for "front probation." At the same time, convictions were performed more and more quickly and more frequently involved the death penalty, due to the fact that already in February 1945, the Wehrmacht had "short trials" carried out in Berlin by the "flying drumhead courts-martial of Defense District III." As of April, 23, 1945, a number of "flying drumhead courts-martial" (mostly SS drumhead courts-martial) took control—they executed deserters and the war weary without hesitation; the accused were no longer detained for investigative purposes. Therefore, the Wehrmacht Remand Prisons were only occupied by a few inmates when the Red Army liberated them at the end of April 1945. In the Berlin-Spandau prison there were 83 military inmates whom the Soviets released on April 26.

SOURCES Primary source information about the Untersuchungsgefängnisse in Berlin is located in BA-MA (RH 13/44; RM 122/164; RW 17/142, 60/3972; RW 2/3, 60/4151; RW 60/4162).

Additional information about the Untersuchungsgefängnisse in Berlin can be found in the following publications: Helmut Altner, *Totentanz Berlin* (Berlin: Berlin Story, 2009); Johannes Fülberth, *Das Gefängnis Spandau 1918–1947:*

Strafvollzug in Demokratie und Diktatur (Berlin: be-bra, 2014); Dietrich Güstrow, *Tödlicher Alltag: Strafverteidiger im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Quadriga, 1981); Norbert Haase, *Das Reichskriegsgericht und der Widerstand gegen die nationalsozialistische Herrschaft* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte deutscher Widerstand, 1993); Norbert Haase, *Deutsche Deserteure* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1987); Hans-Peter Klausch, "Erschiessen-Enthaupten-Erhängen: Hinrichtungsarten und Hinrichtungsorte der NS-Militärjustiz," in "*Was damals Recht*

war … Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht," ed. Ulrich Baumann/Magnus Koch (Berlin: Bebra, 2008), pp. 27–42; Hanns Lilje, *Im finstern Tal: Rechenschaft einer Haft* (Hannover: Lutherhaus, 1985); Harald Poelchau, *Die letzten Stunde: Erinnerungen eines Gefängnispfarrers* (Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1987); Heinrich Scheel, *Vor den Schranken des Reichskriegsgerichts: Mein Weg in den Widerstand* (Berlin: edition q, 1993); Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus, *Der Tod auf steilem Berge: Die "Standgerichtsprozesse" gegen Dietrich Bonhoeffer und Hans von Dohnanyi und die Freisprechung ihrer Mörder* (Bremen: Donat, 2019); Franz Seidler, *Fahnenflucht: Der Soldat zwischen Eid und Gewissen* (Munich: Herbig, 1993); Günther Weisenborn, *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Scheel, *Vor den Schranken des Reichskriegsgerichts*, p. 291.

2. Plötzensee and Brandenburg-Görden prisons will also be covered in volume 5 of the *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.

UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNIS (UG) MUNICH

At the beginning of 1943, an Armed Forces remand prison was established in Munich (map 4d). It was located at Leonrod Street 51-53 and was part of a large building complex in which several military offices were located, including the headquarters of the Military Commander of Munich (*Wehrkreis*) VII and two military courts. The location was significant: the central railway station was nearby and enabled a smooth relocation of prisoners.

The rations were very poor. The prisoners were constantly suffering from starvation. In general, convicts were transferred to other detention centers. However, those sentenced to death remained initially in the remand prison. Moreover, condemned soldiers who had been sentenced by other courts to death by the guillotine and were to be executed in Munich were also kept in the remand prison. Death row inmates remained handcuffed day and night. In their cells, there were no cots to sleep on; they had to lie on the bare floor. Those who were sentenced to death by beheading were transferred to the Munich-Stadelheim prison, where the verdict was executed with a guillotine. Furthermore, short imprisonments (six weeks to several months) were executed in the remand prison.

In August 1944, the remand prison was destroyed by aircraft bombs. Therefore, the prisoners were relocated to the small town of Manching, located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north of Munich. Manching had a fortress, which was part of the fortress of Ingolstadt dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Munich remand prison was now situated in "Fort VIII" there. The prisoners were accommodated in casemates, serving as mass cells, since 20–30 prisoners were held in one cell. In addition, it was always damp and cold.

In "Fort VIII," courts-martial also were held. The court of the 467th Division of the Replacement Army was permanently

accommodated there. Between August 1944 and April 1945, more than 100 death verdicts were imposed in Manching. In general, the sentences were executed at a Wehrmacht artillery range in a gravel pit located in Ingolstadt's Auwaldsee. The first execution took place there on August 24, 1944. The last two executions, involving two Wehrmacht soldiers, were conducted on April 21, 1945. Among these casualties, 75 German soldiers (mainly sentenced for desertion, subversion of the war effort, and cowardice), 9 Italians, 2 Russian officers, and 1 Polish forced laborer were counted.

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SOURCES Primary documents can be found in BA-MA, Freiburg RH 13/44; and RW 2/3.

Additional information is available in the following secondary sources: Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005); Stephanie Reichelt, "Für mich ist der Krieg aus!" Deserteure und Kriegsverweigerer des Zweiten Weltkriegs in München (Munich: Buchendorfer, 1995); Franz Seidler, *Die Militärgerichtsbarkeit der Deutschen Wehrmacht 1939–1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1991); Franz Seidler, *Fahnenflucht: Der Soldat zwischen Eid und Gewissen* (Munich: Herbig, 1993); Lutz Tietmann, "Ingolstadt: Ein Friedhof für Deserteure?" in *Geschichtswerkstatt, Deserteure. Eine notwendige Debatte*, pp. 27–31; and Fritz Wüllner/Fietje Ausländer, Aussonderung und Ausmerzung im Dienste der "'Manneszucht'." Militärjustiz unterm Hakenkreuz, in Fietje Ausländer, *Verräter oder Vorbilder? Deserteure und ungehorsame Soldaten im Nationalsozialismus*(Bremen: Temmen, 1990), pp. 65–89.

UNTERSUCHUNGSGEFÄNGNISSE (UG) PARIS

Paris (map 2) was the headquarters site for most of the major organs of the German occupying power from 1940 to 1944. From October 1940 on, the city was home to the headquarters of the Military Commander in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*). One of the main duties of the German military administration was the maintenance of order and security in the territory. To fulfill that task, the administration employed various means. First, it established regional garrison headquarters (*Kommandanturen*) in different French cities. These headquarters controlled their own military courts. Second, there were several military courts (*Truppengerichte*) in Paris, such as an air force court (*Luftwaffengericht*), and, as a central court, the Court of the Commandant of Greater Paris (*Gericht des Kommandanten von Gross-Paris*). This commandant's court was the largest military court in France and involved more than 20 military judges. It dealt with all cases related to Paris or with those proceedings that took on a large scope, above all, those against a large number of accused or large resistance organizations.

Furthermore, the Military Commander had responsibility for the supervision of the French judiciary. The French judiciary had to serve the German occupation forces. In particular, the courts had to proceed against Communists and Gaullists. Under German pressure, in 1941 the French judiciary established a special court (*Sondergericht*), which included criminal divisions (*Strafkammern*) in Paris and Lyon. Their main purpose was to proceed against political enemies of National Socialism.

In this context, the Wehrmacht required detention areas, especially in Paris. Due to the high number of proceedings against German soldiers and French civilians, the demand for remand (pretrial detention, *Untersuchungshaft*) was high. As the main

detention center, the prison in Paris-Fresnes was requisitioned, since the Germans considered it the most modern French prison. In addition, the Wehrmacht took over the Parisian prisons La Santé and Cherche Midi, in order to use them as branches of Fresnes. Finally, the armed forces also used Fort de Romainville, which was located just outside Paris, as a prison.

In 1940 and 1941, the occupying power behaved with some restraint, in order to encourage collaboration. Offenses by German soldiers were also not yet taken up in great numbers or always punished severely. However, the remand prisons were also used to carry out sentences: soldiers who received prison sentences of up to three months remained in the Paris prisons. Convicted Frenchmen, on the other hand, were transferred to other prisons after sentencing (e.g., Villeneuve St. Georges). German civilians formed a special group: they were charged in front of German military courts only, as this competency was denied to the French courts. German civilians served sentences of up to three months in the Paris armed forces prisons. There was a separate section for women in Fresnes. Italian citizens were also exclusively processed by German courts-martial.

German and Czech exiles took on greater proportions within the system initially. These were individuals who fled before the German advance, for political reasons. After the occupation, they were brought back to Germany or condemned by the German wartime courts in France. In those cases, the German high command (*Oberkommando*) ordered the courts to act as drumhead courts-martial (*Standgericht*) and not to hesitate to pronounce sentences of death for treason or other political offenses.

From the autumn of 1940 to the spring of 1941, a large number of French were imprisoned in the prisons of Fresnes and Cherche Midi, who were supposed to have abused German aviators during the campaign against France in May and June 1940. For this purpose, a so-called special commission (*Sonderkommission*) was established, which included judges from the Luftwaffe and members of the German criminal police (*Kriminalpolizei*).

With that, an additional role came into play for the armed forces remand prisons in Paris: they served as places of accommodation

for people who had been sentenced to death. Executions by shooting were mainly carried out on the Mont Valérien (more than 1,000) but also in Fort de Romainville. The condemned men were transported there in heavily guarded trucks from the remand prisons. For this transport, prisoners were bound together in pairs with iron restraints. Alone the Court of the Commandant of Greater Paris pronounced 850 death sentences between 1941 and 1944 (against French civilians as well as members of the Wehrmacht).

After Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, the French Resistance grew, and the number of attacks against the occupying power increased, so the situation escalated very quickly: in August 1941, the Military Commander ordered hostages to be shot if German soldiers or civil servants fell victim to attacks. These hostages were mainly French (in particular, Jewish or alleged Communists) who were already in German custody. Additionally, all the prisoners in the armed forces remand prisons in Paris became potential candidates for execution.

In addition to these drastic repressive measures, in December 1941 the so-called Night and Fog (*Nacht und Nebel*) program was introduced. Suspected resistance members were either to be court-martialed and sentenced to death within 24 hours or the prisoners were to be transported secretly to Germany, in order to be brought before a special court or the Reich Court-Martial (*Reichskriegsgericht*). In either case, the prisoners' whereabouts were to be withheld: their relatives were not to be able to learn anything of their fate. Even those against whom no resistance activity could be proven remained in German custody and were carried off to concentration camps. The Paris detention sites took on an important function in this context.

From them, the Secret Field Police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*, GFP) deported many of the 5,000 Night and Fog prisoners to Germany.

At least from the end of 1941, one must assume that the Parisian prisons were overcrowded. Generally, those sentenced to more than nine months in prison were deported to the Reich, while only those with lesser sentences were left in the armed forces prisons or handed over to the French judicial authorities. Moreover, to

minimize the danger of escapes, court proceedings were held directly in Fresnes prison from time to time. Questioning by the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*), the GFP, or prosecutors was also increasingly carried out in the prisons.

Starting at the end of 1942, the sentencing practices against German soldiers became stricter. This concerned, for one thing, increased desertion. Convictions rose significantly, because the Wehrmacht occupied southern France in November and captured numerous deserters who, until that point, had been able to hide themselves better in that region than they could in occupied western and northern France.

Many of those arrested were brought before German courts in Paris. Moreover, many other deserters tried to hide themselves in Paris, because the city offered better opportunities to hide—which is why the GFP and regular patrols increased their activities. In addition, there were increased numbers of judgments for "undermining fighting strength" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*), a charge that could cover, among other things, criticizing Germany's political or military leadership (for which the regular punishment was death).

The conditions in the Parisian prisons were particularly bad: the rations were always short, and the cells were not heated, even in the depths of winter. In particular, inmates kept in solitary confinement struggled with depression and loneliness. Sometimes French prisoners sang the *Marseillaise* out of the barred windows of their cells, in order to encourage themselves and other prisoners. During the war, the main Parisian prison, Fresnes, developed into a transportation hub for the transfer of French prisoners to German prisons or penitentiaries (*Zuchthäuser*). While male prisoners were transported to the penitentiary in Rheinbach or the prison in Saarbrücken, female prisoners were brought to the penitentiary in Anrath or the prison in Cologne. Moreover, Cherche Midi and Fort Romainville were used as transit camps for deported Jews from France.

The Germans stopped carrying out prison sentences in the Paris prisons in the summer of 1944. The system by which the French carried out sentences in the service of the German occupying authority broke down in July and August, as the Allies liberated

France. From July 30, 1944 on, French civilians convicted of activities with the French Resistance were handed over to the SS and the Security Police, so that the Wehrmacht had essentially no more responsibility for citizens of France. Existing prisoners were transferred to concentration camps. The sentences of German soldiers were carried out primarily by transferring them to Probationary Units or Field Penal Battalions (*Bewährungs- oder Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*), which were deployed to the front. On August 25, 1944, Paris was liberated, and the armed forces prisons closed down.

Famous prisoners were, among others, the resistance fighters Suzanne Spaaks and Agnès Humbert. The German Catholic priest Abbé Franz Stock gained fame, as he looked after condemned men and was highly respected for his humanity. After the liberation, the German former Military Commander, General der Infanterie Otto von Stülpnagel, was imprisoned in Cherche Midi and committed suicide there in 1948.

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SOURCES Primary source information about the Untersuchungsgefängnisse Paris is located in BArch (R 70/Fkr./13); BA-MA (RH 20-7/298; RH 36/553; RW 4/1191; RW 5/690; RW 35/286; RW 35/308; RW 35/314; RW 35/318; RW 35/1249; RW 60/4166; RWD 19/1; ZA 1/1783); and Staatsarchiv Bremen (3 M 2 h 2 No. 198).

Additional information about the Untersuchungsgefängnisse Paris can be found in the following publications: Claudia Bade, "Deutsche Militärjuristen in Frankreich: Das Gericht des Kommandanten von Gross-Paris," in *NS-Militärjustiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Claudia Bade, Lars Skowronski, and Michael Viebig (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), pp. 213–228; René Closset, *Er ging durch die Hölle: Franz Stock* (Paderborn: Bonifatius Druckerei, 1979); Gael Eismann, "Das Vorgehen der Wehrmachtjustiz gegen die Bevölkerung in Frankreich 1940 bis 1944: Die Eskalation einer scheinbar legalen Strafjustiz," in *NS-Militärjustiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Claudia Bade, Lars Skowronski, and Michael Viebig (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), pp. 109–131; Klaus Gessner, *Geheime*

Feldpolizei: Zur Funktion und Organisation des geheimpolizeilichen Exekutivorgans der faschistischen Wehrmacht (East Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1986); Norbert Haase, *Das Reichskriegsgericht und der Widerstand gegen die nationalsozialistische Herrschaft* (Berlin: Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, 1993); Ernst Jünger, *Sämtliche Werke. Erste Abteilung. Tagebücher III* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998); Peter Lutz Kalmbach, "Besatzungsgerichtsbarkeit und Besatzungsstrafrecht," in *NS-Militärjustiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Claudia Bade, Lars Skowronski, and Michael Viebig (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), pp. 25–43; Peter Lutz Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012); Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995); Manfred Messerschmidt, "Das System Wehrmachtjustiz. Aufgaben und Wirken der deutschen Kriegsgerichte," in *"Was damals Recht war …" Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht*, ed. Ulrich Baumann and Magnus Koch (Berlin: BeBra, 2008), pp. 27–42; Ernst Roskothen, *Gross-Paris 1941–44: Ein Wehrmachtrichter erinnert sich* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1989); Hans Umbreit, *Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich 1940–1944* (Boppart: Harald Boldt, 1968); Wolfram Weber, *Die innere Sicherheit im besetzten Belgien und Nordfrankreich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1978).

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Trans. Sezin Elze and Geoffrey P. Megargee.

WEHRMACHTGEFANGENENLAGER (WGL) DONAU

Alongside the eight German military prisons (*Wehrmachtgefängnisse*, WG), there was also an equivalent institution, WGL Donau, which existed from mid-1941 to September or October 1942. The camp does not appear to have had the status of a reception facility (*Auffangstelle*); it received its prisoners solely through transfers from the military prisons. This status explains its absence from the enforcement plan of September 10, 1941.[1]

The postal address of the Commander of WGL Donau was Leipheim 2, Günzburg (Donau), Fliegerhorst (map 4f).[2] One of the three prisoners' units of the camp was also located in Fliegerhorst Leipheim, east of Ulm. The other two units were located in Regensburg and in the nearby town of Obertraubling.

Before the establishment of WGL Donau, there was already a military prisoners' unit from WG Germersheim in Leipheim, and a unit from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna was located in Obertraubling.[3] The literature on Obertraubling Airport describes the "conversion of a Luftwaffe base into an aircraft factory" beginning in December 1940 and the arrival of "around 2,200 soldiers from the Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) penal company stationed in Grafenwöhr."[4] In fact, the penal unit stationed in Grafenwöhr, Sonderabteilung XIII, a disciplinary "educational unit," comprised only about 100– 200 men (outside of the regular staff), who were only temporarily stationed in Obertraubling. The 2,200 men who arrived on December 4, 1940, belonged instead to the military prisoners' unit (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilung*, WGA) Obertraubling of WG Torgau-Fort Zinna.[5] They were quartered at the airport in barracks surrounded by barbed wire.[6] It is not known when the military prisoners' unit in Leipheim from WG Germersheim arrived. Its strength was at least 1,000 men. After the arrival of a third military prisoners' unit in the area of

Regensburg-Obertraubling, the three units were consolidated into the independent WGL Donau in mid-1941.

The establishment of WGL Donau (as was the case with its predecessor organizations) was closely connected with the needs of the German military aircraft industry. There were important military airfields in both Leipheim and Obertraubling, on which the Messerschmitt company established factories in 1940 for the production of military aircraft. Messerschmitt had manufactured the Me 108 and Me 109 fighters in Regensburg since 1938. In the branch factories at Obertraubling and Leipheim, which were under the Augsburg branch of Messerschmitt, the Me 321 "Gigant" cargo glider and the motorized version, the Me 323, were built; later, the Me 262 jet fighter was built in Leipheim and the rocket-powered Me 163 fighter was built in Obertraubling.[7] The importance of these projects to the OKW is reflected in the May 10, 1941, order that military prisoners who had served their sentence or who had been granted "front probation" be retained in the prisoners' units at Obertraubling and Leipheim to continue to work for the arms industry.[8] Possibly, military prisoners from the Luftwaffe were preferentially selected. Such selections could explain why some sources incorrectly refer to "soldiers from a Luftwaffe penal battalion."[9]

A total of just under 5,000 prisoners passed through WGL Donau. By the end of 1941, there were 4,000 military prisoners working alongside 8,000 civilian laborers in the Messerschmitt factory in Regensburg, the second-largest aircraft factory in Europe. Whether the latter participated in the sabotage actions in the Regensburg factory that were investigated by the Gestapo is not known.[10]

WGL Donau controlled a so-called penal camp unit (*Straflagerabteilung*), as did the eight military prisons. As was the case at the military prisons, such as WG Glatz, for example, these units were used for "custody" of prisoners who were classified as "irredeemable." Those who were considered "pests, criminal types, [and] carriers of hostile spirits" had to endure the harshest conditions of confinement.[11] They were, therefore, considered "protected," while they would actually begin serving their sentences after the war. The penal camp unit in WGL Donau held at least 270 men as of March 1, 1942.[12] Compared with the

eight military prisons, this total is the second highest. Apparently, the living and working conditions in the camp offered sufficient leeway to realize the demand for the hardest imprisonment.

After the Wehrmacht's offensive stalled at the gates of Moscow, in the winter of 1941, the Nazi leadership saw a "reorganization of enforcement" as unavoidable; the result was the "Führer-Order" of April 2, 1942.[13] This "reorganization" had especially grave consequences for WGL Donau until its dissolution in the early fall of 1942. Hitler's order reemphasized that the "probationary potential of the Eastern Front … must be utilized more than it has been to this point."[14] As early as February 12, 1942, the OKW ordered the military prisons, as well as WGL Donau, to "immediately *evaluate* [emphasis in original] once again" whether their prisoners could be recommended "for a commutation of their sentence to probation in their own units or a unit of the regular Army or in the Probationary Units [*Bewährungstruppe*]."[15] The Wehrmacht judges who were tasked with making these recommendations were cautioned that due to the "completely changed situation … commutation of punishment is only to be granted if it is somehow justifiable."[16] The number of prisoners from Regensburg, Obertraubling, and Leipheim who were sent to front probation in the "normal" combat units or in the battalions of Probationary Unit 500 is unknown. Provisions for probation on the "battlefield," as was the case in May 1941 (see above), were barely still in question.

The Führer-Order of April 2, 1942, also included prisoners for whom front probation was out of the question: "In the future some of the condemned will not be able to be deployed (or deployed immediately) to the fighting troops. For those unstable elements, it is necessary to remove the incentive for them to withdraw themselves from the front line through prison sentences by hardening the conditions of imprisonment. For this purpose immediate field prisoners' detachments are to be drawn up, which are to be used in the operational area, if possible in the area where the fighting troops are deployed, for the hardest labor and under the most dangerous circumstances."[17] The implementation of Hitler's order resulted in the large-scale transfer of the military penal system to the front in the field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA), as they were later

known, and in the field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*). The latter were responsible for those previously held in "custody" in the penal camp units.

When the establishment of the first two field penal camps was ordered on April 13, 1942, WGL Donau had to transfer the 270 men in the penal camp unit to WG Torgau-Brückenkopf, where Feldstraflager II was to be formed. The former penal camp unit prisoners were to be transferred beginning on June 1 via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, which thereafter had to collect "all remaining penal camp inmates" and was given sole responsibility for the field penal camps.[18]

On April 14, 1942, the order was given for the establishment of the first three FStGAs. WGL Donau was to send 50 prisoners to FStGA 3, who were to be temporarily kept in WG Anklam. This order was connected to an additional order to report the number of "those prisoners who were to be sent to the FStGAs" by May 5.[19] Thereafter, such reports were created monthly. On the basis of these reports, the respective general at the OKH coordinated the creation of additional field penal battalions and the organization of special transports for those prisoners.

To move the "emphasis of enforcement" from "the military prisons to the field penal battalions and field penal camps" and to increase the potential for use of "front probation," it was essential to have quick and uninterrupted access to the prisoners.[20] In order to secure this access, the OKW made decisive choices about the use of Wehrmacht prisoners in industries unrelated to the Wehrmacht, as had been practiced up to that time. The resulting measures would lead to the dissolution of WGL Donau. It was decided that, beginning on August 15, 1942, Wehrmacht prisoners would "no longer be sent to work outside of the Wehrmacht."[21] Of the 18,000 men who had been sent to work in industrial concerns outside the Wehrmacht by that time, 7,350 were withdrawn by October 1, 1942: "The 7,350 men should be sent to probationary units, field penal battalions, and field penal camps."[22] In the intervening time, the removal of all Wehrmacht prisoners working in war-related businesses outside the Wehrmacht was planned; they were to be replaced by foreign forced laborers, prisoners of war, and concentration camp inmates.

A temporary reprieve from the October 1, 1942 order to send prisoners to probationary and field penal units was granted for those working in the "petroleum industry," which was deemed to be particularly important to the war effort. Here, "transfers to field penal battalions … for the time being will only be allowed" if "competent replacements can be sent from less-important operations." Departures "through criminal proceedings, commutation of sentences to probation" and "transfers to field penal camps" should be delayed, at least "for the time being" "until it is possible to replace them with transfers of prisoners from less-important operations."[23] The Messerschmitt factories in which the prisoners from WGL Donau worked were included among these "less-important operations."

The departure of military prisoners from Leipheim and Regensburg-Obertraubling was so rigorously carried out that the production of the Me 323 in Leipheim ceased on September 26, 1942, because the 1,307 concentration camp prisoners requested by Messerschmitt had not arrived. In Obertraubling, the transfer of 4,100 Soviet prisoners of war was requested in compensation for the military prisoners. However, only between 2,200 and 2,750 men arrived for the planned "Russian camp."[24] In view of these negative effects on aircraft production, it is also noteworthy that the former inmates of WGL Donau were transferred to the field units with some delay. Some of them were subsequently sent to perform excavations at the Wildflecken zum Einatz training ground, where WG Germersheim had previously had a military prisoners' unit. Others were temporarily employed at the exercise ground in Klagenfurt.[25]

It is unclear whether executions took place at the sites of WGL Donau, as was the case at the eight military prisons. Fritz Wüllner writes that executions did take place at Leipheim but does not provide any evidence.[26] In the database of cards in the former Zentralnachweisstelle of the Bundesarchiv, which document death sentences issued by military courts, there is a record of one death sentence handed down against Kanonier Stephan Schein by the court of the 465th Division in 1944; however, there is no indication whether, and, if so, where and when, this sentence was carried out.[27]

SOURCES Primary source information about WGL Donau is located in BA-MA (RL 21/90) and BArch PA.

Additional information about WGL Donau can be found in the following publications: Helmut Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz: Kommunalpolitik in Regensburg während der NS-Zeit* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1994); Peter Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten und der Fliegerhorst Regensburg-Obertraubling 1936–1945* (Regensburg: Buchverlag, 2002), pp. 24–27; Heike Wolter, "Wenn der Krieg um 11 Uhr aus ist, seid ihr um 10 Uhr alle tot!" in *Sterben und Überleben im KZ-Aussenlager Obertraubling*, ed. Heike Wolter (Salzburg: Riedenburg, 2011); Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 895 (OKW, 10.9.1941, 54 f 10 Str 1929/41 AHA/Ag H Str [II]) mit Anlage, pp. 470, 494.

2. Der Chef der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres Az. 54 HR IV b/1 183/42 vom 31.1.1942, reproduced in Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 824.

3. Both were named in Der Chef der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres Az. 54 HR IV a 662/41 vom 13.5.1941, reproduced in Ibid., pp. 821–823.

4. Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz*, p. 330; Wolter, "Wenn der Krieg um 11 Uhr aus ist," pp. 24, 26.

5. Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten*, p. 16.

6. See the camp plan as of July 1941 in Gabriele Vilsmeier, "Der Flugplatz Obertraubling," in *Neutraubling 1951–1976:*

Beiträge zur Geschichte einer bayerischen Vertriebenengemeinde, ed. Josef Fendl (Neutraubling: IG Werbung, 1976), p. 30. See also report of the former Angehörigen der Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilung Obertraubling cited in Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, "Wehrmachtgefängnis Torgau-Fort Zinna," in *Am Eismeer verschollen: Erinnerungen aus der Haftzeit in faschistischen Strafgefangenenlagern in Nordnorwegen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1988), pp. 30–35.

7. See, in reference to the named aircraft types, Hans J. Ebert, Johann B. Kaiser, and Klaus Peters, *Willy Messerschmitt—Pionier der Luftfahrt und des Leichtbaues: Eine Biographie* (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe, 1992), pp. 220–269.

8. See Norbert Haase, *"Gefahr für die Manneszucht": Verweigerung und Widerstand im Spiegel der Spruchtätigkeit von Marinegerichten in Wilhelmshaven (1939–1945)* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), p. 251.

9. Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten*, p. 26.

10. See Wolfgang Schumann und Karl Drechsler, eds., *Deutschland im zweiten Weltkrieg*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1975), p. 233.

11. Der Chef der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres Az. 54 HR VI 317/40 vom 6.5.1940, BA-MA, RH 14/30, Bl. 34.

12. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/Str I/II Str 929/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497. For penal camp custody, see **Feldstraflagern I–III**.

13. Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht 14 a 16 Beih. 1 WR (I 3/4) Nr. 634/42 vom 2.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

14. Ibid.

15. OKW 54 e 10 Strafauss. AHA/Ag/H Str II Str 385/42 vom

12.2.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

16. Chef H Rüst u. BdE 14 c HR IV b/1 212/42 vom 14.3.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

17. Der Führer und Oberste Befehlshaber der Wehrmacht 14 a 16 Beih. 1 WR (I 3/4) Nr. 634/42 vom 2.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

18. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

19. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt. – AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

20. Der Chef des OKW 14 n 16 Beih. 1 WR (I 3/4) 634/42 vom 10.6.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 139.

21. Der Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition. Rüstungsamt Az. 1k35 (Q2p) Rü Ind (Ib) Nr. 3599/42 g vom 1.9.1942, BA-MA, RW 19/954, Bl. 7.

22. KTB Chef Wi Amt vom 12.9.1942, BA-MA, RW 19/169, Bl. 93.

23. Der Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition. Rüstungsamt Az. 1k35 (Q2p) Rü Ind (Ib) Nr. 3599/42 g vom 1.9.1942, BA-MA, RW 19/954, Bl. 7.

24. See Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz*, p. 330; Fabian Sachenbacher, "Die Vorgeschichte. Der Fliegerhorst Obertraubling," in *Sterben und Überleben im KZ-Außenlager Obertraubling*, ed. Heike Wolter (Salzburg: Riedenburg, 2011), p. 24; Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten*, pp. 78–80; Vilsmeier, "Der Flugplatz Obertraubling," pp. 32, 34.

25. See Schmoll, *Messerschmitt-Giganten*, p. 80. The transfer from Obertraubling to Wildflecken is also mentioned in the curriculum vitae of Fritz D. from July 3, 1946, reproduced in Jörg Kammler, *Ich habe die Metzelei satt und laufe über … Kasseler Soldaten zwischen Verweigerung und Widerstand (1939–1945): Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed.

(Fuldabrück: Hesse, 1985), p. 34.

26. See Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 818.

27. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei, Bl. 436.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) ANKLAM

WG Anklam was mentioned in official documentation as early as November 1938, albeit with the additional designation "Zwischenunterkunft Glatz" (today Kłodzko, Poland).[1] The provisional unit in Glatz became necessary because the prison in Anklam, which had originally been intended as a women's detention center, would only be available in late 1940 due to construction delays.[2] WG Anklam had a capacity of 600 prisoners, but it was almost constantly overcrowded. In 1944 and 1945, there were consistently around 1,500 prisoners crammed into the individual and group cells at Anklam. It is estimated that, in total, more than 15,000 prisoners passed through Anklam (map 4b).

Oberstleutnant Heinrich Tschersich, who had served as commandant of Zwischenunterkunft Glatz, was subsequently named commandant of WG Anklam. Tschersich was a professional soldier of 16 years. In early 1944, he volunteered to be sent to the eastern front but was instead deployed with the Feldgendarmerie in southern Poland. Oberstleutnant Nickel replaced him as commandant of Anklam in the summer of 1944 and remained there until its evacuation.

Under the "enforcement plan" of September 10, 1941, Anklam was to hold Wehrmacht soldiers from Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) II and XI, Luftwaffe men from Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) XI, and sailors from the Baltic Sea Naval Station (*Marinestation Ostsee*) sentenced to prison terms of longer than six weeks; it shared responsibility for the sailors with WG Graudenz (today Grudziądz, Poland). Later, prisoners from the occupied areas of Northern Europe and Fin-land were also sent to Anklam.[3] Under the enforcement plan of November 27, 1942, which came into effect on January 1, 1943, the responsibilities of WG Anklam were expanded because WG Graudenz was redesignated (possibly temporarily) as a reception center

(*Aufnahmeanstalt*).[4] Afterward, Anklam also received army prisoners from Defense District I, Luftwaffe prisoners from Air Defense District I, and Wehrmacht prisoners from the rear area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) and part of the territory of the Armed Forces Commander (*Wehrmachtbefehlshaber*) Ostland. In 1944, British and Belgian officers were temporarily brought to Anklam, having been sentenced to several months' imprisonment for "threats" or "insults" to Germans. Under the enforcement plan that took effect in January 1943, the overcrowded WG Graudenz was responsible for the "French, Belgians, English, [and] Americans" being sentenced for violations of military law; this responsibility presumably passed to Anklam after Graudenz was converted into a reception center.[5]

Like the other WGs, Anklam not only was a place where ordinary prisoners served out their sentences but also was for the "detention" of those prisoners who, by virtue of confirmation by the judicial authorities or application on the part of the prison commandant, were classified as "incapable of improvement." This detention was carried out under harsher conditions in the so-called penal camp unit (*Straflagerabteilung*), in which the actual sentence would begin only after the war ended. The strength of the Anklam penal camp unit, which existed until April 1942, was at least 100 men as of March 1, 1942.[6]

Alongside the transfer to penal camp units, candidates were continuously selected for a "commutation" of their sentence to "front probation" in combat roles. These "front probationers" could be deployed alongside normal combat units or in a battalion of the separately established Probation Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[7] On February 12, 1942, the OKW ordered the commandants of the WGs to "immediately re-examine" their prisoners to determine whether they could be recommended "for a commutation of sentence to probation" in a combat role.[8] The total number of prisoners from Anklam who were sent to front probation is unknown.

Beginning on March 25, 1942, the forced use of the possibilities for front probation was accompanied by a "reorganization" of the prison system, which was to be implemented "according to

uniform criteria, in battalions with companies" from that point forward.[9] Along with the labor companies, in which military drill took place before and after the work as well as during the marches to and from the labor sites, a socalled training company (*Ausbildungskompanie*) was also established at Anklam. In the training company, those who were soon to be sent to the front were no longer required to work but performed military drills instead (sometimes with weapons, but with no ammunition).

Along with "parade drill and exercises to encourage toughness and courage,"[10] the other German prisoners were also sent on labor details. Prisoners from WG Anklam worked at the Arado Airplane Factory, Oldenburg Furniture Factory, Pomeranian Sugar Factory, the property of the Baron von Schwerin in Ziethen, Burmeister Sawmill, Breitsprecher Coal Plant, and the Ruhrbeck and Raiffeisen firms. WG prisoners were also used for community labor, such as the construction of a bridge on Greifswalder Strasse and the construction of temporary shelters on the Ringstrasse in Anklam. Military construction projects were set up at the air base in Anklam and the airfield in Sanitz.

Alongside the labor details, in which military drill took place before and after work, a so-called training company was also established in Anklam. In the training company, men who were soon to be returned to the front were no longer sent to labor but rather only performed military drills. Former Anklam prisoner Werner Ulrich belonged to this company in late 1944. He recalled that "in the training company we also practiced on a training-*Panzerfaust* [antitank rocket launcher]. We were often required to perform exercises at the Richthofen Airport. We trained not only during the day but also at night. There were 30–40 kilometer [18.6–25 mile] night-marches. When we returned from those, we lined up alphabetically. Then the day duty began later."[11]

In addition, WG Anklam supervised three armed forces prisoner units (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*, WGAs) as of 1941: WGA Pinnow in Kreis Angermünde (later relocated to and renamed WGA Rathenow), WGA Bernau (near Berlin), and WGA Schwerin. By 1942, only WGA Bernau remained, and three new units were created: WGA Clauen (between Hannover and Braunschweig), WGA Fallingbostel (near Celle), and WGA

Peenemünde auf Usedom.[12] In Pinnow and Clauen, the prisoners worked in the local Wehrmacht munitions factories; in Rathenow, the prisoners worked at the Arado Airplane Factory; and in Peenemünde, the prisoners from Anklam worked at the rocket testing facility and as agricultural laborers on military property. Where prisoners from Anklam were used by nonmilitary entities, those employers had to pay hourly wages to the military. The prisoners (with the exception of those in the penal camp probationary units) received—conditional upon good behavior—a small part of this payment as "work remuneration."[13]

In April 1942, the "majority of the punishment" of military prisoners was moved to the penal camp units in the area of the front, specifically the field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenenabteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*).[14] The goal of these measures was to intensify the deterrent effect of military prison for the soldiers at the front by introducing dangerous work such as the construction of battlefield fortifications. Additionally, it would reduce the overcrowding of the military prisons. On April 13, 1942, WG Anklam was ordered to send 100 prisoners to WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, where Feldstraflager I was to be formed with a strength of 600 men.[15] In Anklam itself, six field penal battalions were formed later: on May 1, 1942, FStGA 3; on August 1, 1942, FStGA 4; on September 10, 1942, FStGA 8; on November 1, 1942, FStGA 11; on January 5, 1943, FStGA 14; and on March 20, 1943, FStGA 17.

WG Anklam also functioned as a remand prison (*Untersuchungsgefängnis*) and a detention facility for prisoners who were sentenced to death. Prisoners who were sentenced to terms in penitentiary were normally declared "unworthy of the military," expelled from the Wehrmacht, and sent by the Reich Ministry of Justice to "detention" in the penal camps in the Emsland district of Germany. Those who were sentenced to death were sent to the death cells, which were located in the cellar of the south wing of the prison, where they were chained hand and foot. From October 14, 1941, to April 26, 1945, at least 123 prisoners are known to have been executed at WG Anklam, most for desertion or "subversion of the military's strength" (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*). By 1944, several officers had also been executed at Anklam.

Between mid-April and mid-October 1943, no executions by firing squad took place in Anklam because of the "Führer Order" of March 4, 1943, which required that death sentences for military crimes "be carried out by beheading or hanging."[16] The "dishonorable" beheading and the "shameful" hanging were seen as worse punishments for these criminals compared with the "soldier's death" by a bullet. Those who were held at Anklam awaiting their executions were sent to Posen (today Poznań, Poland), where they were beheaded in the investigative prison. It is likely that additional prisoners from Anklam were executed by guillotine or at the gallows.

From the end of October 1943, executions at Anklam were once again carried out by shooting, in large numbers. According to the former staff director (*Stabsintendant*) of Anklam, Karl Prill, the judicial officer (*Gerichtsoffizier*) in Anklam, Leutnant Bethke, strongly advocated for the return to the old method because the deterrent effect of shooting was believed to be stronger than that of beheading; the transport costs and escape risk from transferring prisoners to Posen likely played a role in the decision. Two Belgian citizens were also executed in WG Anklam: Georges Mommens, who was arrested by the SD in Brussels for "communist activities" died there on March 17, 1944; his compatriot Josef Gypen was executed on March 26, 1944, for "failure to fulfill duties."[17]

Alongside the transfers to Probation Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500, which had been continuous since 1941, in the late summer of 1944, three special transports were delivered to SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger—officially known as the 36th Waffen Grenadier Division—which operated within the Waffen-SS as a "probation unit." Around 1,000 military prisoners from WG Anklam were sent to SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger during the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, during the Slovak National Uprising, and, finally, to service on the eastern front.[18]

As Soviet troops overran the borders of the Reich, an "Alarm-Battalion Anklam" was created from men destined for front probation on January 21, 1945. This 200-man battalion, led by officers from the prison's guards, was thrown against the Red Army near Schneidemühl. One member of the unit was

"probation-gunner" Werner Beissel, who was executed for "false reports and unauthorized withdrawal" on February 24, 1945.[19] Additionally, prisoners from Anklam were sent to Probation Unit 500 until March 1945. One of them was former U-boat commander Hartmuth Schimmelpfennig, who was sentenced to an 18-month term in Anklam in January 1945 for homosexuality; he was killed in action with Probation Unit 500 in the Battle of Berlin on April 27, 1945.[20]

On April 28, 1945, the evacuation of WG Anklam began. After some of the prisoners and guards were marched toward Neubrandenburg (and possibly Küstrin) to be sent into combat against the Red Army, the remainder of the prisoners and guards set out to the west. The probable destination of their march was Zuchthaus Dreibergen Bützow, but the column was overtaken by the Red Army in Bad Sulza on May 1, 1945. Along with the men in the column, the longtime commandant, Oberst Heinrich Tschersich, who had returned to Anklam at the end of 1944, was captured. While other officers from Anklam had already returned to Germany in 1947, Tschersich was sentenced to a 25-year prison term.[21] However, he was released in 1954. He moved from Anklam to Gelsenkirchen in West Germany, where he received a 2,000 deutsche mark pension as a "late returner" (*Spätheimkehrer*) and long-tenured officer.

SOURCES Primary source information about WG Anklam is located in the Archiv des Stadtgeschichtlichen Museums Anklam (Hefter Wehrmachtgefängnis); BA-Abteilung Potsdam; ZA Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten: Dok. K Nr. 381 (Bewährungseinheiten der faschistischen Wehrmacht); and BArch PA, ("Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall").

Additional information about WG Anklam can be found in the following publications: Andreas Wagner, *"In Anklam aber empfängt mich die Hölle …" Dokumentation zur Geschichte des Wehrmachtgefängnisses Anklam 1940–1945* (Schwerin: delego, 2000); Günther Rosahl, *Unruhige Zeiten: Jugenderinnerungen* (Kückenshagen: Scheunen, 2002); Friedrich Bartels, … *vom Ackerboden zum Lebensfeld … Festschrift zum Gedenktag an den Beginn der diakonischen*

Arbeit in Züssow vor sechzig Jahren am 15. September 2005 (Pommerschen Diakonieverein Züssow, 2005), pp. 5–6; Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 821–825; and *Heimatkalender Anklam und Umgebung 2003, Bd. 74, NF 12* (Uckerland, 2002), pp. 54–58.

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NOTES

1. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1938, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1938 (5.), Nr. 715 (OKW, 9.11.1938—54 d 10—Ag E II/GrStr [II]), S. 270.

2. Wagner, *"In Anklam aber empfängt mich die Hölle,"* pp. 18–42.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 895 (OKW, 10.9.1941, 54 f 10 Str 1929/41 AHA/Ag H Str [II]) mit Anlage, S. 470, 494.

4. See Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]) mit Anlage, S. 576, 613.

5. Ibid., S. 577.

6. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/Str I/II Str 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

7. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995).

8. OKW 54 e 10 Strafauss. AHA/Ag/H Str II Str 385/42 vom 12.2.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

9. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 287 (Neugliederung der Wehrmachtstrafanstalten, OKW, 25.3.1942—B 54 e—AHA/AgII [Str]), S. 169 f.

10. Kurze Übersicht über Organisation und Aufgaben des Wehrmachtstrafvollzuges, der Bewährungstruppe sowie der Sondereinheiten des Heeres, Berlin, den 16.3.1943, S. 6, BAMA, RH 14/37.

11. Archiv Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Anklam: Hefter Wehrmachtgefängnis.

12. Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, pp. 821–825.

13. See WG Bruchsal.

14. Der Chef des OKW 14 n 16 Beih. 1 WR (I 3/4) 634/42 vom 10.6.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 139.

15. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

16. Reproduced with a supplementary provision from the OKH from 29.3.1943 in Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1943, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1943 (10.), Nr. 342, S. 233.

17. BArch PA, Gräberliste Anklam, Nr. 115, 116.

18. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), pp. 105–123. Some cases from Anklam are described in Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina": Strafgerichtsbarkeit in der deutschen Kriegsmarine 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 233.

19. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Werner Beissel. Das Urteil hatte am 21.2.1945 ein SS-Gericht gefällt; cf. Lothar Walmrath, *"Iustitia et disciplina,"* pp. 243, 390.

20. Mitteilung der Deutschen Dienststelle (WASt) betr. Hartmuth Schimmelpfennig vom 7.11.1984 (copy in possession of the author); cf. Günter Saathoff, Michael Eberlein, Roland Müller, *Dem Tode entronnen. Zeitzeugeninterviews mit Überlebenden der NS-Militärjustiz* (Cologne: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 1993), pp. 54, 92; cf. Wagner, *"In Anklam aber empfängt mich die Hölle,"* p. 50.

21. Bericht Heinrich Tschersich jun. vom 20.6.1962, Archiv Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Anklam: Hefter Wehrmachtgefängnis.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) BRUCHSAL

The history of WG Bruchsal dates to the eighteenth century, when a part of the old castle was converted into a prison (1745) and half of the barracks were turned into a detention center (1776).[1] In the Weimar period, this facility housed a psychiatric prison, which held 49 prisoners, a women's detention center with 60 cells, and a prison complex for 156 female prisoners.[2] On December 15, 1939, the Wehrmacht took over the compound, where an external unit of WG Germersheim was established. By the beginning of 1940, it had been redesignated as WG Bruchsal (map 4f).

Under the "enforcement plan" of September 10, 1941, WG Bruchsal was responsible for the confinement of Wehrmacht soldiers from Defense District (*Wehrkreis*) V and VII and Luftwaffe men from Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) VII who had been sentenced to prison terms of more than six weeks. It also held Wehrmacht soldiers from occupied Western Europe, a responsibility it shared with WG Freiburg and WG Germersheim.[3] In the summer of 1944, the military prisons (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnisse*, KWGs) in Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania) and Dubno were dissolved and their inmates were transferred to Bruchsal.[4]

The capacity of WG Bruchsal increased during the war. A noncommissioned officer (NCO) who was assigned to the prison guard staff between August 1940 and April 1941 estimated the prison's population during that time to be at least 600.[5] Heinrich Karl Maria Meybrink, who was brought to Bruchsal as an investigative prisoner in November 1944, said that there were around 1,000 prisoners and at times as many as 1,200–1,300.[6] The total number of prisoners who passed through Bruchsal is estimated at 12,400.[7] Bruchsal also held prisoners who were to be sent to the penal camp units (*Straflagerabteilungen*). These prisoners were deemed "unable to be improved" by the judgment

of a court or the recommendation of a prison commandant. The Bruchsal penal camp unit held at least 110 men as of March 1, 1942.[8]

Alongside the transfer of prisoners to the penal camps, WG Bruchsal was also responsible for the selection of prisoners who were deemed to be candidates for commutation of their sentence to "front probation" in combat zones. Front probation could be served in normal combat units or in a battalion of the separate Probation Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[9] On February 12, 1942, the OKW ordered WG Bruchsal to "immediately re-evaluate" its prisoners to determine whether they could be recommended "for a commutation of sentence to probation" in combat.[10] The total number of those who were sent to front probation from Bruchsal is unknown. In September 1944, a special transport of around 300 prisoners from WG Bruchsal was sent to SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger—officially known as the 36th Waffen Grenadier Division, which operated within the Waffen-SS as a "probation unit"—which participated in the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising and Slovak National Uprising and in operations at the front.[11]

The labor details from WG Bruchsal were mostly deployed outside the city. While officers and NCOs were sent to work on vegetable farms, enlisted inmates were taken by train every day to Ludwigshafen and Oppau, where they worked to repair the IG Farben AG Factory, which had been damaged by air raids, or on the railroads.[12] Other prisoners from Bruchsal unloaded goods in the Rhine ports. An "arrangement for prisoners from WG Bruchsal with [the] state-owned Rhine port" in Karlsruhe from March 18, 1940,[13] stated that 32 prisoners from Bruchsal would work 12 hours per day (with a half-hour lunch break) in the port, for which the prisoners would be paid 40 Reichspfennig an hour.[14] The hourly rate was supposed to be at a similar level in other locations where Wehrmacht prisoners were used. In the last year of the war, prisoners were also employed scrapping old batteries for raw material.[15]

In addition, WG Bruchsal supervised two armed forces prisoner units (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*, WGAs) in Siegelsbach and Neckarzimmern, both near Mosbach am Neckar. In 1942, WGA Neckarzimmern continued to operate along with a new WGA in Wesseling, near Cologne; it was later transferred to

WG Germersheim.[16] In Siegelsbach, the prisoners were employed in an army munitions depot, while in Neckarzimmern, they were sent to a munitions storage facility. In Wesseling, they were probably sent to work for the Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoff AG.

Hard labor alone did not meet the standard for the recommended "toughness" of the regime in WG Bruchsal; military drill and meager rations also played a role. As in the other WGs, a "Führer Order" required strong disciplinary measures constituting "strict arrest." The "strict arrest" was practiced, as in all other units, with "intensified arrest" with "hard conditions" and "bread and water," while additional intensified measures included "daily outdoor exercise" and "darkened arrest cells."[17] In Bruchsal, the cells were located in the dungeon of the old castle.[18]

In April 1942, the "majority of the punishment" of military prisoners was moved from the WGs and their penal camp units to the front area, in the field penal battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGAs) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*). The goal of this measure was to create a greater deterrent effect on the fighting troops by placing the military prisoners in dangerous tasks such as the construction of frontline fortifications. In addition, overcrowding in the WGs could be reduced. On April 13, 1942, WG Bruchsal was ordered to send 110 prisoners to WG Torgau-Brückenkopf, where Feldstraflager II, with a planned strength of 600 men, was being organized. From June 1, 1942, all prisoners destined for the penal camps were to be sent via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, which was thereafter given the responsibility for "collecting all those to be held in the penal camps" and held sole responsibility for the field penal camps.[19]

On April 14, 1942, the order was given for the establishment of FStGA 1, 2, and 3. WG Bruchsal was ordered to send 50 prisoners to WG Germersheim, where FStGA 2 was being formed. Thereafter, WG Bruchsal was to send monthly reports on "the number of military prisoners sent to the FSt-GAs" to the OKW.[20] These reports were used by the general at the OKW who was responsible for the FStGAs to determine the organization of special transports for the prisoners assigned to the FStGAs and the creation of new FStGAs. No field penal units were formed in WG Bruchsal itself, but there were regular transports to other WGs for

the formation of FStGAs.[21]

To create additional reserves for the front, in September 1944, in a major departure from previous practice, prisoners declared to be "unworthy of the military" who had been sentenced to prison were sent to the penal camps of the Reich Justice Administration (*Reichjustizverwaltung*). A large number of these men were to be deemed "conditionally unworthy of the military" and enrolled in the prison companies, which were later integrated into the FStGAs.[22] These measures also affected the March 1942 "Reclassification of the Wehrmacht Penal Facilities" in labor and training companies, which experienced an expansion.

Unlike the other WGs within the Reich, there were, for a long time, no executions under military justice at WG Bruchsal. Apparently, there was no shooting range or another area usable for executions, such as a gravel pit or quarry, available. However, cells at Bruchsal held prisoners sentenced to death, beginning at the latest in late 1941. They were then taken to one of the larger surrounding garrisons at Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, or Karlsruhe for execution. On January 21, 1942, Max Bender was executed at the Dornhalde shooting range in Stuttgart.[23] In June 1942, at least three deserters, former prisoners of Bruchsal, were shot: on June 3, Otto Janikowski,[24] on June 10, Hans Meisel, and on June 17, Karl Seifert.[25] Helmut Nickel, another prisoner from WG Bruchsal, was executed on October 14, 1942, at a shooting range in Karlsruhe.[26] One further execution was carried out in the subordinate WGA Wesseling: Martin Reichhart was sentenced to death for desertion and shot on March 11, 1943.[27]

As of mid-April 1943, military executions were to be carried out by beheading or hanging rather than shooting. One of those affected by this decision was Bruchsal prisoner Herbert Hosters, who was sentenced to death for desertion. On July 26, 1943, he was taken to the investigative prison in Stuttgart, where he was beheaded.[28] It is not known if other Bruchsal prisoners died under the guillotine in Stuttgart, but additional prisoners from Bruchsal were executed in the following period (after the preferred execution method reverted to firing squad) at the Poppenweiler shooting range near Ludwigsburg, including Leonhard Maier on January 18, 1944, and Josef Blöchinger, on June 23, 1944.[29] To relieve the executioner at Stuttgart, an additional guillotine was

installed at Bruchsal in the early summer of 1944.[30]

On March 1, 1945, Bruchsal was the target of an American bombing raid that killed nearly 1,000 people in the city. The WG was hit by conventional and incendiary bombs and completely destroyed. The number of victims among the prisoners was comparatively low because the thick prison walls protected them and the cells were quickly evacuated. Those sentenced to death and prison terms were thereafter held in the undamaged civilian jail on the Schönbornstrasse.

On March 11, 1945, the five companies of the destroyed WG Bruchsal were taken by foot and then by train in the direction of Neuburg an der Donau, where the transport arrived five days later. There, the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Companies were housed in a barn surrounded by barbed wire at a Wehrmacht detention center—probably the former WGA Neu-burg—which was already overcrowded. The 3rd and 4th Companies were taken to the Wehrmacht investigative prison in Ingolstadt. Shortly thereafter, the prisoners from Neuburg and Ingolstadt were taken to the SS barracks at the Dachau concentration camp, where they formed a Wehrmacht probationary battalion. The designation "Bewährungsregiment VII, Einheit Bender"[31] probably indicated that it was considered to be part of Probationary Unit 500, whose last battalions were denoted with Roman numerals and the name of the commander.[32] On April 28, 1945, the former Bruchsal inmates in the probationary unit received ammunition. They were marched to the south to meet the American troops, however, they do not seem to have been involved in any significant fighting.

SOURCES Primary source information about WG Bruchsal is located in BArch PA, and BArch B 162/26240.

Additional information about WG Bruchsal can be found in the following publications: Rainer Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn: Ein Weg Geschichte* (Bruchsal: ERKA-Kommunikation im Heimat- und Volkskunde, 1989); Werner Greder, *Bruchsal als Garnisonsstadt* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Regionalkultur, 1999); Alexia Kira Haus, *Bruchsal und der Nationalsozialismus: Geschichte einer nordbadischen Stadt in den Jahren 1918–1940* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Regionalkultur, 2001); and Karl Maria

Meybrink, *Armee ohne Koppel: Erzählung nach den Aufzeichnungen eines Wehrkraftzersetzers und Deserteurs* (Münster: AT, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn*, pp. 90, 113.

2. See Albert Hasse, "Die Gefangenanstalten in Deutschland und die Organisation ihrer Verwaltung," in *Deutsches Gefängniswesen: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Erwin Bumke (Berlin: Vahlen, 1928), p. 55.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 895 (OKW, 10.9.1941, 54 f 10 Str 1929/41 AHA/Ag H Str [II]) mit Anlage, p. 470, 494.

4. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM), hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1944 (11.), Nr. 455 (OKW – 54 a 13 – Truppen-Abt. [Str. I] vom 24.8.1944), p. 249.

5. Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn*, p. 102.

6. Meybrink, *Armee ohne Koppel*, p. 71.

7. Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn*, p. 93.

8. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/Str I/II Str 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

9. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995).

10. OKW 54 e 10 Strafauss. AHA/Ag/H Str II Str 385/42 vom 12.2.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

11. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform:*

Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), pp. 105–123.

12. Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn*, pp. 87, 90, 97–99, 102; Greder, *Bruchsal als Garnisonsstadt*, p. 84.

13. Jürgen Schuhladen-Krämer, "Aus Ruinen in die Spitzengruppe der Binnenhäfen," in *Rheinhafen Karlsruhe 1901–2001*, ed. Ernst Otto Bräunche (Karlsruhe: INFO, 2001), p. 371.

14. *Vorschrift für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen und anderer Freiheitsentziehung in der Wehrmacht. Vom 4. Dezember 1937* (Berlin, 1940) (unchanged reprint), p. 66.

15. Meybrink, *Armee ohne Koppel*, 75.

16. See Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 821–825.

17. "Verordnung über die disziplinare Verhängung von strengem Arrest in der Wehrmacht" [undated, December 1939], reproduced in *"Führer-Erlasse" 1939–1945*, ed. Martin Moll (Stuttgart: Nikol, 1997), p. 106. For more information on intensified arrest, see *Vorschrift für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen*, p. 33.

18. Kaufmann, *Seilersbahn*, pp. 101, 112, 114.

19. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

20. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt. – AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

21. See Kristina Brümmer-Pauly, *Desertion im Recht des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: BWV, 2006), p. 200.

22. See Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol,

2012), p. 190; Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 256–258.

23. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Max Bender.

24. Buchwald, Meine Geschichte.

25. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilungen für Hans Meisel und Karl Seifert.

26. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Helmut Nickel.

27. BArch PA, Todesurteile-Kartei (Bl. 372 der fotokopierten form).

28. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Herbert Hosters.

29. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilungen für Josef Blöchinger und Leonhard Maier.

30. See Thomas Waltenbacher, *Zentrale Hinrichtungsstätten: Der Vollzug der Todesstrafe in Deutschland von 1937–1945* (Berlin: Zwillig Berlin, 2008), pp. 180–185.

31. Meybrink, *Armee ohne Koppel*, p. 148.

32. See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 300–318.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

The facility that held the WG in Freiburg im Breisgau (map 4f) was commissioned in 1878 as "Grand Duke-Baden State Prison (*Landesgefängnis*) Freiburg (Central Corrections Facility)," and completed in October of the same year. A star-shaped or radial building with five wings, it was modeled after the so-called Pennsylvania style of modern American prisons of the time. At the beginning of Germany's war with France in 1939, civilian prisoners in what was then known as Freiburg State Prison were transferred to other prisons in Württemberg, farther from the French border. From February 1940, Freiburg State Prison served almost exclusively as a WG; only a few cells on one floor of one of the facility's five wings were used for civilian prisoners.

Little archival documentation for WG Freiburg exists. Neither the average occupancy of the prison nor exact counts of incoming and outgoing prisoners and convicts can be determined. There are also few precise records about the guard personnel, and the names of the commandants are unknown. The only available sources concerning the prison are unpublished memoirs of former prisoners and members of the guard and administrative staff.

One of these memoirs was written by a former Luftwaffe noncommissioned officer (NCO) who had been stationed at the air base in Freiburg since 1941. He was arrested in August 1942 for expressing criticisms in letters to his wife and his father, which were discovered by the censor, and charged with undermining the military's fighting strength (*Wehrkraftzersetzung*) and violating the treason law. He had been taken to WG Freiburg on remand. He wrote that he

> was, as a prisoner on remand, naturally in solitary confinement, in a cell which consisted of a cot with 2 wool blankets and a head wedge, a very small table with stools and

a built-in latrine in one corner. The barred window was so high that I couldn't see even a slice of heaven from it…. Luckily I was permitted to read in Freiburg—newspapers as well as books from the library. These books were then mostly old tomes, but there were nevertheless perhaps interesting works among them. I had a penchant for reading travel literature like that of Sven Hedin and other researchers in the Arctic and Antarctica. The approved periodical holdings furthermore had the advantage of being able to protect me from the increasingly cold nights—in which I spread newspapers under the bed linens and between the blankets…. Since I [was rushed to the prison] after the imprisonment … around mid-morning, "lunch" came a short time afterwards: 2 so-called helpers [*Kalfaktoren*] went from cell door to cell door with a large bucket full of soup, opened the little flap in the iron door, and handed us through a tin bowl and a spoon. This first "mealtime" has stayed in my memory. It was a soup made of red cabbage with chunks of potato, and if my appetite wasn't already gone anyway, it was then. I poured the swill in the toilet as not to allow the opinion to develop that I was satisfied. Initially, however, I went hungry for a few days with the exception of the dry army bread in the morning…. As I gradually got my wits about me again, I wrote my brother—who is a lawyer and attorney—a letter and asked him to procure legal aid for me and to explain my fate to my poor parents. Postal transport was granted to prisoners on remand, even if every letter that came and went was also read and stamped by the censor…. After a few days, and before some legal steps had been taken, I was transferred to the WG of Berlin-Tegel.[1]

Little other information is available about the daily life of prisoners in the WG or the labor the prisoners had to perform. Residents of the city recalled that the prisoners were used for heavy loading and unloading work in nearby freight yards. It is also reported that the prisoners had to perform punitive physical exercise while burdened with bricks.

Executions are known to have been carried out at WG Freiburg. The above-quoted Luftwaffe NCO had been forced to participate

as a rifleman in a firing squad at the prison in 1941, prior to his own imprisonment. He recalled that

> [o]n the next morning the whole company was marched at gunpoint to the site of the shooting range and arranged in the prescribed order. We eight riflemen had one live cartridge each and stood in a double column approx. eight meters [26 feet] in front of the pole, which was generally designated as a stake. Shortly thereafter a truck came: In its bed sat a delinquent shackled with long chains, the Oberfeldwebel from the WG and two other escorts were with him. The poor guy was deathly pale and couldn't walk anymore. So he was propped up by the two escorts and dragged to the pole, and his chains were rewound around the pole. He clearly would have fallen to the ground without this. This dragging to the pole was a heart-wrenching sight. Now everything went according to plan: The court martial official read the verdict once more, the military priest said a short prayer and crossed himself. Then the poor guy was blindfolded and the troop doctor pinned a paper patch as a target on his canvas jacket, over his heart. An officer stood nearby, pistol drawn, who would have shot the delinquent once more out of mercy [*Gnadenschuss*] if he was not killed immediately…. On the signal of a whistle we then had to shoot into the patch, and thereby into his heart. After the shooting the guy's head drooped—he had surely endured no more bodily pain, provided that he still had his senses. Afterwards the chains were taken off again, the patch was checked for the 8 shots—it was previously said to us that he who didn't shoot would be punished. I had actually played with this idea, but then forgot about it; because the execution would be completed at any rate…. The aftermath was then particularly shameful: before the dead were laid in the coffin that was brought along, someone took off his lace-up shoes—clearly "objects necessary to the war!"[2]

Residents reported that the executed inmates were buried in a special section of the Freiburg Cemetery (*Hauptfriedhof*), which is located near the prison. However, because the graves of all

soldiers buried at the cemetery were ceremonially adorned during the war on the so-called Hero's Memorial Day (*Heldengedenktag*; March 16 or the Sunday preceding March 16), it was possible to determine which graves were for executed prisoners, as they were the only ones not decorated. In this way, they could also discern how many executions there had been in the last year since the last Hero's Memorial Day. However, these numbers were apparently not recorded, and thus it is not known how many prisoners were executed at WG Freiburg.

In 1942, the military penal system became harsher through the creation of field penal units (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, or FStGAs) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*). WG Freiburg was responsible for one FStGA: FStGA 6, which was deployed to the Eighteenth Army (*Armeeoberkommando*, AOK 18) in the sector of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*) on the eastern front. Convicted soldiers who had been interned in WG Freiburg and received a sentence of at least three years were transferred to FStGA 6. In mid-1944, during the Wehrmacht's withdrawal to the west, FStGA 6 was deployed to Army Group G on the Upper Rhine, not far from WG Freiburg. Near the end of the war, the remnants of FStGA 6 were deployed to Army Group Center in Silesia.

WG Freiburg was damaged by a large British bombing raid on the city on the evening of November 27, 1944. The southern wing of the prison, pointing in the direction of the inner city, was partially destroyed. Around 120 military prisoners used this opportunity to escape. A number of prisoners who escaped from the burning prison were scattered in the surrounding streets. There they performed rescue and clearing work in the neighborhood particularly affected by the bombing raid. Many of these prisoners were recaptured and brought back to the prison, while others returned voluntarily the next morning. Heinrich Himmler decided to establish a special *Auffangsstab* from the army's Secret Field Police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*) and Field Gendarmerie (*Feldgendarmerie*) to find the remaining escapees; nonetheless, many succeeded in either making it to the Allied lines in Alsace or hiding in the Black Forest. One of those who fled that night was the Austrian writer H. C. Artmann (1921–2000), who was able to

make it all the way to his hometown of Vienna, where he remained until the end of the war. In an interview shortly before his death, he spoke publicly about his escape from WG for the first time:

> In the bombardment of Freiburg half the city was destroyed, this was on November 27, [19]44. I was interned there. And in this attack the prison walls actually fell down. It looked like a doll's house without the wall. So there I jumped down and took off…. No, first I jumped into shit, since the toilet was there, to put it bluntly, and I looked like a hog. And then I was in the private quarters of the prison director, who thank God was about my size, got undressed, washed, dressed, took his stamps, so I basically robbed [him]. The food stamps…. Yeah, you got these stubs there. You definitely needed them, otherwise you didn't get anything. I stuffed them in my pocket. And then I was out, as a civilian. Then I helped with the rescue efforts a little. The whole city was ablaze. Yeah, and then I [took off] toward … Donaueschingen …. Well, anywhere the Donau flowed… I also hid myself there. But there was a son-in-law there, an SS man, and this was very dangerous. But he'd already had it up to here…. Yeah, and so then I took off from there and took a train without a ticket (*bin schwarzgefahren*).[3]

After the bombing raid, the remaining prisoners were transferred to Wildflecken. For a short time, the prison was nearly empty, but, in March 1945, a group of civilian prisoners from Alsace were transferred to Freiburg from Wildflecken. As French tanks rolled into the city on April 21, 1945, the last prisoners were released by remaining prison personnel. Until the summer of 1947, the French occupation authorities used the former WG as a military prison. It was also used to house the local Nazi functionaries in the first months after the war.

SOURCES Additional information about WG Freiburg can be found in the following publications: Walter Blasy, *Henkersmahlzeit: Kriegsbericht eines Fliegers 1939–1947* (Berlin: Frieling, 1995), pp. 77, 79; and Lars Brandt, *H.C. Artmann. Ein Gespräch* (Salzburg: Perlentaucher, 2001), p. 67.

NOTES

1. Blasy, *Henkersmahlzeit*, pp. 77, 79.

2. Ibid., p. 75.

3. Brandt, *H.C. Artmann*, p. 67.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) GERMERSHEIM

On September 9, 1936, the German Army High Command (*Oberkommando des Heeres*, OKH) issued an order for the former detention facility of the Germersheim fortress, built between 1834 and 1861, to be expanded to serve as a military prison for the Wehrmacht (map 4d). The expansion was to include the neighboring buildings: the commissariat (*Proviantamt*) and the military hospital barracks (*Lazarettkaserne*).[1] The structure, shortly thereafter renamed Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG) Germersheim, was the second of three Wehrmacht prisons (after WG Torgau-Fort Zinna) already in existence before World War II.

From November 1, 1936, to the end of November 1939, Major (later Oberstleutnant) Alexander Ludwig Ratcliffe was named commandant of WG Germersheim. Three months after the beginning of the war, as of December 1, 1939, Ratcliffe handed off the function of prison commandant to Oberst Bittrolff. Oberstleutnant Hans Merten succeeded Bittrolff in 1941.

The first convicts arrived in Germersheim on March 15, 1937. The prison held around 500 prisoners, initially, but was expanded to hold approximately 1,200 in 1938. According to Ratcliffe, during his service as commanding officer, around 4,500 soldiers passed through the facility. With regard to the inmates' crimes, he stated that only "around 25 percent of all these cases concerned offenses—such as property crimes— which were to be judged in accordance with the general criminal statutes."[2] Desertion or absence without leave was more common (the latter more than the former). According to Ratcliffe, "Unwillingness to bear arms or inability to adapt to military discipline, as well as fear of superiors or a sense of unjust treatment, were rarely the motives." (Here one must consider that the delinquents, in view of the punishment to be anticipated, tried hard to conceal any "reluctance to bear arms.")

Traffic violations, drunkenness, homosexuality, disobedience, treatment of subordinates contrary to regulations, assault on superiors, and the like, made up the balance.

In conclusion, Ratcliffe stated, "The most serious crimes of a criminal or military nature, such as mutiny or betrayal of military secrets … were … so extremely rare that there is no need to consider them here. Such crimes were expiated with harsh penitentiary sentences, including expulsion from military service, or with death on the sand-heap."[3] Actually, the first five executions in Germersheim took place in December 1939, when Ratcliffe was no longer in office. The preceding court-martial proceedings, however, probably took place while he was still the commandant, a position he held until November 30, 1939.

As early as November 9, 1938, the commandants of the three military prisons in existence at that time received permission to hand prisoners over to the police for direct transfer to a concentration camp. Only two transfers to a concentration camp directly from the military prison are known to have occurred. Both concerned Germersheim and took place while Ratcliffe was serving as commanding officer there.

On November 3, 1939, Germersheim—as well as Glatz and Torgau—received instructions to set up a special "penal camp unit" (*Straflagerabteilung*). The convicts to be sent to these units were "elements dangerous to military discipline" who had been classified as "incorrigible." Their regular sentences were to begin only after the war was over. Until that time, they were "to be treated with great severity" in order to have "a *sustainable deterrent effect* on the unsafe elements of the force" and counter "in a decisive manner the incentive … to avoid one's duty by bringing about terms of imprisonment."[4] Particulars regarding the size and use of the Germersheim penal camp unit are not available.

Like the other Wehrmacht prisons, WG Germersheim quickly became overcrowded soon after the onset of the war, with approximately 1,400–2,000 prisoners. For the period from August 1944 onward, it was reported that all "the buildings, all the cells, and even rooms [supposed to be] reserved for economic purposes" were "overcrowded with prisoners."[5]

Like other WGs, Germersheim was subject to the Wehrmacht's

sentence implementation plan (*Strafvollstreckungsplan*).[6] This dictated that the prison would hold Wehrmacht soldiers or some prisoners of war (POWs) or enemy aliens whom military courts had handed down prison sentences greater than six weeks, and it defined the geographic areas from which those soldiers came. Regarding POWs, Germersheim accepted men from the southeastern and eastern theaters.

If, despite the large number of Soviet POWs, only one Wehrmacht prison in Germany seemed sufficient for their accommodation, the reason for this was that prisoners from the east, in particular, were largely withdrawn from military jurisdiction, because field elements, Security Police, and Einsatzkommandos were supposed to take immediate action against any unruliness from their ranks. Only after Soviet citizens and POWs were taken into German units as "auxiliary volunteers" (*Hilfswillige*) or into independent collaborationist forces as "volunteers" did they come under German military jurisdiction in greater numbers. The POWs confined in Germersheim probably came largely from the aforementioned categories. To a great extent, their fate is still unknown. Obviously, they were imprisoned at a considerable distance from the Wehrmacht prisoners. Their place of imprisonment, also known as a "POW penal camp," was located in the former "Vorfeste Wrede," part of a detached concentration of fortifications for the old fortress, where approximately 800–1,000 men could be housed.

With regard to the labor deployment of the Wehrmacht prisoners, Alfred Klut of the Army High Command wrote as follows in the *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht*, 1938–1939: "The labor requirement prescribed for the sentence of imprisonment is met by occupying the men in useful work for military purposes or in other productive work, as far as possible. Special emphasis is placed on agricultural tasks that are intended to keep the prisoners healthy and strengthen them for active military service."[7] The demand for agricultural work, justified on those grounds, was accommodated in Germersheim by affiliating a farming operation, located in Elisabethwörth on the right bank of the Rhine, with the prison facility. The produce grown on the property, known as the St. Elisabeth farm, was not only used to support the prison operation itself but also sold to the civilian population.[8]

Former prisoners characterize confinement in Germersheim as extremely harsh. Anton Igel, who was convicted of absence without official leave, spent four months of a one-year prison term there, beginning in February 1941. He says of this time: "The guard personnel … were very strict. Everything had to be done at a quick pace, whether it was getting food or doing work, seeing to human needs or doing roll-call. Everything was done in response to the whistle." According to his information, at that time prisoners were already being called on to perform clearing up and repair tasks in Mannheim after air raids. He himself, however, was called into action with the "St. Elisabeth farm detail." According to Igel, during the work in the fields there "with spade and hoe," "directed by the sound of the whistle, the last ounce of performance" was gotten out of the prisoners: "When someone collapsed from weakness, he got kicked in the rear and in the ribs…. When it was evident that nothing more could be done, they [the prisoners] were loaded onto a truck and taken back to the prison. There, the prisoner was led before the officer in charge of labor and accused of refusing to work or to obey a command. Even when people saw that the prisoner was really all in, there was a special punishment anyway, such as the infamous *Dunkelarrest* [confinement in a darkened cell]." According to Igel, WG Germersheim had six dark cells, with which he himself became acquainted on two occasions: "They were equipped with a plank bed, two blankets, and on the lower right part of the cell door there was a tiny rectangular hole for ventilation, which was covered with a screen. Through it, the prisoner could roughly determine when the day was at an end."[9] The hard lot of the prisoners allegedly led the Germersheim populace to lend them support, in spite of a strict ban on such help.[10]

For labor deployments outside of Germersheim and Mannheim, external Wehrmacht prisoner detachments (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*, WGA) were set up as early as 1941. Some of them were several hundred kilometers away from Germersheim. They simultaneously helped to reduce the overcrowding of the Wehrmacht prison. Little is known about the personnel strength of the individual detachments, but some information about their fields of activity is available. The WGA in Gelsenkirchen-Buer and Wesseling were used at the local

hydrogenation plants of IG Farben's Scholven AG or the Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoff AG to produce synthetic fuels from coal. In the case of the WGA in Leipheim, which later became a component of the Wehrmacht Prisoner Camp (*Wehrmachtgefangenenlager*, WGL) Donau, the prisoners worked on airfield and aircraft construction for the Augsburg firm Messerschmitt AG. The prisoners of the Rothenfelde-Wolfsburg WGA, up to 1,000 in number, worked in extremely harsh conditions on various armaments projects of the Volkswagen plant (building military light utility vehicles and amphibious tanks, repairing fighter planes, etc.).[11] The prisoners in the Senne WGA probably worked at the local army ammunition plant.[12] The operational area of the prisoners in the Fallingbostel WGA near Bergen was presumably the local troop training grounds, also the site of an army ammunition plant. The approximately 2,000 members of the Salzgitter WGA also worked for the ammunition plant, predominantly in the Braunschweig steel plants.[13] The WGA in Steyerberg probably supplied workers for the Wolff and Company explosives plant.[14]

From April 1942 onward the execution of prison sentences was largely transferred out of the Wehrmacht prisons, with their associated penal camp detachments, and into the front area—that is, to field prisoner units (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*, FSL). On April 13, 1942, WG Germersheim received an order to organize FStGA 2. The foundation for the detachment consisted of 130 of the prison's own prisoners, out of a total strength of 600–700 prisoners. From then on, WG Germersheim had to provide the Armed Forces High Command with a monthly report on "the supply of Wehrmacht prisoners in line for the FStGA."[15] Then, on the basis of these numbers, instructions were issued through the General z.b.V. (general officer on special assignment) in the Army High Command regarding the assembly of replacement transports for the existing FStGAs as well as the new formation of additional FStGAs. After FStGA 2, five more detachments were organized for deployment on the eastern front: by August 1, 1942, FStGA 5; by September 10, 1942, FStGA 9; by November 1, 1942, FStGA 12; by January 5, 1943, FStGA 15; and by March 20, 1943, FStGA 18.

In parallel with the prison regime and detention in penal camps, after the beginning of the war, prisoners were continually selected for suspension of their sentences for the purpose of "frontline probation" in combat. This frontline probation could be served in "normal" combat units, or in a battalion of the specially organized Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. On February 12, 1942, the Armed Forces High Command also instructed WG Germersheim to "*re-assess* all Wehrmacht prisoners immediately" to determine whether they could be nominated "for a suspended sentence on probation"[16] in combat. The total number of those whose imprisonment in Germersheim was discontinued for the purpose of frontline probation is not known. At any rate, this practice was followed until some point in 1945.

The darkest chapter in the history of WG Germersheim was the carrying out of death sentences imposed by military courts. The victims were, first, Wehrmacht convicts confined in Germersheim and, second, soldiers who were being held there on remand, awaiting trial. The death row cells were located in the basement rooms of the same building that housed the solitary cells for confinement in darkness ("harsh confinement"). Anton Igel, who, while serving as a trustee in 1941, had access to the death row cells, reported that "in the same building, in the basement, were four additional cells in which there was also a cage…. In the middle [of the cage] was a large ring with short chains, to which the prisoners were chained in addition. These were the ones condemned to death. A red light burned here day and night. I can tell about this because I knew a buddy who was down there…. This buddy was … chained to a ring set in the floor. Down at his feet, he had perhaps a range of motion amounting to five steps. As well, he was kept from moving by a chain at chest height and an additional iron bar. It looked like something from the era of slavery."[17] This manner of "securing prisoners," which was common in a similar form in the other Wehrmacht prisons, was intended to prevent escape and suicide attempts as well as attacks on the guards. Even though the shackling practices described were not a specifically National Socialist phenomenon but rather were features of the consistent operation of the prison regime over a long period, to some extent continuing to the present day,[18] their implementation in Wehrmacht prisons such as Germersheim

nonetheless reached a sad peak.

According to the records of the local cemetery administration, 47 members of the Wehrmacht were executed in Germersheim from 1939 to 1945. The sites used for the executions were the firing range in the western part of the city and the moat near the Theobald Barracks. Among the men executed were also two Russians, Nikolai Smirnov and a man named Vasil'ev. Presumably, these men were inmates of the aforementioned "POW penal camp."

As noted in the example of the Wehrmacht prisons at Anklam and Bruchsal, in the spring of 1943 there was a substantial expansion of the option to carry out death sentences imposed by military courts by means of beheading or hanging. This policy also affected an unknown number of inmates of WG Germersheim.

The last historically documented shooting ordered by a military court took place in Germersheim on February 24, 1945. In the following two weeks, WG Germersheim, according to information from the local German Red Cross, was "evacuated to Bavaria with its personnel and prisoners as a result of the approach of the front." In Bavaria, it allegedly was "disbanded in the region of Munich."[19] Polap, however, dates the evacuation of the Wehrmacht prison to a later point in time, March 20, 1945. According to his information, the guards and prisoners were captured by American forces in the Wasserburg area (45 kilometers [28 miles] east of Munich) in the first few days of May.[20] Whether any last "probation operations" took place beforehand in the greater Munich area, as is reported in the case of WG Bruchsal, is unclear.

SOURCES The earliest publication dealing with the Wehrmacht prison in Germersheim was written by its first commandant, A. L. Ratcliffe, "Von Strafbüchern und Tatberichten: Ein Beitrag zum Kapitel 'Schwer erziehbare Soldaten,'" *Wehrkunde* 6, no. 2 (1957): 86–90. See also Eugen Polap, "Militärgeschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim 1900–1975," in *Germersheim: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte 1900–1975* (Neustadt an der Weinstraße: Stadtverwaltung Germersheim, 1976), pp. 101–170; and Hans-Peter Klausch, "Das Wehrmachtgefängnis in

Germersheim und die NS-Militärjustiz," in *Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus in Rheinland-Pfalz*, vol. 3: *Unser Ziel—die Ewigkeit Deutschlands*, ed. Hans-Georg Meyer and Hans Berkessel (Mainz, 2001), pp. 102–111. It should be noted in particular that Manfred Grieger and Hans Mommsen, in their study of the Volkswagen plant submitted in 1996, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1996), pp. 430–432, 743, discuss the Germersheim Wehrmacht prisoner detachment in Rothenfelde-Wolfsburg in relatively great detail. See also Hans-Peter Klausch, "Von der Wehrmacht ins KZ: Die Häftlingskategorien der SAW- und Zwischenhaft-Gefangenen," in *Wehrmacht und Konzentrationslager*, ed. KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Bremen: Temmen, 2012), p. 69.

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NOTES

1. Polap, "Militärgeschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim," pp. 138, 148.

2. Ratcliffe, "Von Strafbüchern und Tatberichten," p. 87.

3. Ibid., p. 90.

4. OKW 54 e 10 AHA/Ag/H IIa Nr. 9243/39 vom 3.11.1939, BArch PA, Sammlung WR. For additional information on the penal camp units, see the entries on the other WGs, in particular **WG Glatz**.

5. Reinhold Lofy, "Meine politische Verfolgung von 1933 bis 1945: Kurzbericht," Trier, November 26, 1981 (unpublished manuscript, copy in the possession of the author).

6. See, e.g., *Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen 1941*, ed. Army High Command (Oberkommando des Heeres), Berlin, 1941 (8), no. 895 (OKW, 10.9.1941, 54 f 10 Str 1929/41 AHA/Ag H Str [II]) with appendix, Bl. 470, 494.

7. [Alfred] Klut, "Der Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen und anderer

Freiheitsentziehung in der Wehrmacht," *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* [*ZWR*] 3 (1938–1939): 131.

8. Polap, "Militärgeschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim," p. 148.

9. Anton Igel, "Meine Inhaftierung von 1941 bis 1945 im Hitlerfaschistischen Reich als Antifaschist" (Cologne, 1986, unpublished manuscript, copy in the possession of the author). Confinement in a dark cell was a component of the *strenger Arrest* ("harsh confinement") practices created by a "Führer's order" especially for penal institutions. On this, see the Regulation on the Disciplinary Imposition of Harsh Confinement in the Wehrmacht [undated, December 1939], published in *"Führer-Erlasse" 1939–1945*, compiled and with an introduction by Martin Moll (Stuttgart: Nikol, 1997), pp. 106–107. Harsh confinement is also dealt with in the entry on **WG Bruchsal**. On Anton Igel, see also Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1999), pp. 119–121.

10. Polap, "Militärgeschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim," p. 149.

11. Mommsen and Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter*, pp. 430–432, 743.

12. Hans-Henning Podzun, ed., *Das Deutsche Heer 1939: Gliederung, Standorte, Stellenbesetzung und Verzeichnis sämtlicher Offiziere am 3.1.1939* (Bad Nauheim, 1953), p. 999.

13. August Meyer, *Hitlers Holding: Die Reichswerke "Hermann Göring"* (Munich: Europa, 1999), pp. 139–143, 198.

14. Shortly afterward, Soviet POWs were deployed there. cf. Rolf Keller, *Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im Deutschen Reich 1941/42. Behandlung und Arbeitseinsatz zwischen*

Vernichtungspolitik und kriegswirtschaftlichen Erfordernissen (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011), pp. 156, 179, 284–285.

15. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt. AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

16. OKW 54 e 10 Strafauss. AHA/Ag/H Str II Str 385/42 vom 12.2.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

17. Igel, "Meine Inhaftierung."

18. See, for example, the regulations for the Reichswehr that were issued in 1926 in *RGBl. 1926*, pt. II, Bl. 279–280; *1927*, pt. I, Bl. 10. For the Wehrmacht, see the section "Besondere Sicherungsmassnahmen" in *Vorschrift für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen und anderer Freiheitsentziehung in der Wehrmacht. Vom 4. Dezember 1937* (Berlin, 1940) (unaltered reprint), pp. 21–22.

19. BArch PA, Schreiben des Kreisverbandes Germersheim des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes an die WASt (undated, presumably September 1967).

20. Polap, "Militärgeschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim," p. 149.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) GLATZ

Three separate "fortress prisons" existed in the eighteenth-century fortress in Glatz (map 4e) (today Kłodzko, Poland) in the period before World War II.[1] On January 10, 1938, the fortress prison was closed to new arrivals, and, in its place, WG Glatz was established. Those sentenced to serve time in the fortress prison were sent to the detention center in Ingolstadt from January 1, 1939. The new WG was initially only used as "transitional housing" for prisoners destined for WG Anklam, which was still under construction.

Between 1938 and 1940, Oberstleutnant Heinrich Tschersich was the commandant of the prison in Glatz. After Tscherisich moved to Anklam, Oberstleutnant Hans Merten became the commander of the independent WG Glatz on January 1, 1941. He was replaced on April 1, 1942, by Oberstleutnant Reinhard-Günther Rudorff of the Abteilung Heerwesen of the OKH. Rudorff held the position of commandant until the camp was evacuated in early 1945. The staff of WG Glatz was assigned by Generalkommando VII in Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland). "For the supervisory personnel," as the order read, "the most suitable are older, resolute NCOs, who have the necessary degree of firmness, prudence, love of order, faithfulness to duty, and physical hardiness, and who are able to demonstrate impeccable leadership."[2] An additional guard unit of seven men from the 38th Infantry Regiment in Glatz was rotated daily.

Under the "peace enforcement plan," which was in place until 1941, WG Glatz was responsible for soldiers from Defense Districts (*Wehrkreise*) II, III, and VII, who had been sentenced to prison terms between six weeks and six months.[3] After the beginning of the war, Glatz also took in prisoners serving longer sentences. Only the dungeon of the fortress was used for prison cells. As the number of inmates the prison needed to accommodate

increased above its capacity, the casemates north of the dungeon were also used. The number of prisoners in Glatz varied between about 400 and 600. In mid-1944, WG Glatz reported overcrowding.[4] Wilhelm Wicziok, who was temporarily employed as a kitchen accountant in 1940 and 1941, gave his first impression of the prisoners' quarters: "The ascent to the fortress was steep. The first door: massive! The second door: even more massive! After the third door, one arrived at the place from which one could reach the casemates…. The fortress walls of Fortress Glatz deprived each man of the hope of escape."[5]

In the summer of 1944, the prison was moved into Fortress Schäferberg, another part of the Glatz fortress complex located about 1.5 kilometers (almost a mile) from the main fort. The main fortress and the casemates, damaged by bombing, were used only for the production of components needed for the war effort by Polish civilian forced laborers.[6] The so-called Small Fortress at Schäferberg had previously held the military prisoners' unit (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilung*, WGA) Schäferberg, which was subordinate to WG Glatz. It held officers who were sentenced to terms of "more than three months" without loss of rank.[7] The punishment of such officers was moved to Rokitnitz in Adlergebirge (today Rokytnice v Orlických horách, Czech Republic) in September 1944.[8] Prisoners who were serving long sentences and those sentenced to death remained in the cells in the dungeon of the main fortress.

On November 3, 1939, WG Glatz, along with the two other WGs in existence at the time (in Germersheim and Torgau), was ordered to create a penal camp unit (*Straflagerabteilung*). This unit was to hold men who were "dangerous elements" or those who were determined by a court or the prison commandant to be "unsuitable for improvement." These men were to be "treated with great harshness" in order to create "a lasting deterrent effect on the unsecure elements among the troops" and "decisively" decrease "the incentive … to improve their conditions through serving a prison term."[9]

As of March 1, 1942, WG Glatz had more prisoners in its WGAs than any other WG in Germany with around 300 men "in custody."[10] It is likely that Glatz had such large numbers of prisoners in its WGAs because of the particular wish to create a

strong deterrent effect due to the possibilities for work and undesirable living conditions. Johannes Buchwald, who was sent to the penal camp for attempted desertion in the summer of 1941, described his arrival there at the casemates in the Glatz fortress, recalling that "through bumpy courtyards and dark paths I was then taken with other Wehrmacht prisoners to a dark, rocky cave. The floor was covered with musty straw. Only a little light came in through the cracks, the prisoners squatted…. Water constantly dripped from the mossy rock walls. The smell, disgusting and musty, was unbearable from the very beginning."[11] A soldier who was then part of the guard personnel said that "in the casemates of the prison, they lay there, barely enough air to breathe. The NCO unlocks the door, a terrible smell comes out like a poison cloud."[12]

Regular prisoners from Glatz were sent to agricultural labor in the surrounding areas.[13] In 1941, the WGAs supported by WG Glatz worked in Gross-Mittel, near Wiener Neustadt; Lobnig, near Freudenthal (today Bruntál, Czech Republic); and Hultschin (today Hlučín, Czech Republic), the latter two located in the Sudetengau. In 1942, the WGAs were located at Gross-Mittel; Ludwigsdorf im Eulengebirge (today Ludwikowice Kłodzkie, Poland); Blechhammer; and Heydebreck (Lager Hugoslust) in Kreis Cosel.[14] From 1942, there were also WGAs in Schieratz (today Sieradz, Poland), near Litzmannstadt (today: Łódź; Poland), at the military exercise ground in Döllersheim, in the Waldviertel region of Austria; and at a synthetic fuel factory at Moosbierbaum im Tullnerfeld.[15] Men from the WGA in Ludwigsdorf also worked in a gunpowder factory.[16]

On September 15, 1942, WGA Gross-Mittel was dissolved and its members, who had previously worked at a munitions depot, were transferred to WGA Blechhammer.[17] According to military prisoner Fritz D., who was sentenced to three years in WG Glatz for "unauthorized absence" and assigned to work in WGA Blechhammer, "There, they wanted to exterminate us through hard work and hunger."[18] The prisoners at WGA Heydebreck also worked on the construction of a hydrogenation plant, which was being built for I. G. Farben AG. Under the wartime "enforcement plan" of September 10, 1941, Glatz was responsible for Wehrmacht soldiers from Defense Districts VIII and XVII, and the southern Generalgouvernement as well as Luftwaffe airmen from

Air Defense District (*Luftgau*) VII who were sentenced to terms of more than six weeks. Additionally, it was responsible for prisoners from the southern part of the occupied Soviet territories and the Balkans.[19] Under the enforcement plan that came into effect on January 1, 1943, the responsibilities of WG Glatz were expanded. While WG Graudenz was (temporarily) converted into a reception center (*Auffangsstelle*), WG Glatz was also responsible for soldiers from Defense District XXI and the northern and central Generalgouvernement, as well as Luftwaffe airmen from Air Defense District II.[20] Finally, after the division of Army Group South into Army Group A and B, Glatz received prisoners sentenced to terms of more than three months from the armed forces prisons (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnisse*, KWG) in Dubno, Makejewka (today Makiivka, Ukraine), and Kiev.[21]

In April 1942, the "majority of the punishment" of military prisoners was moved from the WGs and their penal camp units to the front area, namely, in the Feldstraflager-Abteilungen (FStGA; field penal battalions) and Feldstraflager (field penal camps). On April 13, 1942, WG Glatz was ordered to send 300 prisoners to WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, where Feldstraflager I, with a planned strength of 600 men, was being organized.[22] On April 14, 1942, the OKW ordered the formation of the first three FStGAs. FStGA 1 was formed at WG Glatz. Glatz provided the first 50 prisoners for this unit, along with 100 prisoners from WG Torgau-Fort Zinna and 50 from Torgau-Brückenkopf. After additional transfers from the penal facilities of the field army, FStGA 1 was sent to the front with between 600 and 700 men. Thereafter, WG Glatz was required to give monthly reports on "the prisoners suitable for the FStGAs" to the OKW.[23] On the basis of these reports, the general at the OKH responsible for the FStGAs organized transports to the FStGAs as well as the creation of new FStGAs. After FStGA 1, five additional FStGAs were created in Glatz: FStGA 7 on September 10, 1942; FStGA 10 on November 1, 1942; FStGA 13 on January 5, 1943; FStGA 16 on March 20, 1943; and FStGA 20 on October 1, 1943.

Along with the transports to Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500, which began shortly after the start of the war, in the late summer of 1944, there were two special transports to SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger—officially known

as the 36th Waffen Grenadier Division—which functioned as a "probationary unit" within the Waffen-SS. Between 700 and 800 men from WG Glatz were sent to SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger; their first action was in the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising.[24]

WG Glatz received prisoners sentenced to death throughout the war. A report from July 4, 1941, on the executions that had been carried out in Glatz to that point reported six deaths by firing squad, the first occurring on December 19, 1939, and the most recent on April 28, 1941.[25] Further executions took place between 1942 and 1945, but the exact total is unknown. The executions took place on the shooting range in a section of the fort complex in Kranich and on the Puhuberg, above the Moltke barracks. As a deterrent measure, other prisoners were required to attend the executions.[26] In mid-April 1943, the method for military executions was changed from shooting to beheading or hanging. Prisoners from WG Glatz who were slated for execution were taken to the prison on Kletschkaustrasse in Breslau, where they were beheaded by a civilian executioner.[27]

With the Red Army approaching in January 1945, part of the prison's population was organized into "Probationary Battalion Glatz" by the commanders of the camp and sent to Frankenstein (today Ząbkowice Śląskie, Poland), 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Glatz. This unit was placed under the command of the Seventeenth Army and renamed Grenadier Battalion 570 z.b.V., indicating subordination to Bewährungstruppe 500, which sent its last battalions into battle in that area.[28] The remainder of the staff and prisoners were taken westward by rail later that month. The transport was attacked by bombers in Kohlfurt (today Węgliniec, Poland), about 20 kilometers northeast of Görlitz, and there were many fatalities among the prisoners and guards. For the survivors, the trip ended 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south-southwest of Magdeburg, in the area of Welslebe-Biere-Tarthun, where they were taken prisoner by American forces.[29]

SOURCES Primary source information about WG Glatz is located in BArch PA.

Additional information about WG Glatz can be found in the

following publications: Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500. Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); Eduard Köhl, *Geschichte der Festung Glatz* (Leimen: Holzner, 1972), pp. 137–142; Miroslaw Podsiatlo, "Die Geschichte der Festung Glatz als Lager für die polnische Bevölkerung und für deutsche Wehrmachtstrafgefangene während des Zweiten Weltkrieges" and Manfred Messerschmidt, "Das Militärstraf- und Gefangenensystem und die Festung Glatz," both in *Die Festung Glatz und die Verfolgung in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Veröffentlichung der Vorträge des deutsch-polnischen Seminars im September 1995 in Glatz/ Klotzko* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 1995), pp. 18–28; Wilhelm Wicziok, *Die Armee der Gerichteten* (Essen: Heitz & Höffkes, 1992), pp. 14–19; Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1991); and Johannes Buchwald, *Meine Geschichte* (Dresden, ca. 1983) (unpublished manuscript, copy in the possession of the author).

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NOTES

1. Köhl, *Geschichte der Festung Glatz*, pp. 137–142.

2. *Vorschrift für den Vollzug von Freiheitsstrafen und anderer Freiheitsentziehung in der Wehrmacht. Vom 4. Dezember 1937* (Berlin, 1940) (unaltered reprinting), p. 3.

3. Messerschmidt, "Das Militärstraf- und Gefangenensystem und die Festung Glatz," p. 19.

4. Cited in Hermine Wüllner, ed., *"… kann nur der Tod die gerechte Sühne sein." Todesurteile deutscher Wehrmachtsgerichte. Eine Dokumentation* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), p. 231.

5. Wicziok, *Die Armee der Gerichteten*, p. 14.

6. Podsiatlo, "Die Geschichte der Festung Glatz," pp. 13–17.

7. OKH-Heerespersonalamt Nr. 3294/44 Ag P 2/2 d (1) vom 20.3.1944, BA-MA: RH 15/186, Bl. 179. See also the case of Hauptmann Karl B., an inmate in Schäferberg, who was sentenced to 11 months imprisonment for insubordination on November 10, 1943, in Christian Hartmann, *Wehrmacht im Ostkrieg: Front und militärisches Hinterland 1941/42* (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2009), p. 170.

8. See *Gliederung und Feldpostnummern-Übersicht der Straf-, Bewährungs- und Erziehungseinheiten und Einrichtungen in der früheren deutschen Wehrmacht*, Personenstandsarchiv II des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, (Kornelimünster: Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Zentralnachweisstelle, 1953), p. 5.

9. OKW 54 e 10 AHA/Ag/H IIa Nr. 9243/39 vom 3.11.1939, BArch PA, Sammlung WR.

10. This minimum number was cited in OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/Str I/II Str 929/42 vom 14.4.1942, BAMA, H 20/497. It is unclear if Wehrmachtgefängnis Germersheim still had a penal camp unit at this time.

11. Buchwald, *Meine Geschichte*.

12. Wicziok, *Die Armee der Gerichteten*, p. 17.

13. Köhl, *Geschichte der Festung Glatz*, p. 140.

14. See Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, pp. 821–825.

15. See Thomas Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug: Der Umgang der Deutschen Wehrmacht mit militärgerichtlich verurteilten Soldaten," in *Opfer der NS-Militärjustiz: Urteilspraxis—Strafvollzug—Entschädigungspraxis in Österreich*, ed. Walter Manoschek (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), p. 451. Geldmacher also lists a WGA Linsdorf in the Sudetengau in 1941. Other locations were a glass plant in Friedrichsgrund, Bad Landeck, Bad Kudowa, Neisse, and Troppau, listed in

Köhl, *Geschichte der Festung Glatz*, p. 140.

16. Geldmacher, "Strafvollzug," p. 435.

17. Ibid., pp. 451, 479.

18. Jörg Kammler, *Ich habe die Metzelei satt und laufe über … Kasseler Soldaten zwischen Verweigerung und Widerstand (1939–1945): Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd ed. (Fuldabrück: Hesse, 1985), p. 33.

19. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 895 (OKW 54 f 10 AHA/Ag H Str [II] Str 1929/41 vom 10.9.1941) mit Anlage, pp. . 470, 494.

20. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Tr.Abt. [Str II] Str 3495/42 vom 27.11.1942) mit Anlage, pp. . 576, 613.

21. Ibid. p. . 613.

22. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

23. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt. AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

24. See Hans-Peter Klausch, *Antifaschisten in SS-Uniform: Schicksal und Widerstand der deutschen politischen KZ-Häftlinge, Zuchthaus- und Wehrmachtstrafgefangenen in der SS-Sonderformation Dirlewanger* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), pp. 105–123.

25. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Otto Marzian u.a.

26. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilung für Ernst Fenzal.

27. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT), Mitteilungen für Michael Frombach, Karl Kress, Josef Schatz, Willy Schwarz.

28. Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, pp. 300–318.

29. Köhl, *Geschichte der Festung Glatz*, p. 141.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) GRAUDENZ

After the Wehrmacht conquered Poland, the Germans reintegrated Graudenz (map 4c) (today Grudziądz, Poland) into Germany as part of Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen. The penitentiary there was converted into an Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*, WG). One, albeit vague, clue as to the size of the prison comes from information on the original Graudenz Prison, built in 1883, which could hold 674 male and 239 female prisoners and had an additional 57 single cells as well as space for "15 juvenile offenders."[1] The first soldiers convicted under military law arrived at WG Graudenz on January 2, 1940.[2]

Under the "enforcement plan" of September 10, 1941, WG Graudenz was to hold Wehrmacht soldiers from Military Districts (*Wehrkreise*) I, XX, and XXI as well as the northern and central Generalgouvernement; Luftwaffe airmen from Air Districts (*Luftgaue*) I and II; and sailors from the Naval Station (*Marinestation*) Ostsee (shared with WG Anklam), all of whom had received sentences of more than six weeks' imprisonment. Until November 17, 1941, the prison also held Wehrmacht soldiers from the northern and central areas of the occupied Soviet Union.[3] From November 17, 1941 on, WG Graudenz only received such prisoners if they were sentenced to prison terms of three months or more. It received such prisoners from the area of Army Group Center (*Heeresgruppe Mitte*), including its rear areas, and from the territory of Armed Forces Commander (*Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber*) Ostland via the Wartime Armed Forces Prison (*Kriegswehrmachtgefängnis*, KWG) Borissow (today Barysaŭ, Belarus).[4] Prisoners from the area of Army Group North (*Heeresgruppe Nord*), its rear areas, and from Armed Forces Commander Ostland were sent via KWG Dünaburg (today Daugavpils, Latvia); in December 1941, KWG Dünaburg was relocated to Wilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania) and renamed KWG

Wilna.[5]

Little is known about the labor that WG Graudenz's prisoners had to perform. In 1941, some of them were sent to the Junker and Ruh firm in Graudenz to work in the production of infantry vehicles.[6] There is no information available about the Military Prisoners' Units (*Wehrmachtgefangenenabteilungen*, WGA) that were subordinate to WG Graudenz. An address directory from May 13, 1941, lists a WGA from Graudenz in Strasburg, West Prussia (today known as Strasburg [Uckermark]). Another directory from January 31, 1942, indicates that it had been replaced by a WGA at Georgenhof in Pestlin (today Postolin, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland).[7]

As in other WGs, Graudenz was not only a place where prisoners served out normal terms but also a site for "detaining" (*Verwahrung*) prisoners who, subject to confirmation by the judge or petition by the prison commandant, were classified as "irredeemable" (*besserunsunfähig*).[8] This detention was carried out under especially harsh conditions in the so-called Penal Camp Unit (*Straflagerabteilung*). Significantly, the prisoners' actual prison terms would only begin after the war. The strength of the Graudenz Penal Camp Unit was at least 100 men as of March 1, 1942, according to a report from April of that year.[9]

In parallel to the transfer of prisoners to the penal camps, since the beginning of the war, the prison authorities regularly selected candidates to receive suspended sentences through "front probation," that is, through proving themselves in combat. Front probation could be served in normal combat units or in a battalion of the separate Probation Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500.[10] On February 12, 1942, the Armed Forces High Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW) ordered WG Graudenz to "immediately re-evaluate" the prisoners to determine whether they could be recommended "for a suspension of sentence through probation" in combat.[11] The total number of those who were sent to Probation Unit 500 from Graudenz is unknown.

As the example of Armed Forces Detention Camp (*Wehrmachtgefangenenlager*, WGL) Donau demonstrates more clearly, in April 1942, the "center of gravity" of military prisoners' punishment was moved from the WGs and their Penal Camp Units

to the front, namely in the field prisoner battalions (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*, FStGA) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*).[12] The goal of this measure was to create a greater deterrent effect on the fighting troops by giving the military prisoners dangerous tasks, such as constructing frontline fortifications. In addition, this measure would reduce overcrowding in the WGs.

In the course of this development, on April 13, 1942, WG Graudenz received the order to send 100 prisoners to WG Torgau-Brückenkopf, where Field Penal Camp II, with a planned strength of 600 men, was being organized. From June 1, 1942, all prisoners destined for the penal camps were to be sent via WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, which was thereafter given the responsibility for "collecting all those to be held in the penal camps" and which held sole responsibility for the Field Penal Camps.[13]

On April 14, 1942, the order for the establishment of the first three FStGAs was issued. WG Graudenz was ordered to send 50 prisoners to FStGA 3; they were interned in WG Anklam in the interim. WG Graudenz had to send the OKW monthly reports on "the number of prisoners to be sent to the FStGAs."[14] Based on these reports, the OKW determined the number of transports needed and made decisions on the creation of new FStGAs. No FStGAs were established at WG Graudenz itself.

Under the enforcement plan of March 10, 1941, Graudenz—along with WG Torgau-Fort Zinna and WG Germersheim—was also responsible for holding prisoners of war (POWs) who were sentenced to "prison terms of greater than 6 weeks." Such prisoners came to Graudenz from Defense Districts I, II, VIII, XX, and XXI.[15] Additionally, such prisoners were sent to Graudenz from military units for which Graudenz was the nearest WG. The enforcement plan of October 4, 1941 changed the responsibility so that it was determined by nationality, rather than location. Graudenz was to hold French POWs, while Torgau-Fort Zinna held British and Belgian prisoners. WG Germersheim was responsible for POWs from Eastern and Southeastern Europe (i.e., Poles, Soviets, Serbs, and Greeks). Under the enforcement plan of November 27, 1942, which came into effect at the beginning of 1943, WG Torgau-Fort Zinna was no longer responsible for POWs. Graudenz was given new responsibility for "Belgians,

Britons, and Americans," in addition to French prisoners.[16] Ostensibly to discourage escape attempts, POWs were sent to the WG that was farthest from their home countries. Information on the experience of POWs in Graudenz is not available.

With the expanded responsibilities for POWs, WG Graudenz lost its status as a detention center for Wehrmacht prisoners. Whether the WG's Wehrmacht prisoners were all evacuated at the beginning of 1943 is unknown. It is also unknown what became of the group of officers for whom Graudenz was chosen as the central prison. In this capacity, it handled officers of the Replacement Army (*Ersatzheer*) who were sentenced to prison terms of more than three months without loss of rank. Possibly, they were sent to a subordinate WGA, as officers who received the same penalty in WG Glatz were.[17]

As in other locations for Wehrmacht prisoners, death sentences were also carried out in Graudenz. The execution site was the shooting range in the city forest. On April 14, 1940, Graudenz penal camp prisoners Heinrich Hammann (b. December 6, 1918), Alfred Krüger (b. June 18, 1918), and Hans Joachim Werner (b. May 9, 1917) were executed. All three were sentenced to death for desertion on March 27, 1940, by the court of the 156th Division.[18] One day later, Wehrmacht prisoner Paul Remus (b. October 11, 1919) died in the same place, having received his death sentence for the same crime.[19] Karl Möritz (b. March 2, 1911) and Gustav Jentsch (b. December 18, 1912) were sentenced to death by the court of the 428th Division and executed in the forest on August 18, 1941, and December 2, 1942, respectively.[20]

It is unclear if WG Graudenz continued to hold prisoners sentenced to death after the changes at the beginning of 1943. In the time from the spring of 1943 to the end of September 1944, the Wehrmacht expanded the use of hanging and beheading as methods of execution.[21] It was possible that prisoners sentenced to death from WG Graudenz were executed in the Investigative Detention Facility (*Untersuchungshaftanstalt*) in Posen (today Poznań, Poland) during this time, where there was a guillotine operated by a Reich Justice Administration (*Reichsjustizverwaltung*) executioner under the leadership of a martial law council (*Kriegsgerichtsrat*). This could have been the

case with the following soldiers, all of whom were sentenced in the court of the 152nd Division in Graudenz, and all of whom were executed in Posen: Kurt Schuchardt, executed on either June 16 or June 17, 1943, and Walter Keller and Viktor Tschedne, executed on March 28, 1944.[22] On the latter date, a prisoner from Probation Unit 500 was also beheaded in Posen. The times of death of Tschedne (12:00) and Keller (12:06) suggest that the three were guillotined one after the other.

On January 30, 1945, Georg Itzel (b. January 6, 1909) was shot in Graudenz on the orders of the court of the 83rd Infantry Division.[23] However, it is questionable whether the execution was carried out in association with WG Graudenz, or if the prison had already been evacuated in the face of the advancing Red Army. Graudenz fortress was encircled by the Soviets on February 18, 1945; it capitulated on March 5.[24] The fate of the remaining Wehrmacht prisoners is unknown.

SOURCES Primary source information about WG Graudenz is located in BA-MA (RH 14/31); BArch, CEGES/SOMA Microfilm Collection; the Hessischen Staatsarchiv Darmstadt, Bestand G 27 (Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landgericht Darmstadt); and BArch PA.

Additional information about WG Graudenz can be found in the following publications: Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: Kiepenhauer, 1999), p. 182; Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der Bewährungstruppe 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); *Kleines Staatshandbuch des Reichs und der Einzelstaaten* (Bielefeld, 1884), p. 124; Lew Kopelew, *Aufbewahren für alle Zeit!* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1976), pp. 143–183; Manfred Messerschmidt, "*Militärstraf- und Gefangenensystem und die Festung Glatz," Die Festung Glatz und die Verfolgung in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Veröffentlichung der Vorträge des deutsch-polnischen Seminars im September 1995 in Glatz/*

Klodzko (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 1995), p. 22; Walther K. Nehring, "Garnison und Festung Graudenz von 1820 bis 1945," in *Die Stadt und der Landkreis Graudenz* (Osnabrück: Heimatkreisen Graudenz Stadt und Graudenz Land in der Landsmannschaft Westpreussen, 1976), p. 417; and Fritz Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz und das Elend der Geschichtsschreibung: Ein grundlegender Forschungsbericht,* 2. Aufl. (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997), pp. 821–825.

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Trans. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. *Kleines Staatshandbuch*, p. 124. The relationship between the "Festungsgefängnis," the "Feste Courbiere" (Ibid., p. 57), and the "Militär-Arresthaus" (Ibid., p. 177) named here and the later Wehrmachtgefängnis (*Königliche Straf- und Zwangsanstalt*, pp. 181, 183) is unclear. See also Nehring, "Garnison und Festung Graudenz," p. 417.

2. Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Leipzig: Kiepenhauer, 1999), p. 182.

3. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 895 (OKW, 10.9.1941, 54 f 10 Str 1929/41 AHA/Ag H Str [(II]) mit Anlage, S. 470, 494.

4. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941 (8.), Nr. 1156 (OKW, 17.11.1941, 54 f 10 Str 3782/41 AHA/Ag/H Str [II]), S. 621.

5. Ibid.

6. In his testimony from July 6, 1948, before the Kriminalamt Dresden the former Wehrmacht prisoner Paul Gurowietz referred to the firm as "Eisenfabrik Junkers & Ruh" (BArch

PA, KZuHafta Torgau, Bd. 1).

7. Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, pp. 821–825.

8. OKH—General z.b.V. beim OKH Az. 469 Gr R Wes Nr. 1327/41 vom 21.9.1941, BA-MA, WF-03/3861, Bl. 817.

9. This minimum number is cited in OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/Str I/II Str 929/42 vom 14.4.1942, BAMA, H 20/497. For field penal camps, see **Feldstraflager I–III**.

10. See Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*.

11. OKW 54 e 10 Strafauss.-AHA/Ag/H Str II Str 385/42 vom 12.2.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 157.

12. Der Chef des OKW 14 n 16 Beih. 1 WR (I 3/4) 634/42 vom 10.6.1942, BA-MA, RH 14/31, Bl. 139.

13. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Lag.-AHA/Ag/H/Str.I/II Str. 929/42 vom 13.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

14. OKW 54 e 10 Feldstr.Gef.Abt.-AHA/Ag/H Str. I/II Str. 1041/42 vom 14.4.1942, BA-MA, H 20/497.

15. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1941, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1941, Nr. 275 (OKW, 10.03.1941—54 f 10—AHA/Ag/H Str a), S. 138.

16. Allgemeine Heeresmitteilungen (AHM) 1942, hg. vom Oberkommando des Heeres, Berlin 1942 (9.), Nr. 1034 (OKW, 27.11.1942, 54 f 10 Vollstr. Pl. Str 3495/42 Tr Abt [Str II]), S. 577.

17. Messerschmidt gives the latest date of the regulation as March 20, 1944. See Messerschmidt, "*Militärstraf- und Gefangenensystem*," p. 22. WG Graudenz, along with WG Germersheim and WG Torgau-Fort Zinna, was already responsible for the punishment of officers who had not been deprived of rank under an earlier regulation from March 19, 1941. See Eberlein, Haase, and Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland*, p. 183.

18. Todesurteile-Kartei der BA-ZNS (Bl. 334, 338 der

fotokopierten form). See also Wüllner, *Die NS-Militärjustiz*, p. 704.

19. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Paul Remus.

20. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilungen für Gustav Jentsch und Karl Möritz.

21. See WG Anklam and WG Bruchsal.

22. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilungen für Walter Keller, Kurt Schuchardt, und Viktor Tschedne.

23. BArch PA, Sammlung "Mitteilung[en] über einen Todesfall" (MüT): Mitteilung für Georg Itzel.

24. Lew Kopelew, *Aufbewahren für alle Zeit!* pp. 143–183; Nehring, "Garnison und Festung Graudenz," pp. 420–423.

WEHRMACHTGEFÄNGNIS (WG) TORGAUFORT ZINNA AND BRÜCKENKOPF

From 1919 in Germany, civil courts enforced penalties against soldiers. Beginning on January 1, 1934, the army and navy established their own military courts, but there were no military prisons at the time. There were special regulations for guilty soldiers, who, for example, could continue to wear their uniforms, but they were still held in civilian prisons, under the control of the Reich Justice Ministry (*Reichsjustizministerium*) in Berlin.

In March 1936, the Wehrmacht founded their first detention facility on a floor of the prison in Ulm. Because this proved insufficient, in April the authorities founded a military prison in "Fort Zinna" (built 1810–1813), part of the fortifications of the city of Torgau on Elbe, lying just to the east of the town proper (map 4e). The Prussian army had already used the fort as a prison in the nineteenth century. Now, it became the first Armed Forces Prison (*Wehrmachtgefängnis*). The Torgau fortifications were massive constructions with thick walls enclosing many buildings. The whole complex had an effect on those inside it that was confusing and intimidating.

From 1936 to 1939, the Wehrmacht expanded Fort Zinna into an enormous military prison, the largest that the armed forces possessed through the end of the war. At first, it had a capacity of 1,500 prisoners. In August 1939, the authorities added another barracks complex in town, known as "Brückenkopf," to Fort Zinna. The number of prisoners was growing rapidly, however, so, in November 1939, Brückenkopf became an independent Armed Forces Prison under the command of Oberstleutnant Hans Merten, with a capacity of about 1,000 prisoners. In total, up to 70,000 prisoners served time in Torgau between its establishment and the end of the war. Oberst (later Generalmajor) Heinrich Remlinger

was the commander of the whole complex.

The number of prisoners continued to increase steadily, so Fort Zinna and Brückenkopf established external camps (barrack camps) at other locations, where the prisoners usually had to work in factories. Such labor detachments (*Arbeitskommandos*) existed, for example, in Brüx (today Most, Czech Republic), where 300 prisoners worked in the chemical industry, and Bitterfeld-Wolfen, where several hundred prisoners also had to work in chemical production.

From 1941 on, Torgau was the Wehrmacht's central prison, holding approximately 6,000–7,000 prisoners. Besides German officers and enlisted men, there were also hundreds of legionnaires: foreigners who served in the Wehrmacht. In the summer of 1939, penal camp companies (*Straflager-Kompanien*) were established for prisoners whom the authorities considered "not educable" and thus never eligible for any reduction in sentence. Members of the penal camp companies were to receive treatment as in a penitentiary and similar to that in a concentration camp. They had to work every day, even on Sundays and holidays. Generally, among Wehrmacht soldiers, Torgau was well known and feared as a place of horror.

The entire Torgau complex was overcrowded, starting in 1941. Sometimes up to 10 people had to stay in a single cell under horrible circumstances: many of them had to sleep while sitting, and often the floor was wet. Every room, even the casemates, were used as cells, and additional buildings were erected. Both prisons were central points for selecting members of the Wehrmacht, who were classified as incorrigible prisoners, to be transferred into the concentration camps. The basement of Fort Zinna included several cells for soldiers awaiting death.

Beginning in 1939, the Torgau prisons, like all other armed forces prisons, were subordinate to the Commander of the Replacement Army (*Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres*). Both prisons were organized like battalions, and the prisoners were subject to military discipline. The guard personnel were composed of officers, sergeants, and lower ranks. In addition to forced labor, all the prisoners were drilled like infantry. Occasionally, the prisoners had to exercise for hours, in all weather.

Forced labor took place mostly in military facilities that manufactured munitions. There, artillery shells were filled with explosives. Work shifts were at least 10 hours long, and sometimes as long as 14. Workers who were judged to be "disobedient" (mostly because of exhaustion) were subject to solitary confinement in a dark cell, loss of rations, and beatings. Especially in connection with hard physical labor, most prisoners suffered from malnourishment and exhaustion.

The Torgau prisons also served as remand prisons. Several military courts used the prisons for pretrial detention. These included courts in Leipzig, the Army Central Court (*Zentralgericht des Heeres*) in Berlin, and the Court of the Armed Forces Commander Berlin (*Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Berlin*).

From the spring of 1941, a new process was developed. Selected prisoners from armed forces prisons, as well as from Reich Justice Ministry prisons and penitentiaries, were to be examined in Torgau, to see if they could be employed as infantry in probation battalions (*Bewährungsbataillone*), which were part of the larger unit, Probationary Unit (*Bewährungstruppe*) 500. Nearly 20,000 prisoners were processed through Torgau and sent on to the probation battalions, including up to 6,000 penitentiary prisoners. Through exceptional bravery (or death or severe wounds), these soldiers could have their sentences commuted. Those selected were tested above all for their physical fitness (many were too weak to manage the athletic exercises). Those who could not pass the extremely strenuous selection procedure were either returned to their prison or penitentiary or were classified as "incorrigible" and sent to a concentration camp.

Those who, after years of incarceration, received the chance to join a probation battalion were full of hope at this chance to save their lives. In 1943, a Luftwaffe corporal, who had received a sentence of five years in a penitentiary for desertion and who had spent a year and nine months in the penal camp at Esterwegen, made it to Torgau to be mustered into a probation battalion: "Our prison clothes were taken away, and we received army uniforms. Everyone who had been assigned to the probation battalion received basic training. Physical fitness was decisive. They told us

that anyone who could not complete these exercises would have to go back in the camp. The main exercise was a forward dive over at least five people. I took a run-up, jumped, and managed to clear seven people. Thank God—I did not need to go back into the camp."[1] What these men did not realize was that employment in the probation battalion was essentially a suicide mission. On average, a probation battalion had to be sent back to the homeland after three months to be reformed, because most probationary soldiers were either dead or wounded. The soldier quoted above was wounded twice before he fell into enemy hands in October 1944.

Additional units were formed in Torgau in April 1942: field penal units (*Feldstrafgefangenen-Abteilungen*) and field penal camps (*Feldstraflager*). In this way, prisoners would be punished yet more harshly, and they would also be made available to the front as a workforce. Occasionally, prisoners came back out of the Field Penal Units after several months at the front, because their commanders had classified them as "incorrigible." From Torgau-Fort Zinna, these men were transferred to a concentration camp.[2]

From 1941 on, Torgau took in mostly soldiers who had been convicted in Germany or areas of the Soviet Union. Prisoner transports mostly took place in railroad cattle cars and presented the prisoners with serious hardships: heat or cold, hunger and thirst. Wilhelm Busch, one of those affected, reported on his reception in the armed forces prison: "A sergeant called out with a scornful voice: 'Don't imagine yourselves to be soldiers. Whoever does not obey will be liquidated. Every order is to be carried out on the double. You'll be sorry if I catch you walking on the barracks square! That goes for the former gentlemen officers, too!'"[3]

The decision to transfer the Reich Court-Martial (*Reichskriegsgericht*)—the highest military court—from Berlin to Torgau in August 1943 proved, in retrospect, to be far reaching because, during the war, the judicial authorities were abolished: the Reich Court Martial operated no longer as a court of appeal but as a special court with special responsibilities. Among other things, it was responsible for cases of conscientious objection (Jehovah's Witnesses were affected especially), espionage,

treason, and high treason as well as for foreign resistance fighters that were active in organized groups. For that reason, from 1943 on, increasing numbers of remand prisoners came to Torgau, where they were principally held in Fort Zinna. Many of these prisoners were inhabitants of occupied territories in Northern and Western Europe but also in Poland. The president of the Reich Court Martial was Admiral Max Bastian, until October 1944, then General Hans-Karl von Scheele until April 1945.

In the Wehrmacht prisons in Torgau, up to 1,000 prisoners may have been executed by firing squad. The executions were carried out in a gravel pit or in the old moat of Fort Zinna. The victims were notified several hours before their execution. The firing squad was usually made up of members of the guard force. Other prisoners had to witness the execution. Likewise, it was prisoners who had to bind the condemned to the posts, lay the dead in coffins, and bury them.

Any of the condemned who were to be beheaded were taken to the prison in Halle/Saale. Between September 1943 and April 1945, over 200 prisoners from Torgau were killed there. In 1944, medical experiments were carried out there for the navy, to test camouflage, and these were also done on delinquents from Torgau. The interest lay at first in the eyes of those killed: to obtain scientific proof, the condemned had their eyes covered for hours before their execution, so that no light could penetrate. Later, the eyes were removed from the bodies in a chamber illuminated with red light. In addition, preparations were tested that were supposed to increase the eyes' performance. These were introduced before execution; later, the dead men's livers and eyes were removed for examination.

Starting in the autumn of 1944, increasing numbers of prisoners from other Wehrmacht prisons were transferred to Torgau. This was true especially for prisoners from France, because that country was being liberated by the Allies and the occupying authority had collapsed. Much the same was true of the collapsing fronts in the east, where detention facilities had to be evacuated.

In the middle of April 1945, the military had all but abandoned the city of Torgau, but there were still thousands of prisoners in the prisons. Brückenkopf and Fort Zinna were evacuated starting

on April 14; the prisoners were forced to march into the Erz Mountains (*Erzgebirge*). Several were bound with chains for the march. The Reich Court Martial also fled on April 14. Probationary units were still being formed from several hundred prisoners, to be employed against the Soviets. About 1,000 prisoners remained behind because they were too weak for the evacuation. Death sentences were still being carried out as late as April 19. On April 25, the last guard personnel abandoned the prisons. Several prisoners—especially foreigners—organized themselves and raised a Red Cross flag over Fort Zinna. In the course of the afternoon, American troops reached the prison area and freed the remaining prisoners. The last prisoners from Torgau were freed in the Erz Mountains on May 8, 1945.

SOURCES Primary source information about the Wehrmacht prisons in Torgau is located in BArch (R 3001/21278; R 3001/22291; R 3001/22298); BA-MA (RH 13/61; RH 13/62; RH 14/33; RH 14/54; RH 15/229; RH 48/4; RH 53-6/76; RH 15/186; RW 19/2130; RW 60/4223); and Interview with Karsten Weichmann (1922–2013), April 20, 2007.

Additional information about the Wehrmacht prisons in Torgau can be found in the following publications: Fietje Ausländer, "'Zwölf Jahre Zuchthaus! Abzusitzen nach Kriegsende!' Zur Topographie des Strafgefangenenwesens der Deutschen Wehrmacht," in *Die anderen Soldaten: Wehrkraftzersetzung, Gehorsamsverweigerung und Fahnenflucht im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Norbert Haase and Gerhard Paul (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995), pp. 50–65; Ludwig Baumann, *Niemals gegen das Gewissen: Plädoyer des letzten Wehrmachtsdeserteurs* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2014); Ulrich Baumann and Magnus Koch, *"Was damals Recht war …" Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht* (Berlin: be.bra, 2008); Michael Eberlein, Norbert Haase, and Wolfgang Oleschinski, *Torgau im Hinterland des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Militärjustiz, Wehrmachtgefängnisse, Reichskriegsgericht* (Leipzig: Kiepenhauer, 1999); Johannes Fülberth, *Das Gefängnis Spandau 1918–1947: Strafvollzug in Demokratie und Diktatur* (Berlin: be.bra, 2014); Norbert Haase,

Das Reichskriegsgericht und der Widerstand gegen die nationalsozialistische Herrschaft (Berlin: Gedenkstätte deutscher Widerstand, 1993); Peter Kalmbach, *Wehrmachtjustiz* (Berlin: Metropol, 2012); Katholisches Militärbischofsamt, *Christen im Krieg: Katholische Soldaten, Ärzte und Krankenschwestern im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Pattloch, 2001); Hans-Peter Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500: Stellung und Funktion der BW 500 im System von NS-Wehrrecht, NS-Militärjustiz und Wehrmachtstrafvollzug* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995); Harald Kruse, *Unschuldig schuldig: Ein KZ-Überlebender zwischen Hass und Hoffnung* (Bielefeld: Christliche Literatur-Verbreitung, 1995); Manfred Messerschmidt, *Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005); Lars G. Petersson, *Broken Oath: Victims of Hitler's Blood Judges* (London: Pen, 2004); Heinrich Scheel, *Vor den Schranken des Reichskriegsgerichts: Mein Weg in den Widerstand* (Berlin: edition q, 1993); Günther Weisenborn, *Der lautlose Aufstand: Bericht über die Widerstandsbewegung des deutschen Volkes 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1974).

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Trans. Alwin Kalmbach

NOTES

1. Interview with Karsten Weichmann (1922–2013), April 20, 2007.

2. Befehl des Chefs der Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres betreffend Versetzung von Soldaten des Heeres bei Beginn, Beendigung bzw. Aussetzung des Strafvollzugs, sowie bei Beginn und Beendigung der Straflagerverwahreung vom 21.1.1943, BA-MA, RH 14/33.

3. Klausch, *Die Bewährungstruppe 500*, p. 109.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

14f13	File number for “euthanasia” in IKL camps
1999	*1999: Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*
A4	Aggregat 4 (code name for the V-2 rocket)
AAA	anti-aircraft artillery
AAC-C	L’Archives des Anciens Combattants (Veterans’ Archives), Caen, France
AADV-S	L’Amicale des Anciens Déportés de Neu-Stassfurt (Association of Former Deportees of Neu-Stassfurt)
AAK	Archiv der Akademie der Künste (Archive of the Academy of Art), Berlin
AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
ABA	Armeebekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
A-BASF	Archiv der BASF, Ludwigshafen
ABI	August-Bebel-Institut (August Bebel Institute)
AbKdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ABL/LPD-N/O	Archiv der Bayerischen Landespolizei/

	Landespolizeidirektion Niederbayern/Oberpfalz (Archive of the Bavarian State Police/State Police Directorate Lower Bavaria/Upper Pfalz)
Abo	*Aufbau*
A-BMdI	Archiv des Bundesministeriums des Innern (Archive of the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior), Vienna
ABR	Arbeitskreis Berliner Regionalmuseen (Working Group of Berlin Regional Museums)
ABSS	*Amtsblatt der Stadt Steyr*
ABZ	*Aschaffenburg Zeitung*
ACCC	Archives Copenhagen City Court
ACCS	L'Archives de camp de concentration Struthof (Natzweiler) (Archives of the Struthof [Natzweiler] Concentration Camp), France
ACMJW	Archiwum Centralnego Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych w Łambinowicach-Opolu (Archives of the Central Prisoner of War Museum in Łambinowice-Opole)
ACNR	L'Archives de Conseils national de la Résistance (Archives of the National Council of the Resistance), Paris
a.D.	*ausser Dienst* (retired)
AD-Ans	Archives départementales des

	Ardennes (Departmental Archives of the Ardennes)
ADGB	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Association)
ADIRN	Association des Deportées et Internées Résistantes, Nanterre (Association of Deportees and Resistance Internees, Nanterre), France
AD-M	Archives départementales de la Mayenne (Departmental Archives of the Mayenne)
AdsD-FES	Archiv der sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Archive of Social Democracy of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
ADW-B	Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes (Archive of the Deaconite Works), Berlin
AD-Y	Archives départementales de la Yonne (Departmental Archives of the Yonne)
AE	Arbeitserziehungshäftling(e) (work education or discipline prisoner[s])
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Company)
AEG-FKU	AEG Friedrich-Karl-Ufer (AEG Friedrich Karl Ufer)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AERI	Association pour des Etudes sur la Résistance intérieure

	(Association for the Study of Internal Resistance)
AFA	Accumulatoren Fabrik AG (Battery Manufacturing, Inc.)
AFL	*Anzeiger für das Fürstentum Lübeck*
AFP	Agence France-Presse (French Press Agency)
AFSBKO	Arkhiv federal'noi sluzhby bezopasnosti Kurskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service of Kursk oblast')
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (Public Corporation)
AG-B	Archiv Gedenkstätte Buchenwald (Archives of the Buchenwald Memorial)
AG-BB	Archiv Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen (Archives of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial)
AG-D	Archiv Gedenkstätte Dachau (Archives of the Dachau Memorial)
AG-Dr	Archiv des Arbeitskreises Stadtgeschichte e.V., Gedenk- und Dokumentationsstätte KZ Drütte (Archives of the Working Group of City History Association, Memorial and Documentation Site of the Drütte Concentration Camp)
AGe-A-B	Archiv der Gemeinde Asbach-Bäumenheim (Archive of the Asbach-Bäumenheim Township)

AGe-Bi	Archiv der Gemeinde Bisingen (Archive of the Bisingen Township)
AGe-Fe	Archiv der Gemeinde Feldafing (Archive of the Feldafing Township)
AGe-Nie	Archiv der Gemeinde Niederorschel (Archive of the Niederorschel Township)
AGe-Rd	Archiv der Gemeinde Rohrdorf (Archive of the Rohrdorf Township)
AGe-StG	Archiv der Gemeinde St. Gilgen (Archive of the Gilgen Township)
AGe-Sü	Archiv der Gemeinde Südbrokmesland (Archive of the Südbrokmesland Township)
AGe-USZ	Archiv der Gemeinde Unterschwarzach (Archive of the Unterschwarzach Township)
AG-F	Archiv Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg (Archive of the Flossenbürg Memorial)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; IPN)
AG-L	Archiv Gedenkstätte Lichtenburg (Archive of the Lichtenburg Memorial)
AG-LZ/M	Archiv Gedenkstätte Langenstein-Zwieberge in Halberstadt (Archive of the Langenstein-Zwieberge Memorial in Halberstadt)

AG-M	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (Archive of the Mauthausen Memorial)
AG-MD	Archiv Gedenkstätte Mittelbau-Dora (Archive of the Mittelbau-Dora Memorial)
AG-NG	Archiv Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (Archive of the Neuengamme Memorial)
AG-N-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Natzweiler-Struthof (Archive of the Natzweiler-Struthof Memorial)
AG-R	Archiv Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Archive of the Ravensbrück Memorial)
AG-S	Archiv Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen (Archive of the Sachsenhausen Memorial)
AgSSüHR	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spurensuche in der Südharzregion (Working Community of the Tracing Service in the Southern Harz Region)
AG-T	Archiv Gedenkstätte Theresienstadt (Terezín) (Archive of the Theresienstadt Memorial)
AG-W	Archiv Gedenkstätte Wöbbelin (Archive of the Wöbbelin Memorial)
AH	Amtshauptmannschaft (Administrative District Offices)
AHA	Allgemeines Heeresamt (General Army Office)

AHFW	Archiv der Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke GmbH (Archive of the Henschel Aircraft Works, Ltd.), Kassel
AHI-Bau	Allgemeine Hoch-und Ingenieurbau (General Building and Civil Engineering)
A-HkBr	Archiv der Handelskammer Bremen (Archives of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce)
AHM-K	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Köpenick (Archive of the Köpenick Hometown Museum)
AHM-O	Archiv des Heimatmuseums Oederan (Archive of the Oederan Hometown Museum)
AI	Archiwum Ikonograficzne (Iconographic Archive), AMS
AIeTW-B	Archiv des Interessenverbandes ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Naziregimes und Hinterbliebener (Archives of the Association of Former Participants in the Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime, and Surviving Dependents), Berlin
AIZ	*Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*
AIZ	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego (Archives of the Western Institute), Poznań

AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (a.k.a. “Joint”)
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
AK-IPN	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamieci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory), Warsaw
AK-IPN Gd	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamieci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory), Gdańsk
AK-IPN Kr	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamieci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory), Kraków
AK-IPN Op	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamieci Narodowej (Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory), Opole
AK-IPN WR	Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej

	(Main Commission Archives–Polish Institute of National Memory), Wrocław
AKM-WN	Archiv des Kreismuseums Wewelsburg-Niederhagen (Archive of the District Museum, Wewelsburg-Niederhagen)
AKö	Körber-Archiv (Körber Archives), Hamburg
AKr-A-Sch	Archiv des Kreises Aue-Schwarzenberg (Archive of the Aue-Schwarzenberg District)
AKr-Bal	Archiv des Kreises Balingen (Archive of the Balingen District)
AKr-C	Archiv des Landkreises Celle (Archive of Celle County)
AKr-EW	Archiv des Kreises Eberswalde (Archive of the Eberswalde District)
AKr-MAB	Archiv des Kreises Marienberg (Archive of the Marienberg District)
AKr-N	Archiv des Kreises Nordhausen (Archive of the Nordhausen District)
AKr-RM	Archiv des Landkreises Rems-Murr (Archive of Rems-Murr County)
AKr-SH	Archiv des Landkreises Schwäbisch-Hall (Archive of Schwäbisch-Hall County)
AKr-TUT	Archiv des Kreises Tuttlingen (Archive of the Tuttlingen District)

AL	Arbeitslager (work camp)
ALIM	Archiv des Landesvereins für Innere Mission in Schleswig-Holstein (Archive of the State Association for the Inner Mission in Schleswig-Holstein), Rickling
Allgä	*Der Allgäuer*
ALR-LWL	Archiv des Landratsamtes Ludwigslust (Archive of the Office of the Rural District Administrator, Ludwigslust)
ALSOS	Code name for the US search for nuclear weapons research in Germany (from the Greek for “grove”)
ALVR	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland (Archive of the Rhineland Landscape Association)
ALVW-L	Archiv des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe (Archive of the Westfalen-Lippe Regional Association)
ALWH	Archiv des Landeswohlfahrtsverbandes Hessen (Archive of the State Welfare Association in Hesse)
AM-BN-G	Archiv des Museums der Burg Neustadt Glewe (Archive of the Neustadt Glewe Castle Museum)
AMC	American Military Court
AMGR	Archiwum Muzeum Gross-Rosen (Gross-Rosen Museum

	Archives), Rogoźnica, Poland
AMRCCT-L	Association pour la Mémoire et la Reconnaissance du Camp de Concentration Thil-Longwy (Archive for the Memory and Recognition of the Thil-Longwy Concentration Camp), France
Ams	*Acta medica scandinavica*
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
AMSPE	L'Archives du Ministère de la Santé Publique et de l'Environment (Archives of the Minister of the Public Health and the Environment), Brussels
AMvP	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra Praha (Archive of the Czech Ministry of the Interior in Prague)
AN	L'Archives nationales (French National Archives), Paris (also ANFP)
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
ANEI	Associazione Nazionale Ex Internati (National Association of Ex-Internees), Rome
ANFP	L'Archives nationales de France Paris (also AN)
Anh-A	*Anhalter Anzeiger*
ANL	L'Archives nationales de Luxembourg (National Archives of Luxembourg)

AN-MACVG	L'Archives nationales–Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (French National Archives–Ministry of Veterans and Victims of War), Paris
Antifa-Be-Os	*Antifaschistische Beiträge aus Osnabrück*
AOC	L'Archives de l'Occupation française en Allemagne et en Autriche Colmar (Archives of the French Occupation in Germany and in Austria, Colmar)
AOCZ	Archiv des Oberbergamtes (Archive of the Upper Supervisory Mining Office), Clausthal-Zellerfeld
AOK	Armeeoberkommando (Army High Command)
AOS	L'Amicale d'Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen (The Association of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen)
A-Osta-H	Archiv des Oberstaatsanwalts (Archive of the Senior State Prosecutor), Hamburg
AP	*Affaires Politiques*
ApAz	*Aprés Auschwitz*
APCK	Archiwum Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyza (Archives of the Polish National Red Cross), Warsaw
AP Gd.	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdansk State Archives)

APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakówie (Kraków State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Majdanku (Archive of the Majdanek Museum)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimie (Archive of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives)
APRA	Association Philatélique de Rouen et Agglomération (Philatelic Association of Rouen and Agglomeration)
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
APuZ	*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*
APZ-P	*Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen–Das Parlament*
AR	Archiv Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Ravensbrück

	Memorial Archive)
A-RAG	Archiv der Rheinmetall AG (Archive of the former Rheinmetall-Borsig), Düsseldorf
Aratora	*Aratora: Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Schutz von Artern e.V.*
Arb. Kdo	Arbeitskommando (work detail)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskyi oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
AschVZ	*Aschaffenburger Volkszeitung*
AschZ	*Aschaffenburger Zeitung*
ASDAG	Asphalt und Dachdeckungsgesellschaft m.b.H. (Asphalt and Roofing Company, Ltd.), Vienna
A-SDP	Archiv der Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG (Steyr-Daimler-Puch Archive) Steyr, Austria
ASfM	*Aufruf: Streitschrift für Menschenrechte*
ASM	Alderney Society and Museum, Channel Islands, UK
AS-M	Archiv Siemens-München (Siemens Archives, Munich)
Aso	Asozial(e) ("asocial(s)")
ASR	Arbeitsscheue Reich ("Reich work shy"; synonym for "asocial")
ASt-Ah	Archiv der Stadt Ahrensböck (Ahrensböck City Archives)

AStaLG-Au	Archiv der Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Aurich (Archive of the State Prosecutor for the Aurich State Court)
AStaLG-B	AStaLG, Bochum
AStaLG-H	AStaLG, Hannover
AStaLG-NF	AStaLG, Nürnberg-Fürth
ASt-Amg	ASt, Amberg (State Archive), Amberg
ASt-Ba	ASt, Barth
ASt-Bal	ASt, Balingen
ASt-B-Fl	ASt, Bad Friedrichshall
ASt-BG	ASt, Bergisch Gladbach
ASt-BH	ASt, Brandenburg an der Havel
ASt-Bl	ASt, Blaichach
ASt-B-Lan	ASt, Bad Langensalza
ASt-Blb.	ASt, Blankenburg
ASt-Boc	ASt, Bochum
ASt-Br	ASt, Bremerhaven
ASt-Bur	ASt, Burgau
ASt-BZ	ASt, Bautzen
ASt-Ctb	ASt, Cottbus
ASt-DU	ASt, Duisburg
ASt-Dü	ASt, Düsseldorf
ASt-Dud	ASt, Duderstadt
ASt-Eu	ASt, Eutin
ASt-Fg	ASt, Freiberg
ASt-Fn	ASt, Friedrichshafen
ASt-Fr	ASt, Freiburg
ASt-Ge	ASt, Gelsenkirchen
ASt-Germ	ASt, Germering
ASt-Gl	ASt, Glückstadt
ASt-H	ASt, Hannover
ASt-HDH	ASt, Heidenheim
ASt-Hen	ASt, Hennigsdorf

ASt-Her	ASt, Hersbruck
ASt-Hild	ASt, Hildesheim
ASt-Hof	ASt, Hof
ASt-Hü	ASt, Hürth
ASt-Kö	ASt, Köln
ASt-KöW	ASt, Königs Wusterhausen
AStKr-BG	ASt, und des Kreises Bergisch-Gladbach (Archive of the City and District of Bergisch-Gladbach)
ASt-L	ASt, Leipzig
ASt-Lang	ASt, Langenhagen
ASt-Ld	ASt, Landau, Pfalz
ASt-Lht	ASt, Landshut
ASt-Li	ASt, Lindau
ASt-Lip	ASt, Lippstadt
ASt-Ln	ASt, Linz (Austria)
ASt-Lsn	ASt, Leisnig
ASt-M	ASt, München
ASt-MCW	ASt, Malchow
ASt-Me	Archiv der Stadtverwaltung Meuselwitz (Archive of the Meuselwitz City Administration)
ASt-Mer	ASt, Merseburg
ASt-Mkg	ASt, Markkleeberg
ASt-MÜ	ASt, Mühldorf
ASt-Mühlh	ASt, Mühlhausen
ASt-N	ASt, Nürnberg
ASt-Ne/Co	ASt, Neustadt bei Coburg
ASt-N-F	ASt, Nürnberg-Fürth
ASt-No	ASt, Norderstedt
ASt-Ns	ASt, Nossen
ASt-NZ	ASt, Neustrelitz
ASt-OG	ASt, Offenburg
ASt-Ol	ASt, Oldenburg
ASt-Os	ASt, Osnabrück

ASt-Pi	ASt, Pirna
ASt-Pl	ASt, Plauen
ASt-Pre	ASt, Prettin
ASt-Put	ASt, Putten
ASt-R	ASt, Regensburg
ASt-RDG	ASt, Ribnitz-Damgarten
ASt-Ros	ASt, Rostock
ASt-Salz	ASt, Salzgitter
ASt-Sch	ASt, Schlieben
ASt-Schw	ASt, Schwechat
ASt-Slzw	ASt, Salzwedel
ASt-So	ASt, Soest
ASt-Sty	ASt, Steyr (Austria)
ASt-Va/E	ASt, Vaihingen an der Enz
ASt-W	ASt, Wuppertal
ASt-Wb	ASt, Warburg
ASt-Wi	ASt, Witten
ASt-Wien	ASt, Wien (Austria)
ASt-Wies	ASt, Wiesbaden
ASt-Wil	ASt, Wilhelmshaven
ASt-WOB	ASt, Wolfsburg
ASt-Wsf	ASt, Weissenfels
ASt-ZI	ASt, Zittau
ASt-ZP	ASt, Zschopau
ASt-Zwbr	ASt, Zweibrücken
ASVG-B	L'archive du Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Archives of the Service of War Victims), Brussels
ATG	Allgemeine Transportanlagen GmbH (General Transport Systems, Ltd.), Leipzig-Schönau
AUB-ISG	Archiv der Universität Bremen, Institut für Sozialgeschichte (Archives of the University of Bremen,

	Institute for Social History)
AuGF-MHL	*Archiv- und Geschichtsforschung, Mühlhausen*
AugsA	*Augsburger Allgemeine*
AUW	*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*
AVB-StFA	Archivverbund Bautzen/ Staatsfilialarchiv (Bautzen Archival Network/State Branch Archive)
A-VEB-S	Archiv der Volkseigener Betrieb-Synthese (Archive of the Nationally Owned Enterprise for Synthesis), Schwarzheide
AVVN-BdA	Archiv der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes-Bund der Antifaschisten (Archive of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime–League of Anti-Fascists)
AVVN-D	AVVN, Dortmund
AVVN-K	AVVN, Köln
AZA	Ausländische Zivilarbeiter (foreign civilian worker)
AŻIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
AZR	Arbeitszwang Reich (Reich forced labor)
BAB	Bau-und Arbeitsbataillon (Construction and Labor Battalion)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German

	Federal Archives), includes former BDC
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives), Berlin-Lichterfelde
BACH	Bundesarchiv Schweiz (Swiss Federal Archives)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
BADRDE	*Bulletin de Amicale des Deportés et de la Résistance de Dora-Ellrich*
BA-K	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives), Koblenz
Baltöl	Baltische Öl GmbH (Baltic Oil, Ltd.)
BAM	*Bulletin de l'Amicale de Mauthausen*
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (German Federal Military Archives), Freiburg
BaNZ	*Basler National-Zeitung*
BAOR	British Army of the Rhine
BA-P	Bundesarchiv-Abteilung Potsdam (German Federal Archives Division), Potsdam
BAR	Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv (Swiss Federal Archives), Bern
BArch	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BASF	Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik
Ba-VEB-BH	Betriebsarchiv VEB Barkas

	Hainichen (firm archive of the GDR-nationally owned enterprise for small vans and buses), Hainichen
Ba-VEB-Bm-KMS	Betriebsarchiv VEB Buchungsmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt (accounting machines), Leipzig
Ba-VEB-Bü-SHD	Betriebsarchiv VEB Bürstenfabrik (brush manufacturing), Schönheide
Ba-VEB-FV	Betriebsarchiv VEB Feinspinnerei (fine spinning mill), Venusberg
Ba-VEB-HR	Betriebsarchiv VEB Hydraulik (hydraulics), Rochlitz
Ba-VEB-Mü-DZ	Betriebsarchiv VEB Mühlenbau (mill), Dresden-Zschachwitz
Ba-VEB-PG	Betriebsarchiv VEB Plauener Gardin (curtain rail)
Ba-VEB-S-Z	Betriebsarchiv VEB Sachsenring (automobile), Zwickau
Ba-VEB-Ts-Fl	Betriebsarchiv VEB Texturseide (silk texture), Flöha
Ba-VEB-Vmb-D	Betriebsarchiv VEB Verpackungsmachinenbau (packing machine manufacture), Dresden
B-B	Bergen-Belsen
Bbde	SS-Baubrigade (SS Construction Brigade)
B.Ch.	Batalionów Chłopskich (Polish Peasant Battalion)

BCL	Brooklyn College Library, New York
BDC	Berlin Document Center (today BA-B and NARA)
BDCPF	Berlin Document Center Personnel File (SS Officer file, SSO)
BdE	Befehlshaber der Ersatzarmee (Commander-in-Chief of the Replacement Army)
BdO	Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (Commander of the Order Police)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
BeHkStKrN	*Beiträge zur Heimatkunde aus Stadt und Kreis Nordhausen*
Be-Nbh-Hg	*Beiträge zur Neckarbischofsheimer Heimatsgeschichte*
BeStG	*Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*
BFA	Bundesfilmarchiv (German Federal Film Archives), Berlin
BFW	*Bulletin für Faschismus und Weltkriegsforschung*
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
BgA-Fg	Bergarchiv Freiberg (Freiberg Mine Archive)
BGBl.	*Bundesgesetzblatt*
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (West German Federal Court)
BGKBZHwP	*Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*

BGNSVND	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*
BHSKN	*Beiträge zur Heimatkunde aus Stadt und Kreis Nordhausen*
BHStA-(M)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Bavarian Main State Archives), Munich
BHStA-(N)	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Nürnberg (Bavarian Main State Archives, Nuremberg)
BKRTN	*Biuletyn Kwartalny Radosmkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*
Bl.	Blatt (page)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters House in Israel; also GFH)
BLHA	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg; also BLHA-[B], Berlin, and BLHA-[P], Potsdam; the archive includes ZSA-P), Potsdam
BLHBH	*Biuletyn Historyczny Lęborskiego Bractwa Historycznego*
BLZ-BPA	Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit (Bavarian Central Office for Political Education Work)
BlzL	*Blätter zum Land*
BM	*Berliner Morgenpost*
BMdI	Bundesministerium des

	Innern, Wien (Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior, Vienna)
BMW	Bayerische Motoren Werke (Bavarian Motor Works)
Bn	Battalion
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France)
BNZ	*Bremer Nationalsozialistische Zeitung*
BoA	*Bochumer Anzeiger*
BPA	Bezirksamt Pankow Archiv (District Office Archive), Pankow
BPASED-B(O)	Bezirksparteiarchiv der SED, Berlin (Ost) (District Party Archive of the Socialist Unity Party, East Berlin)
BPB	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Central Office for Political Education)
Brabag	Braunkohle-Benzin AG (Brown Coal Gasoline Company Corp.)
BrA-K	Brabag Archiv-Köln (Brabag Archive, Cologne)
BrAnz	*Brandenburger Anzeiger*
BrN	*Bremer Nachrichten*
BŚ-DM	*Biuletyn Świebodzice-Dzieje Miasta*
BStU	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of

	State Security of the Former GDR)
BStU-H(S)	Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Aussenstelle Halle (Saale) (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR, branch office Halle an der Saale)
BsWuSg	*Beiträge zur südwestlichen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*
BT	*Bamberger Tagblatt*
BTS	Belgian Tracing Service
Bu	Buchenwald (archival abbreviation)
BuH	*Buchenwald Heft*
BUiAD	Biuro Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów (Office for Document Access and Archiving, National Memorial Institute), Warsaw
Büssing NAG	Büssing Vereinigte Neue-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (Büssing United New Automobile Company Corp.)
BV	*Bamberger Volksblatt*
BV	Berufsverbrecher (Nazi prisoner category: criminal) or Befristete Vorbeugungshaft (temporary preventive custody)
BVEBMZ	*Betriebszeitung des VEB*

	Motorradwerk Zschopau
BVP	Bayerische Volkspartei (Bavarian People's Party)
BWF	*Bulletin für Weltkriegs- und Faschismusforschung*
BZ	*Berliner Zeitung*
BzFdd	*Beiträge zur Fachdidaktik*
BŻIH	*Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*
CAFSSRF	Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, Moscow
CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CChIdK	Centr Chranenija Istoriko-Dokumental'nych Kollekcij Moscow (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections, Moscow)
CCKdo	Concentration Camp Kommando (ITS abbreviation)
CCP	*Catalogue of Camps and Prisons*
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CEGESOMA	Centre des Recherches et d'Etudes Historiques de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (Center of Research and Historical Studies of the Second World War), Brussels

CEH	*Contemporary European History*
Ce He	*Celler Hefte*
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (French General Confederation of Labor)
ChGK	Chezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating Crimes Perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices)
CHP	Centre historique (Historical Center, AN), Paris
CIC	Civilian Internment Camp (Allied term)
CICR	Comité internationale de la Croix-Rouge (International Committee of the Red Cross; ICRC)
CIOS	Combined Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee
CJH	Center for Jewish History, New York
CJN	*Canadian Jewish News*
CNI	Central Names Index (ITS)
CNIP	Centre national d'information sur les prisonniers de guerre (National Center for Information on Prisoners of War), France
CoNZ	*Coburger Nationalzeitung*
CoV	*Coburger Volksblatt*
CSC	Coordination Support

	Committee
CSDI	Centro studi sulla deportazione e l'internamento (Center for the Study of Deportations and Internment)
CTHS	Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Committee of Historical and Scientific Work), Paris
CWC	Civilian Workers Camps (ITS abbreviation)
D	Office group designation for IKL in the SS-WVHA, usually followed by a Roman numeral indicating office (such as D II, Prisoner Labor Allocation)
DA	*Der Alemanne*
DAA/DK	District Archive of Aabenraa, Denmark
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAG	Dynamit Nobel AG (Nobel Dynamite Company Inc.)
DaHe	*Dachauer Hefte*
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast')
DAKiO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivs'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Kiev Oblast')
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovohrads'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Kirovograd Oblast')
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi

	oblasti (State Archive of the L'viv Oblast')
DAN	*Der Angriff*
DanVorp	*Danziger Vorposten*
DAPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Poltavs'koi oblasti (State Archive of Poltava Oblast', Ukraine)
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Rivne Oblast', Ukraine)
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopils'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Ternopil' Oblast', Ukraine)
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archive of the Vinnitsia Oblast', Ukraine)
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyn'skoi oblasti (State Archive of the Volyn' Oblast', Ukraine)
DAW	Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH (German Equipment Works, Ltd., a Nazi SS-owned business enterprise)
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zhytomyr Oblast', Ukraine)
DB	Daimler-Benz
DB	*Dziennik Bałtycki*
DBHG	Deutsche Bergwerks- und Hüttenbau Gesellschaft (German Mining and Metallurgical Company)
DCAG-UA	DaimlerChrysler AG,

	Unternehmenarchiv (Company Archive), Stuttgart
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party)
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic; also GDR)
DDR-JuNS-V	*DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam, 2002–)
Dé	*Le Déporté*
DEF	Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik–Email-und Metallwaren aller Art (German Enamel Factory–Enamel and Metal Wares of All Types)
DEFA	Deutsche Film AG (East German Film Corporation)
DegGb	*Deggendorfer Geschichtsblätter*
DEGOB	Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság (National Committee for Attending Deportees), Budapest
Degussa	Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt (German Gold and Silver Separation Establishment)
Deg-Z	*Deggendorfer Zeitung*
Demag	Deutsche Maschinenfabrik AG (German Machine Factory Corp.)

dem-ges	*demokratische-gesundheit*
Dem-Gesch	*Demokratische Geschichte*
Deschimag	Deutsche Schiff- und Maschinenbau AG (German Ship and Machine Construction)
DESt GmbH	Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (German Earth and Stone Works, Ltd.)
DE-TE-WE	Deutsche Telephonwerke und Kabelindustrie AG (German Telephone and Cable Industry Corp.)
Deurag-Nerag	Gewerkschaft Deutsche Erdöl-Neue Erdöl Raffinerie AG (Union of the German Petroleum–New Petroleum Refinery Corporation)
DEW	Deutschen Eisenwerke AG (German Iron Works)
DF	*Deutsche Freiheit*
DFü	*Der Führer*
DGA	*Der Gegen-Angriff*
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Confederation of Trade Unions)
DGS-KZ-A	Dokumentationsstätte Goldbacher Stollen und KZ Aufkirch e.V. (Documentation Site of the Goldbach Tunnels and Aufkirch Concentration Camp, Registered Association)
DH	*Daily Herald*
DIKAL!	Darf in kein anderes Lager! (“Not Permitted in Any Other Camp!”; an abbreviation used

	in Buchenwald prisoner files to designate flight risks or dangerous prisoners)
DiM	*Dokumenty i materiały*, 3 vols. (Łódź, 1946)
DingA	*Dingolfinger Anzeiger*
DIWAG	Deutsche Industrie-Werke AG (German Industrial Works Corp.)
DIZ	Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum (Documentation and Information Center)
DIZ-EL	DIZ Emslandlager (Emsland Camps)
DIZ-OK	DIZ Oberer Kuhberg (Oberer Kuhberg Camps)
DIZ-St	DIZ Stadtallendorf (Stadtallendorf Camps)
DIZ-T	DIZ Torgau (Torgau Camps)
DJ	*Deutsche Justiz: Rechtspflege und Rechtspolitik*
DKK	Deutsche Kühl- und Kraftmaschinen (German Cooling and Power Machines)
DKP	Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (German Communist Party in the Federal Republic of Germany)
DKW	Dampf-Kraft-Wagen (lit., Steam-driven car, a German automobile firm)
DLV	Deutscher Luftsportverband (German Air Sport League)
DM	Deutsche Mark
DMM	Deutsches Museum München (German Museum, Munich)

DMW	Deutsche Munitionswerke (German Munitions Works)
DN	Dokumentenhaus Neuengamme (Neuengamme Documentation Center)
DNA	Danish National Archive
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party)
DNW	*Die neue Weltbühne*
DOB	Date of birth
doc.	document
DÖLF	Deutsche Ölschieferforschungsgesellschaft (German Oil Shale Research Association)
Don-K-Ing	*Donau-Kurier Ingolstadt*
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Deutsche Reichsbahn (German National Railway)
DRhPf	*Der Rheinpfälzer*
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)
DRM-BK	Deutsch-Russisches Museum (German-Russian Museum), Berlin-Karlshorst
DrVZ	*Dresdener Volkszeitung*
DSC	Deutsche Sprengchemie GmbH (German Gunpowder Chemical Industry, Ltd.)
DSLP	Délégation du Service de liason avec les prisonniers de

	guerre (Delegation of the Liaison Service with Prisoners of War)
DSP	Deutsche Staatspartei (German State Party)
dt	*die tat*
DTM	Deutsche Technikmuseum (German Technical Museum), Berlin
DTM-AEG-A	Deutsche Technikmuseum, AEG-Archive (Archive of the German General Electric, AEG)
DüJb	*Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch*
DVA	Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Ernährung und Verpflegung GmbH (German Experimental Institute for Nutrition and Provisions, Ltd.)
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party)
DVZ	*Deutsche Volkszeitung*
DWB	Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe (German Business Enterprises, an SS-owned conglomerate)
DWH	Deutsche Wohnungshilfswerk (German Housing Relief Service)
DZOK	Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg, KZ Gedenkstätte (Oberer Kuhberg Documentation Center, Concentration Camp Memorial)
DzP	*Dziennik Polski*
EAK	Evreiskii antifashistskii

	komitet (Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee)
ECPAD	Établissement de Communication et de Production audiovisuelle de la Défense (Defense Establishment of Audiovisual Communications and Productions), Paris
EDR	*Edenkobener Rundschau*
EF	Eiserne Front (Iron Front)
EfHh	*Eichsfelder Heimathefte*
Eh-DDR-ZSA	Ehemalige DDR Zentrales Staatsarchiv (former GDR Central State Archive, today BA-B)
EHM	Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Estonian Historical Museum), Tallinn
EI	*An End to Intolerance*
EJfHKNg	*Eberswalder Jahrbuch für Heimat-, Kultur- und Naturgeschichte*
EKr	*Echo Krakowa*
Elmag	Elsässische Maschinenbau GmbH (Alsatian Machine Construction, Ltd.)
E-Polen	Eindeutschungsfähige-Polen (Germanizable Poles)
ErzHei	*Erzgebirgische Heimatblätter*
ESTA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive), Tallinn
ETOUSA	European Theater of Operations, US Army
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EVO	Energie-Versorgung

	Oberschlesien (Upper Silesian Energy Supply Company)
EZ	*Ems-Zeitung*
F	*Freiheit*
Fa	*Fakty*
FAD	Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst (Volunteer Labor Service)
FAL	Frauenarbeitslager (Women's labor camp)
FASz	*Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*
FAU	Frontarbeitenunternehmen (Front Work Operation, code name for SS building operation at Stutthof/Bruss-Sophienwalde)
F-B-I	Fritz-Bauer-Institut, Frankfurt am Main
FCRA	Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens
FDGB	Freier Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (Free German Trade Union Federation)
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn
FGNS-H	Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus (Research Office for the History of National Socialism; today FZG), Hamburg
FHA	Führungshauptamt (SS-Leadership Main Office)
FHLA-(L)	Friends House Library and Archives, London

FHQ	Führerhauptquartier (Führer Headquarters)
Fi	Fieseler aircraft or V-weapon prefix
Fig	*Le Figaro*
FIR	Fédération Internationale des Résistants (International Federation of Resisters)
FKM	Finow Kupfer- und Messingwerke AG (Finow Copper and Brass Works, Inc.)
FLS	F. L. Smidth and Company, Copenhagen (and archives)
FMAS-(S)	Foreign Ministry Archives of Sweden (Stockholm)
FM-C	Frihedsmuseet-Copenhagen (Museum of the Danish Resistance)
FO	Foreign Office
fol.	folio
fr.	frame
FR	*Frankfurter Rundschau*
FräV	*Fränkischen Volksblatt*
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FS	Fernschreiben (telegram)
F-S	*Folks-Sztyme*
FSB	Federalnaia Sluzhba Bezopasnosti (Federal Security Bureau, Russian Federation successor to the KGB)
FSS	Field Security Section (British military term)
FSW	Fritz-Sauckel-Werk (Gustloff Weimar; an armaments firm)
FTP	Franc-Tireur Partisan

	(Partisan irregulars)
FüA	*Fürther Anzeiger*
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
Fw	Focke-Wulf (Focke-Wulf Company)
FWM	Flugzeugwerke Mielec (Mielec Aircraft Works)
FZ	*Frankfurter Zeitung*
FZH	Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte (Research Office for Contemporary History; formerly FGNS-H), Hamburg
GADO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Donets'koi oblasti (State Archives of Donets'k Oblast')
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Grodnenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast')
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast')
GAKhO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Khar'kovskoi Oblasti (State Archives of Khar'kov Oblast')
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Minsk Oblast')
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilyëvskoi oblasti (State Archive of the Mogilev Oblast')

GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskov (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov)
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GARO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rostovskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Rostov Oblast')
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukraïny, Kyïv (State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Kiev)
GASBU-Dn	GASBU-Dnepropetrovsk
GASBU-Do	GASBU-Donets'k
GASBU-L	GASBU-L'viv
GASmO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Smolenskoi Oblasti (State Archive of the Smolensk Oblast')
GAZJ	Geschichtsarchiv der Zeugen Jehovas (Jehovah's Witnesses' History Archive), Selters, Taunus
GBA	Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz (General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation)
GBrz	*Gazeta Brzeska*
GCC	German Concentration Camp (ITS abbreviation)
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GDW-B	Gedenkstätte Deutscher

	Widerstand (German Resistance Memorial Site), Berlin
GeBeChem	Generalbevollmächtigter Chemie (General Plenipotentiary for Special Chemical Questions in the Four-Year Plan)
GeRu	*Gedenkstätten-Rundbrief*
Gesch-r.	*Geschichte regional*
Gestapa	Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt (Secret State Police Office)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GF	*Glückstädter Fortuna*
GFH	Ghetto Fighters' House (Beit Lohamei Hagetaot, BLH), Acco, Israel
GG	Generalgouvernement (General Government)
GK	Generalkommissar (General Commissar)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; today IPN)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GMS	Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen
GOKBZHwP	Główne i Okręgowe Komisje Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main

	and District Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland)
GPO	Generalplan Ost (General Plan East)
Gq	*Geschichte quer*
GrHe	*Greizer Heimatbote*
GSR	*German Studies Review*
Gsta.	Generalstaatsanwaltschaft (Prosecutor General)
GStAPK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Historical State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Estate), Berlin
GuG	*Geschichte und Gesellschaft*
GUG	Gesellschaft für Unternehmensgeschichte (Society for Business History)
GuR	*Geschichte und Region*
GWM	*Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*
GZ	*Das Goldene Zeitalter*
HA	Hilfsarbeiter (unskilled worker)
HAFHDCB	Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest
HAK	Historisches Archiv Krupp (Krupp Corporation Historical Archives), Essen
Ham.	*Hamelika*
HaNa	*Hallische Nachrichten*
Hanomag	Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG (Hanover Machine Building Corp.)

HarJb	*Harburger Jahrbuch*
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HAStK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Historical Archive of the City of Cologne)
HAStK-P	Archiv der Stadt Köln-Aussenstelle Porz (Cologne City Archive, Porz External Branch)
HaT	*Haller Tagblatt*
HBA	Heeresbekleidungsamt (Army Clothing Office)
HBS	Heeresbaustelle (Army Construction Office)
HD	*Heimat Dortmund*
HDEC	Holocaust Documentation and Education Center, Inc., North Miami, Florida
HdGw	*Hefte der Geschichtswerkstatt*
HE	*Havelländisches Echo*
He	Heinkel aircraft prefix
HEDIA-Schuhfabrik	Herman Diamant-Schuhfabrik (Herman Diamant Shoe Factory)
Heeresmuna	Heeresmunitionsanstalt (Army Munitions Facility)
Hém	*Hémecht*
HeuBo	*Heuberg Boten*
HEW	Hamburgische Elektrizitätswerke AG (Hamburg Electrical Power Company)
HfBL	*Heimatbuch für Bergische Land*
HFW	Henschel-Flugzeug-Werke (Henschel Aircraft Work)

HGS	*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*
HHB	Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten (SS Main Office for Budget and Buildings)
HHFb	*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*
HHNa	*Hamburger Nachrichten*
HHStA-(M)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Marburg
HHStA-(W)	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archives), Wiesbaden
HHTb	*Hamburger Tageblatt*
HiHe	*Historische Heimatblätter*
h-IM	*"heute"–Information und Meinung*
Hipo	Hilfspolizei (Auxiliary Police)
Hist. Abt.	Historische Abteilung (Historical Section of ITS)
Hist Gd	*Historia Gdańska*
Hiwi	Hilfswilliger (volunteer auxiliary)
HJMA	Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest
HJSL	*Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz*
HkfKrP	*Heimatkalendar für den Kreis Prenzlau*
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HM	Hängemappe (Hanging Map; ITS abbreviation)
HM-F	Heimatmuseum Falkensee (Falkensee Local Museum)
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office

HoCu	*Holsteinischer Courier*
HQ	Headquarters
Hrsg.	Herausgeber (Editor)
HSSPF	Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader)
HStA-D	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Darmstadt
HStA-M	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archive), Marburg
HStA-St	Hauptstaatsarchiv (Main State Archive), Stuttgart
HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
Htv	*Hatikvah*
HV	*Hessische Volkswacht*
HvA	*Hefte von Auschwitz*
HVA-P	Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde (Army Experimental Institution Peenemünde)
HVM	Heeresverpflegungsamt-Magazin (Army Provisions Office–Magazine)
HWL	Hauptwirtschaftslager (Main Supply Camp)
HWLB	Holzwolleleichtbauplatte (Pressboard building slab)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDO	Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German East Work), Kraków
IfWSg	Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Graz (Institute for Economic

	and Social History, Graz University), Austria
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IfZ-UW	Institut für Zeitgeschichte-Universität Wien (Institute for Contemporary History, University of Vienna)
IGA/ZPA-B	Institut für die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung/Zentrales Parteiarchiv (Institute for the History of the Labor Movement/Central Party Archives), Berlin
IG Farben	Interessengemeinschaft Farbenindustrie AG (Community of Interests, Dye Industry, Inc.)
IISG	International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam
IKL	Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (SS-Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)
ILKB	Internationale Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald (International Camp Committee of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp)
IMI	Italienische Militärinternierte (Italian Military Internee)
IMO	Internationale Militärorganisation (International Military Organization, the Buchenwald resistance group)

Implosion	*Implosion: Biotechnische Nachrichten*
IMT	International Military Tribunal
InBe	*Interkulturelle Beiträge*
Inf. Div.	Infanterie-Division (Infantry Division)
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Polish Institute of National Remembrance) Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
IRC	International Red Cross
ISKDW	*Informationen: Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand*
IS-O	Instytut Śląsk-Opole (Silesian Institute-Opole)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
IWK	*Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*
IWM	Imperial War Museum
IWMA	Imperial War Museum Archives
IWMR	*Imperial War Museum Review*
JA	*Journal l'Alsace*
JAG	Judge Advocate General
JBLS	*Jahrbuch des Bodenseekreises Leben am See*
JDÖW	*Jahrbuch des Dokumentationsarchivs des Österreichischen Widerstandes*
JfEbG	*Jahrbuch für Eisenbahngeschichte*
JFM	Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerk AG (Junkers

	Aircraft and Motor Works Company, Inc.)
JfSchG	*Jahrbuch für die Schleswigsche Geest*
JfW	*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
JGR	*Journal of Genocide Research*
JHVCT	*Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für den Chiemgau zu Traunstein*
Ju	Junkers aircraft prefix
Julag	Judenlager (Jewish camp)
JuNS-V	*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*
JWDLG	*Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*
JWg	*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
K	Aktion Kugel (Killing operation, lit., "Bullet")
KaGb	*Kaufbeurer Geschichtsblätter*
KäJP	*Kärntner Jahrbuch für Politik*
KALAG	Kabel und Leitungswerke AG (Cable and Conductor Works, Inc.)
KaN-AHm	Kulturamt Neukölln Archiv des Heimatmuseums (Neukölln Culture Office, Archiv of the Local Museum)
KA-SG-Amts	Kulturamt der Stadtgemeinde (Culture Office of the Town Community) Amstetten
KBI	Kriminalbiologisches Institut der Sicherheitspolizei

	(Criminal-Biological Institute of the Security Police)
KdAW-DDR	Komitee antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic)
KdF	Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commander of the Gendarmerie)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
Kdo.	Kommando (Command)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KG	Kommanditgesellschaft (limited partnership)
KG AK	Kwatera Główna Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army Headquarters)
KGB	Komittet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (Committee on State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
Kgf.	Kriegsgefangene (POW)
KGL	Kriegsgefangenenlager (POW camp)
KH	Kreishauptmannschaft (district civilian

	administration)
KL	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
KLM	Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (Mauthausen Concentration Camp)
KM-WN	Kreismuseum (District Museum) Wewelsburg-Niederhagen
KöRS	*Kölnische Rundschau*
Korück	Kommandant rückwärtiges Armeegebiet (Commander of the Army Rear Area)
KöSa	*Kölner Stadtanzeiger*
KÖU	Kohle-Öl-Union (Coal Oil Union Company)
KPAW	Katholische Pfarrarchiv Wewelsburg (Catholic Priests' Archive, Wewelsburg)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPO	Kommunistische Partei-Organisation, KPD-Opposition (German Communist Party Opposition)
KPÖ	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Communist Party)
KrGefBezKdt	Kriegsgefangenenbezirkskommandant (Prisoner of War District Commandant)
Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
K.S.V. (H.)	Kriegssanitätsvorschrift (Heer) (War Health Regulation [Army])

KTB	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KTL	Kraftfahrtechnische Lehranstalt der Waffen-SS (Motor Vehicle Technical Institute of the Waffen-SS)
Kul.	*Kulisy*
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau GmbH (Cable Works Kraków, Ltd.)
KWO	Kabelwerk Oberspree (Cable Works Oberspree)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
K.z.b.V.	Kommando z.b.V. (Special Duty Detachment)
KZuHaftaBu	Konzentrationslager und Haftarchiv Buchenwald (Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Detention Archives; available at THStA-W)
KZZW	Kurmärkische Zellwolle und Zellulose AG (Kurmark Rayon and Cellulose, Inc.)
LA-B	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Berlin
LA-B-BPA-SED	Landesarchiv Berlin Bezirksparteiarchiv SED (Berlin State Archiv, District Party Archive, Socialist Unity Party)
LA-B-W	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Baden-Württemberg
LAG	Luftfahrtanlagen GmbH (Aviation Facilities, Ltd.)
L'Al	*L'Alsace*
LA-NRW-SPDet	Landesarchiv NRW Staats- und Personenstandsarchiv

	Detmold (North Rhine-Westphalia State Archives, State and Personal Status Archive, Detmold)
LAnz	*Lägerdorfer Anzeiger*
LASA-DO	Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt-Aussenstelle Dessau-Oranienbaum (Saxony-Anhalt State Archives, External Branch, Dessau-Oranienbaum)
LA-Sch-H	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Schleswig Holstein
LA-Sp	Landesarchiv (State Archive) Speyer
LAVM-Br	Landesvermessungsamt Brandenburg (Land Surveying Office Brandenburg)
LC	Library of Congress
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archive), Vilnius
LdAnz	*Landauer Anzeiger*
LEM	Lippstädter Eisen- und Metallwerken (Lippstadt Iron and Metal Works)
LFP	*Lübecker Freie Presse*
LG	Landgericht (Regional Court)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (Regional Court, Bochum)
LG-Co	Landgericht Coburg (Regional Court, Coburg)
LG-Mü	Landgericht München (Regional Court, Munich, with Roman numeral designating particular court)
Lg-Ur	*Landesgeschichte im*

	Unterricht
LGW	Luftfahrtgerätewerk Hakenfelde GmbH (Aircraft Equipment Works Hakenfelde, Ltd.)
LG-ZRS	Landgericht für Zivilrechtssachen, Wien (Regional Court for Civil Law Matters, Vienna)
LHRP-Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Rheinland-Pfalz Koblenz (Rhineland-Pfalz Main State Archives, Koblenz)
LHSA-Ma	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt (Main State Archives), Magdeburg
LHSA-Me	Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt (Main State Archives), Merseburg
Lib Ged	*Libri Gedanensis: The Yearbook of the Polish Academy of Sciences*
LKA	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office)
LKA-B-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office), Baden-Württemberg
LKA-N-W	Landeskriminalamt (State Criminal Office), Nordrhein-Westfalen
LMRD	Luxembourg Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Luxembourg Museum of the Resistance and Deportation), Besançon
LNP	*Landauer Neue Presse*
LP	*Lippstadt Patriot*

LPB-BW	Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Baden-Württemberg (State Central Office for Political Education, Baden-Württemberg)
LPPC/MSW	Leopold Page Photographic Collection, Museen der Stadt Wien (Vienna City Museum)
Lp-pkd	*Lnářský průmysl–příspěvky k dějinám*
LR	*Lausitzer Rundschau*
LR-GR	*Lausitzer Rundschau-Gubener Rundschau*
Ls	Luftschutz (air protection)
LübFP	*Lübecker Freie Presse*
LübN	*Lübecker Nachrichten*
Lufag	Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH or Luftfahrtgerätegesellschaft (Aviation Equipment, Ltd., or Aviation Equipment Company)
LüHe	*Lübbener Heimatkalendar*
LUS	Lund University, Sweden, MSS Department
LVermA	Landesvermessungsamt (State Measuring Office)
LVVA	Latvijas Valsts vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archive), Vilnius
LZ	*Landauer Zeitung*
LZF	Archiv der Luftschiffbau Zeppelin (Archive of Zeppelin Airship Construction), Friedrichshafen

MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MACVG	Ministère des anciens combattants et victimes de guerre (Ministry of Veterans and War Victims), France
MAK	*Märkische Allgemeine Zeitung*
MA-M	Mannesmann-Archiv, Mühlheim an der Ruhr (includes Mannesmannröhren-Werke GmbH, Mannesmann Tube Works, Ltd.)
MAN AG	Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (Augsburg-Nuremberg Machine Manufacturing Company)
MBAG-A	Mercedes-Benz AG Archiv, Stuttgart
MC	*Miscellanea curiensia: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur Nordoberfrankens und angrenzender Regionen*
MCAHS	Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, USHMM, Washington, DC
MDÖW	*Mitteilungen des Dokumentationsarchivs des Österreichischen Widerstandes*
MdR	Mitglied des Reichstags (Member of the Reichstag)
Me	Messerschmitt aircraft prefix
MEL	Museum und Dokumentationszentrum “Juden in Lettland” (Museum and Documentation Center, “Jews in Latvia”), Riga
MeM	*Melker Mitteilungen*

Messap	Deutsche Messapparate GmbH (German Measuring Apparatus, Ltd.)
MfAA	Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Sachsen (Ministry for Foreign Matters, Saxony)
MfS	Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Stasi) (GDR-Ministry for State Security)
MG	*Manchester Guardian*
MG-131	Maschinengewehr-131 (Machine Gun-131)
MGb	*Mainzer Geschichtsblätter*
MGR	Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück (Ravensbrück Remembrance and Memorial Site)
MHG	Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte (Museum for Hamburg History)
MIAG	Mühlenbau- und Industrieaktiengesellschaft (Mill and Industry Company)
MiGe	*Militärgeschichte* (GDR)
MIMO	Mitteldeutschen Motorenwerke (Central German Motor Works) Taucha
MittelZ	*Mittelbayerische Zeitung*
MIZ	*Münchner Illustrierte Zeitung*
MJDJG	*Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte*
MK-103	Maschinenkanone-103 (Machine Cannon-103)
MLHSN	Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv

	(Mecklenburg Main State Archives) Schwerin
MM	*Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*
MMB	Modern Military Branch (NARA, College Park, Maryland)
MMer	*Münchner Merkur*
MNH	Maschinenfabrik Niedersachsen (Lower Saxon Machinery Factory), Hannover
MNN	*Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*
MNZ	*Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung*
MON	Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej (Ministry of National Defense, Poland)
Mot.	Motorisiert (Motorized)
MP	*Münchner Post*
MPW	Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Oddział Muzeum Historycznego (Museum of the Warsaw Uprising, Museum Historical Branch), Warsaw
MRD-B	Musée de la Résistance et de la Déportation (Museum of the Resistance and Deportation), Besançon
MSS	manuscript
MUGP	*Mitteilungen des Uckermärkischen Geschichtsvereins zu Prenzlau e.V.*
MWF	Metallwarenfabrik (Metalware

	Manufacturing)
MWN	Mechanische Werkstätten GmbH Neubrandenburg (Neubrandenburg Mechanical Repairs, Ltd.)
MZML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives)
NAG	Nationale-Automobil-Gesellschaft AG (National Automobile Company)
NAL	Nicht aus dem Lager (Not to leave the camp)
NAN	National Archives of the Netherlands, Den Haag
Napola	Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Institution(s) of National-Political Education)
NARA	US National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARAG	Nationale Radiatoren AG (National Radiators, Inc.)
NARB	Natsional'n'yi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archive of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
NARB-SAFPSR	National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, State Archive of Films, Photographs, and Sound Recordings

NA-UK	National Archives (United Kingdom)
NaZag	*Nad Zagoźdżonką* (Pionki)
NB	*Northeimer Beobachter*
NbStPVK	*Nachrichtenblatt der Staatlichen Polizeiverwaltung Köln*
NBZ	*Nordbayerische Zeitung*
NCA	*Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
NCR	National-Krupp-Registrierkassen GmbH (National Krupp Cash Registers, Ltd.)
ND	*Neues Deutschland*
n.d.	No date
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
NdtRu	*Norddeutsche Rundschau*
NÉd	*Notes et Études documentaires*
NFWSL	*Neue Freiberger Wochenzeitung für Stadt und Land*
NG	*Nowiny Gliwickie*
NG-	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NGA	*Neuer Görlitzer Anzeiger*
NHStA-H	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Lower Saxon Main State Archives), Hannover
NI-	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg document prefix)
NID	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg

	document prefix)
NIK	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg document prefix)
NIO	Nobel Institute Oslo
NIOD	Nederlands Institut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation; formerly RIOD)
NKF	Neue Kühler- und Flugzeugteile-Fabriken (New Cooling and Aircraft Parts Factory)
NKVD	Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NL	Nachlass (literary estate)
NLStA-S	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Staatsarchiv Stade (Lower Saxon State Archives–Stade State Archives)
NMT	Nuremberg Military Tribunals
NN	Nacht-und-Nebel ("Night and Fog" prisoners)
NO-	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg document prefix)
NOKW	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg document prefix)
n.p.	No place/no page
NPC	*Neue Presse (Coburg)*
NRF	*Nouvelle Revue Française* (*New French Review*)
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen (North

	Rhine-Westphalia)
NS	Nationalsozialismus/ Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSBO	Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Factory Cells Organization)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazi Party)
NS-Dok	NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln (National Socialist Documentation Center, City of Cologne)
NSF	Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (National Socialist Women's Association)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistische Kraftfahrerkorps (National Socialist Motor Corps.)
NSLO	*Nachrichten für Stadt und Land in Oldenburg*
NstAH	Niedersächsischen Hauptstaatsarchiv (Lower Saxon Main State Archives), Hannover
NStA-Ol	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Oldenburg
NStA-Os	Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Osnabrück
NStA-Wf	Niedersächsisches

	Staatsarchiv (Lower Saxon State Archives), Wolfenbüttel
NSU	Neckarsulm Motorenwerke AG (Neckarsulm Motor Works Corp.)
NSZR	*NSZ Rheinfront*
NT	*Neustädter Tagblatt*
NV	*Neuer Vorwärts*
NVolk	*Neues Volk*
NWHStA-(D)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian Main State Archives), Düsseldorf
NWHStA-(D) ZA-K	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Düsseldorf), Zweigarchiv Kalkum (Kalkum Branch Archives)
NWStA (De)	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Dettmold
NWStA-M	Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv (North Rhine-Westphalian State Archives), Münster
NYT	*New York Times*
NZ	*Norddeutsche Zeitung*
ObEr	*Oberallgäuer Erzähler*
OBGZ	*Oranienburger Generalanzeiger*
OBL	Oberbauleitung (Senior Construction Administration)
o.D.	ohne Datum (no date)
OD	Ordnungsdienst (Jewish ghetto police)
Oflag	Offizierlager (Officers' POW

	Camp)
OfVZ	*Oberfränkische Volkszeitung*
ÖGZ	Österreichische Gesellschaft für Zeitgeschichte (Austrian Society for Contemporary History)
OHG	Offene Handelsgesellschaft (General Business Partnership)
OHPRIHS-CUNY	Oral History Project of the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, City University of New York
OKBZH	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
OKBZHW	Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
OKBZNwK	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Krakowie (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Kraków)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKL	Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (Air Force High Command)
OKM	Oberkommando der Marine (Naval High Command)
OKŚZpNP	Oddział Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi

	Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, Gdansk)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
OL	Oberlausitz (region of Saxony)
OLG	Oberlandesgericht (German Court of Appeals)
OLS	Ordner der Lagergemeinschaft Sachsenhausen (Files of the Sachsenhausen Camp Community)
OlsTZ	*Oberlausitzer Tageszeitung*
ÖMAG	Österreichische Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft (Austrian Alpine Mining Society)
OMGUS	Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
Oö.La	Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv (Upper Austrian State Archives), Linz
OPG	Oberparteigericht (Nazi Party Court of Appeals)
Ord.	Ordner (file)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei
Ortenau	*Die Ortenau*
O/S	Oberschlesien (Upper Silesia)
Osmag	Oberschlesische Maschinen- und Waggonfabrik AG (Upper Silesian Machine and Wagon

	Manufacturing, Inc.)
OsnT	*Osnabrücker Tagblatt*
OSta.	Oberstaatsanwaltschaft (senior prosecutor)
Ostf-M	*Ostfriesland-Magazin*
Osti	Ostindustrie GmbH (East Industries, Ltd.; an SS business enterprise)
OSZ	*Oldenburgische Staatszeitung*
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
ÖTV	Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (Public Service, Transport and Traffic Union)
OUG	Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy (District Mining Office)
OVV	*Oldenburgische Volkszeitung in Vechta*
OVZ	*Oldenburgische Volkszeitung*
OZ	*Osnabrücker Zeitung*
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office)
PD	Personnes Déplacées (displaced persons)
PDA	Polizeiliches Durchgangslager Amersfoort (Police Transit Camp Amersfoort)
PDN	*Polish Daily News*
PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism)
PG	Prisonniers de Guerre (Prisoners of War)
PiKb	*Pinneberger Kreisblatt*

PIW	Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (State Publishing Institution), Warsaw
PIZ	Polski Instytut Źródłowy (Polish Research Institute), Lund
PL	*Przegląd Lekarski*
Plt-Ib	*Plattlinger Isarboten*
PMA	Porzellanmanufaktur Allach (Porcellan Manufacturer Allach)
PMW-BZW	Polskiej Misji Wojskowej, Biuro do Spraw Zbrodni Wojennych (Polish Army Mission Collection–War Crimes Office)
POB	Place of birth
Polin	*Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*
Pom	*Pomerania*
PoT	*Potsdamer Tageszeitung*
POW	Prisoner of war
PPR	Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party)
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
Pra.	*Prawo*
PrMdI	Preussisches Innenministerium (Prussian Ministry of the Interior)
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, Great Britain (today British National Archives); in US Army: Public Relations Officer
PS-	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg document prefix)

PSV	Polizeiliche Sicherungsverwahrung (Police security custody)
PT	*Pariser Tagblatt*
PWN	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (State Scientific Publisher), Poland
PZ	*Pommersche Zeitung*
PZF	Polski Związek Filatelistów (Polish Union of Philatelists)
PZZ–OT	Polski Związek Zachodni–Obwód Toruński (Polish Union of the West–Toruń District)
RAA	Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen, Jugendzeit und Schule e.V. (Regional Work Sites for Foreigner Questions, Adolescence, and Schools, Registered Association)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (Reich Highway)
RABF	Reichsamt für Bodenforschung (Reich Office for Soil Research)
RaBl	*Ravensbrückblätter*
RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAG	Ratsarchiv Görlitz (Görlitz Council Archives)
RaHash	*Ramat Hasharon*
RAM	Reichsaussenministerium (Reich Foreign Ministry)
Rappel	*Rappel: Zeitschrift der luxemburgischen politischen*

	Häftlinge und Deportierten
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railways Repair Works)
RA-ZMLF	Regional Archives of Zealand, Moen and Lolland-Falster
RB	Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (Reich Flag Black-Red-Gold)
RBBD	Reichsbahnbaudirektion (German National Railway Construction Directorate)
RBD	Reichsbahndirektion (German National Railway Directorate)
rept.	Report
RF	*Rote Fahne*
RFKB	Rotfrontkämpferbund (League of Red Front Fighters)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS)
RGASPI	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Social-Political History)
RGBl	*Reichsgesetzblatt*
RGI	Reichsgruppe Industrie (Reich Group Industry)
RGVA	Rossiyskii gosudarstvennyi voenn'yi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive, Moscow (former Special [osobyi] Archive)
Rh-BKal	*Rheinische-Bergischer Kalendar*
RHD	Rote Hilfe Deutschlands (Red Aid Germany)
RhZ	*Rheinische Zeitung*

RIOD	Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (today NIOD)
RKFDV	Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom)
RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat Ostland)
RKPA	Reichskriminalpolizeiamt (Reich Criminal Police Office)
RLM	Reichsluftfahrtsministerium (Reich Air Ministry)
RM	Reichsmark
RMBliV	*Reichsministerialblatt für die Innere Verwaltung*
RMdI	Reichsministerium des Innernen (Reich Ministry of the Interior)
RMfBM	Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition (Reich Ministry for Armaments and Munitions; predecessor to RMfRK)
RMfRK	Reichsministerium für Rüstung- und Kriegsproduktion (Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production; successor to RMfBM)
RMJ	Reichsministerium der Justiz (Reich Justice Ministry)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)

Rocz Gd	*Rocznik Gdyński*
RonsZ	*Ronsdorfer Zeitung*
RPWA	*Rundschau über Politik, Wirtschaft und Arbeiterbewegung*
RR	*The Red Raider*
RrhK	*Rechtsrheinische Köln*
RRMPPD	*Rappel: Revue Mensuelle de la PPD* (Luxembourg)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniiai izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), Moscow
RU	Rückkehr unerwünscht (return undesirable)
RüKo	Rüstungskommission (Armaments Commission)
RuSHA	Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt (SS-Race and Settlement Main Office)
RV	Reichsvereinigung Eisen (Reich Iron Association)
RWA	Reichsamt für Wirtschaftsausbau (Reich Office for Economic Development)
RWHG	Reichswerke “Hermann Göring” (Reich Works “Hermann Göring”)
RWM	Reichswirtschaftsministerium (Reich Economics Ministry)
RZC	*Rhein-Zeitung Cochem*

S.	Seite (page)
SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
Sachor	*Sachor: Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Gedenkstättenarbeit in Rheinland-Pfalz*
SächsZ	*Sächsische Zeitung*
SäHe	*Sächsische Heimatblätter*
SalzN	*Salzburger Nachrichten*
S&H	Siemens & Halske AG
SAP	Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (Socialist Workers' Party of Germany)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation of Party and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAW	Sonderabteilung Wehrmacht (Special Detachment Wehrmacht)
SB	Sonderbehandlung (special treatment; Nazi euphemism most commonly used for murder)
SBG	Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten (Foundation of Brandenburg Memorial Sites)
SBGSSS	*Sonnenstein: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sonnensteins und der Sächsischen Schweiz*
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukraïny (State Security Service of Ukraine)
SBZ	Sowjetische Besatzungszone (Soviet Occupation Zone)

SchH	*Schulheft*
SchK	*Das schwarze Korps*
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police)
Schw ANach	*Schwechater Archivnachrichten: Informationen aus dem historischen Archiv der Stadt Schwechat*
SchwH	*Schwäbische Heimat*
SchwLZ	*Schwäbische Landeszeitung*
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
Sd'A	*Saisons d'Alsace*
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicich (State Regional Archive Litoměřice), Czech Republic
SDG	Sanitätsdienstgrad (German medical orderly)
SDP	Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)
SEK	Sondereinsatzkommando (Special Deployment Command)
SFiZH	*Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi*
S.G.L.v.D.	Symbolische Grossloge von Deutschland (Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany)
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
SHD	Schutzhilfsdienst (Auxiliary Police)
SHdeD	Service historique de la

	Défense (Historical Service of the Defense)
SHKS	*Schriftenreihe für Heimatforschung Kreis Senftenberg*
SHSt-A-B	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv– Aussenstelle Bautzen (Saxon Main State Archives– External Branch Bautzen)
SHStA-(C)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv– Aussenstelle Chemnitz (Saxon Main State Archives– External Branch Chemnitz)
SHStA-(D)	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Saxon Main State Archives), Dresden
SHZ	*Schleswig-Holsteinische Landeszeitung*
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SK	Sonderkommando (Special Detachment)
SKD	Stickstoff- und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works)
SKDW	Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand (German Resistance Study Group)
SKG	Siemens-Kabel-Gemeinschaft (Siemens Cable Community)
SkhS	*Śląski kwartalnik historyczny "Sobótka"*
SKTb	*Segeberger Kreis- und Tageblatt*
SKW	Stickstoff- und Kali-Werke (Nitrogen and Potash Works),

	Trostberg
SLA	Salzburger Landesarchiv (Salzburg State Archives), Austria
SMAD	Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland (Soviet Military Administration in Germany)
SM-Cd	Stadtmuseum Colditz (Colditz City Museum)
SM-E	Stadtmuseum Eisenhüttenstadt (Eisenhüttenstadt City Museum)
SMSK	*Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Köln*
SOA	Státní oblastní archive (State Regional Archives)
SoAD	Státní okresní archiv (State District Archives) Děčín, Czech Republic
SOE	Special Operations Executive
SoeZe	*Soester Zeitschrift*
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)
SokA	Spruchkammer Akte (Denazification Chamber Verdict File)
SOkA-B	Státní okresní archiv v Benešově (State District Archive of Benešově), Czech Republic
SOkA-CvK	Státni okresní archiv Chomutov v Kadani (State District Archive of Chomutov, Kadan), Czech Republic
SOkA-D	Státni okresní archiv Děčíně (State District Archives,

	Děčín), Czech Republic
SOkA-KV	Státni okresní archiv Karlovy Vary (State District Archive, Karlovy Vary), Czech Republic
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
SonA	*Sonnenburger Anzeiger*
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu (Torun District Court)
SOWI	*Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen*
Spai-Sc	*Spaichinger Stadtchronik*
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Social Democratic Party of Austria)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SSB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (State Library in Berlin, Prussian Cultural Estate)
SS-EBB	SS-Eisenbahnbaubrigade (SS Railway Construction Brigades)
SSK Gd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKT	Specjalny Sąd Karny w

	Toruniu (Toruń Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS-und Polizeiführer (SS-and Police Leader)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
Sśsn	*Studia śląskie seria nowa*
SStA-L	Sächsisches Staatsarchiv (Saxon State Archives), Leipzig
SSVT	SS-Verfügungstruppen (SS Special Disposal Troops)
SSW	Siemens-Schuckert-Werke (Siemens-Schuckert Works)
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Business Administration Main Office)
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Augs	Staatsarchiv Augsburg (Augsburg State Archives)
StA-B	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Basel, Switzerland
StA-Br	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Bremen
StA-C	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Coburg
StA-Ch	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Chemnitz
StA-HH	Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (State Archives of the Free and Hanseatic City Hamburg)
StA-KBS	Staatsarchiv Kanton Basel-Stadt (State Archives of the

	Canton Basel City), Switzerland
StA-L	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Ludwigsburg
St. Ald	*St. Aldegund*
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StaLG	Staatsanwaltschaft beim Landesgericht (State Prosecutor with the State Court)
StA-Lg	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Leipzig
StA-Lh	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Landshut
Sta. Mü	Staatsanswaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office, Munich, with Roman numeral designating the court)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Nürnberg
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)
StA-S	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Sigmaringen
StA-SG	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Salzgitter
Stasi	Staatsicherheit (State Security, GDR)
StA-Wü	Staatsarchiv (State Archives), Würzburg
StBü	*Stettiner Bürgerbrief*
StegL-A	*Steglitzer Lokal-Anzeiger*
StFvMHL	Städtische Friedhofsverwaltung Mühlhausen (Mühlhausen City Cemetery Administration)

Sti-A-StLam	Stiftsarchiv St. Lambrecht (St. Lambrecht Abbey Archives), Austria
Stm.-MöWa	Stadtmuseum Mörfelden-Walldorf (Mörfelden-Walldorf City Museum)
STP	*Schlesische Tagespost*
STUAG	Strassenbauunternehmen AG (Street Construction Enterprises, Inc.)
StutZ	*Stuttgarter Zeitung*
StZeMu	*Stutthof: Zeszyty Muzeum*
SÚA	Státní ústřední archiv (State Central Archives), Prague
SuA-M	Sudetendeutsches Archiv e.V., München (Sudeten German Archives, Registered Association, Munich)
Subag	Sudetenländische Bergbau AG (Sudetenland Mining, Inc.)
SudA	*Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*
SüdS	*Süddeutsche Sonntagspost*
Sutag	Sudetenländische Treibstoffwerke AG (Sudetenland Fuel Works, Inc.)
SV	Sicherheitsverwahrung ("Security Custody," an arrest category)
SVG	Service des Victimes de la Guerre (Service of War Victims), Brussels
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)

SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki w Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (Polish archival catalog reference)
SZ	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*
TARA-KU	The Aerial Reconnaissance Archives-Keele University
Tbc	Tuberculosis
Tel	*Telecran*
Texled	Textil und Lederverwertung mbH (Textile and Leather Processing Corp. Ltd.)
THStA-G	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar Aussenstelle Greiz (Thuringian Main State Archives, External Branch Greiz)
THStA-W	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar (Thuringian Main State Archive, Weimar)
TiHe	*Tiroler Heimatblätter*
TL	*Terezinské listy*
TLB	Thüringer Landbund (Thuringian Farmers' Alliance)
T-Lo	*Times–London*
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major*

	War Criminals, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
TNA	The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom)
Tog	*Together*
Trib	*Tribüna*
Trokofa	Trockenkonservenfabrik (dried vegetable factory)
Tr-Vo	*Trierischer Volksfreund*
Try-Odr	*Trybuna Odrzańska*
TsAKGBRB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' v Minske (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus', Minsk)
TSD	*Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*
TsDAHOU	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'yednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Ukrainian Social Associations)
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta Upravlinnia Ukraïny (Central State Archive of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
TsGAMORF	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstsva oborony rossiiskoi federatsii (Central State Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation in Podolsk)
TStA-A	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Altenburg

TStA-Go	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Gotha
TStA-Gr	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Greiz
TStA-M	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Meiningen
TStA-R	Thüringisches Staatsarchiv (Thuringian State Archives), Rudolstadt
TV	Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Units)
TWC	*Trials of War Criminals before the Nürnberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10, Nuernberg, October 1946–April 1949*, 15 vols. (Washington, 1949–1953).
TWL	Truppenwirtschaftslager (Waffen-SS supply camp)
TWL-Langfür	Truppenwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS (Waffen-SS Supply Camp), Danzig-Langführ
Tyg Pł	*Tygodnik Płocki*
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
Ufa	Universum Film AG
ULA	*Ulmer Lokalanzeiger*
Ulap	Universum-Landesausstellungspark (Universum State Exhibition

	Park)
ULJ-A	Archives of the Union of Lithuanian Jews, Tel Aviv
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
URF	Union für Recht und Freiheit (Union for Justice and Liberty)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USAF	United States Air Force
USAFHRA	United States Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama
USAREUR	United States Army Europe
USFET	United States Forces European Theater
USHMC	United States Holocaust Memorial Council
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USMT	United States Military Tribunal
USSBS	United States Strategic Bombing Survey
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist

	Republics (a.k.a. Soviet Union, or UdSSR)
UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
V	*Vorwärts*
V-1/V-2	Vergeltungswaffe-1/ Vergeltungswaffe-2 (Vengeance weapon, see also A4)
VAW	Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke (United Aluminum Works)
VB	*Völkischer Beobachter*
VBal	*Ventas Balss*
VDM	Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke (United German Metal Works)
VdN	Verfolgte des Naziregimes (Persecutee of the Nazi Regime)
VDO	Vereinigte Deuta OTA (United German Tachometer Works, Otto Schulze Autometer Werke)
VEB	Volkseigener Betrieb (nationally owned enterprise; GDR term)
VEB-RFT-Wg	VEB Rundfunk Fernmelde-Technik, Fernmeldewerk Werk (nationally owned enterprise, Radio Telecommunications Technology, Telecommunications Work) Wolkenburg
VEF	Valsts Elektrotechniska Fabrika (Valsts Electrotechnical Factory),

	Riga
VfZ	*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*
VGPU	Volgogradskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet (Volgograd State Pedagogical University, Russia)
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archive, Prague)
VHF	Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation
VHU	Vojesty Historicky Ustav (Military History Institute), Prague
VHVNdb	*Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Niederbayern*
VJP	Vierjahresplan (Nazi Four-Year Plan)
VKA	Vereinigte Kletter-Abteilung (United Climbing Detachment)
VKS	Verlag kommunistischer und antifaschistischer Schriften (publisher of Communist and anti-Fascist writings)
VLA-G	Vorpommersches Landesarchiv (Vorpommern State Archives) Greifswald
VOH	Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG (United Upper Silesian Metallurgical Works, Inc.)
Vomag	Vogtländische Maschinenfabrik AG

	(Vogtland Machine Factory, Inc.), Plauen
VOMI	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (SS-Ethnic German Central Office)
VorVB	*Vorarlberger Volksblatt*
Vp	*Volksparole*
VRDA	*Verein für Regionalgeschichte und Denkmalpflege Akanthus e.V.*
VS	*Volksstimme*
VSA	Verlag für Studium der Arbeiterbewegung (publisher for studies of the workers' movement)
VSS	*Volksstimme Saarbrücken*
VVN	Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes; or Vereinigung für die Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime)
VVN-AH	VVN, Archiv Hamburg
VVN-B	VVN–Berlin
VVN-BdA	VNN–Bund der Antifaschisten (League of Anti-Fascists)
VVN-K	VVN–Köln
VW	Volkswagen ("People's Car")
VWA	Volkswagen Archiv, Wolfsburg
VZ	*Vossische Zeitung*
VZfVd	*Volkszeitung für Vogtland*
W	Wirtschaft (business division within SS-WVHA, usually followed by Roman numeral designating the office, such as

	Amt W V, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries)
WAA-M	Westfälisches Archivamt (Westphalian Archives Office), Münster
WalsZ	*Walsroder Zeitung*
WAP-By	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Bydgoszczy (Voivodeship State Archive in Bydgoszcz)
WAP-W	WAP we Wrocławiu (Wrocław)
WASAG	Westfälisch Anhaltinische Sprengstoff AG (Westphalian Anhalt Gunpowder, Inc.)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftstelle Berlin (Military Information Office; today part of BArch PA)
Wb	*Die Weltbühne*
WdtB	*Westdeutscher Beobachter*
WED	Wiedereindeutschungs-Programm (Re-Germanization Program)
WeiTb	*Weissenfels Tagesblatt*
WeKu	*Weser-Kurier*
Welt	*Die Welt*
Weserflug	Weser Flugzeugbau GmbH (Weser Aircraft Construction, Ltd.)
W-H	Württemberg-Hohenzollern
WHW	Winterhilfswerk (Winter Relief Campaign)
Wifo	Wirtschaftliche Forschungsgesellschaft mbH (Economic Research Company, Ltd.)

WiL	*Wir in Lengerich*
WK	Wehrkreis (Defense District)
WL	Wiener Library
WLA	Wiener Library Archive
WMI	Westfälische Metallindustrie (Westphalian Metal Industry)
WN	*Westfälische Nachrichten*
WO	War Office
WP	*Westfalen Post*
WRB	War Refugee Board
WU	wehrunwürdig ("unworthy of military service")
WUMAG	Waggonbau- und Maschinenfabrik Aktiengesellschaft (Wagon Construction and Machine Manufacture Company)
WüwHe	*Wüstewaltersdorfer Heimatbote*
WWA-D	Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv (Westphalian Business Archives), Dortmund
WWB	*Wiener Weltbühne*
WWFg	Fernsprechgerät (telephone terminal; Siemens component)
Wwi Kdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (Armaments Economy Command)
WWM	Messgerät (meter; Siemens component)
WWR	Radiogeräte und Bauelemente (radio and building components; Siemens component)
WWT	Telegrafentechnik (telegraphic equipment; Siemens

	component)
WWII-I	*World War II Investigator* (Great Britain)
Wyb	*Wybrzeże*
Wyd.	Wydawnictwo (publishing house)
YAJSS	*YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*
YalMor	*Yalkut Moreshet*
YIVO	Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
YV	Yad Vashem
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
YVS	*Yad Vashem Studies*
Z	*Zeitgeschichte*
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (forced labor camp)
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (forced labor camp for Jews)
ZapKos	*Zapiski Koszalińskie*
ZAR-D	Zentralarchiv (Central Archives) der Rheinmetall AG-Düsseldorf
ZBL	Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS (Central Construction Administration of the Waffen-SS)
ZBoWid	Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokracje (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy), Warsaw

z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (special or temporary duty)
ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (today BA-L)
Żegota	Rada Pomocy Żydom (Council for Aid to Jews)
"ZEH"	Gypsum factory, Schwindratzheim, Alsace, France
ZeMa	*Zeszyty Majdanka*
ZfA	Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Center for Research on Antisemitism), Berlin
ZfG	*Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*
ZfSV	*Zeitschrift für Strafvollzug*
ZfU	*Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*
ZfwLg	*Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*
ZG	*Zeszyty Gliwickie*
ZGS	Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung (Contemporary History Collection)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ZLpB-H	Zentralnachweis der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung (Central Registry of Records of the State Central Office for Political

	Education), Hannover
ZO	*Zeszyty Oświęcimskie*
ZR-MM-V	*Zeitgeschichte Regional-Mitteilungen aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*
ZSA-P	Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (Potsdam Central State Archives, today BLHA-[P])
ZSHG	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*
ZSSta-D	Zentralstelle für die Bearbeitung von NS-Massenverbrechen, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund (Central Office for the Processing of National Socialist Mass Crimes, Dortmund State Prosecutor)
ZSSta-K	Zentralstelle der Nordrhein-Westfalens für die Bearbeitung von NS-Verbrechen im Konzentrationslagern, Staatsanwaltschaft Köln (Central Office of North Rhine-Westphalia for the Processing of Crimes in Concentration Camps, Cologne State Prosecutor; same as ZLNW-K)
ZVJ	*Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums*
ZVWmE	*Zeitschrift des Vereins Widerstandmuseums Ebensee*
ZWiL	*Za Wolność i Lud*

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Geoffrey Megargee was Senior Applied Research Scholar in the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, where he served since 2000 as project director and editor in chief for the museum's seven-volume *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*. The first volume of that work, for which he served as volume editor, appeared in May 2009 and received a National Jewish Book Award and a Judaica Reference Award, among other distinctions. Dr. Megargee received his doctorate in military history in 1998 from the Ohio State University. He was the recipient of, among other honors, a J. William Fulbright grant for research in Germany, on which he based his book *Inside Hitler's High Command* (winner of the Society for Military History's 2001 Distinguished Book Award). He is also author of *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941*, and a contributor to the *West Point History of Warfare*. Dr. Megargee was a member of the Department of the Army Historical Advisory Subcommittee and a Trustee for the Society for Military History; he served as Treasurer of the United States Commission on Military History and Presidential Counselor for the National World War II Museum in New Orleans. He lectured frequently on the German army in World War II and the Holocaust. Dr. Megargee passed away in 2020.

Rüdiger Overmans lives in Freiburg, Germany. He holds doctorates in economics and history. He is a retired member of the former Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamtes der Bundeswehr (Military History Research Institute of the Federal Armed Forces); nowadays it resides in Potsdam, near Berlin, under the designation Zentrum für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaft der Bundeswehr (Center for Military History and Social Sciences).

Beginning in 1987, he took part in the book project *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg* (published in

English as *Germany and the Second World War*), a multivolume series on many aspects of World War II. Since his retirement in 2004, Dr. Overmans works as a freelance historian, consultant, and reviewer. His fields of interest are mainly the expulsion of Germans from their settlement areas after World War II, the human losses caused by wars, and the prisoners of war. His first major publication as a historian was *Deutsche militärische Verluste im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (German Military Losses in the Second World War), which was published in 1996. Other major pieces include chapters on the fate of the POWs in Germany (volume 9/2 of *Germany and the Second World War*, 2005) and the fate of the German POWs in Allied hands as well (volume 10/2, 2008). He has published several collaborative works, and together with Wolfgang Vogt und Reinhard Otto he is working to complete an encyclopedia of the German POW administration system in World War II.

Wolfgang Vogt lives in Koblenz, Germany. He retired as an officer in the Bundeswehr in 2006. Since 1986, he has been studying the topic of German prisoner of war policy in World War II. At the center of that work is the creation of a private archive of camp records as well as the analysis of relevant prisoner of war correspondence (at present consisting of approximately 26,000 pieces). Since 1988, he has been the chairman of the international Arbeitsgemeinschaft Zensurpost e.V. (Study Group for Censored Mail) and editor of their publications. Together with Dr. Gianfranco Mattiello of Italy, Mr. Vogt is author of the two-volume handbook, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangenen- und Internierten-Einrichtungen 1939–45* (*German Prisoner of War and Internee Facilities 1939–45*). As a freelance historian, Vogt's areas of concentration lie in providing factual advice to authors and official or unofficial organizations, including archives, on German prisoner of war policy as well as authoring expert reports. Such activity includes providing testimony in court (e.g., 1994, legal proceedings in the Hamburg superior district court regarding the authenticity of the *Diary of Anne Frank*). Together with Rüdiger Overmans and Reinhard Otto, he is working to complete an encyclopedia of the German POW administration system in World War II.

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